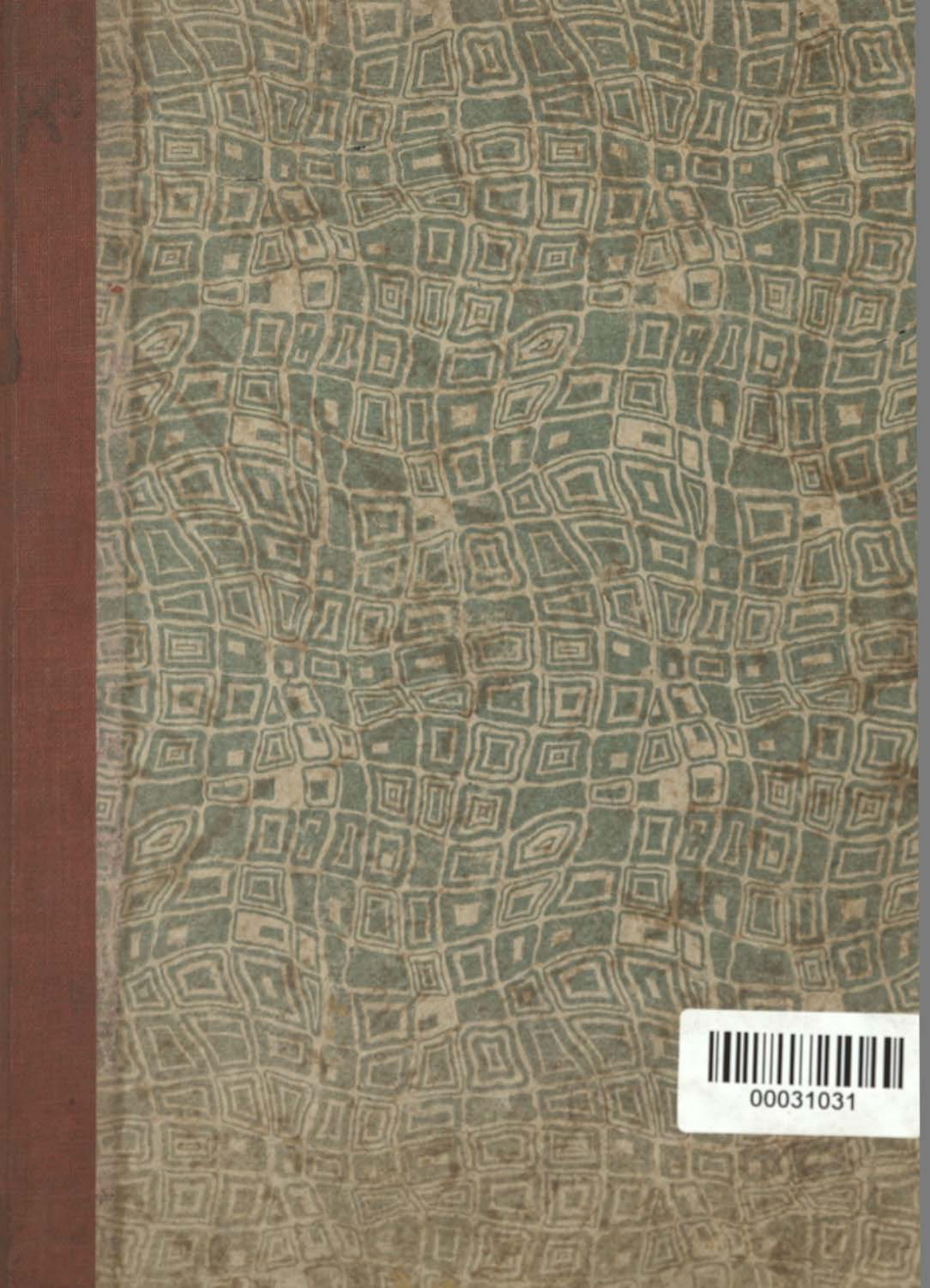

00031031

THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY
Town Hall, Bombay.

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 15 June, 2016

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

LIFE AND REIGN

OF

PHILIP

KING of MACEDON.

T L d b

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

LIFE and REIGN

OF

PHILIP

King of MACEDON;

THE

Father of ALEXANDER.

By THOMAS LELAND, D.D.

FELLOW of TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN.

31031

VOL. I.

LONDON:

Printed by THOMAS HARRISON,

For W. JOHNSTON, in ST. PAUL'S CHURCH YARD.

MDCCLVIII.

1758

00031031

SUBSCRIBERS

TO THE

LIFE of PHILIP.

A

HIS Grace George Lord Archbiſhop of Armagh, Primate and Metropolitan of all Ireland *Fine Paper*
Right Honourable Lady Viſcounteſs Allen
Right Honourable Lady Athunry
Sir Archibald Acheſon, Bart.
Sir John Armitage, Bart.
Arthur Acheſon, Eſq;
Thomas Adderley, Eſq; *F. P.*
Miſs E. Adderley
Robert Adair, Eſq;
James Agar, Eſq;
Nicholas Archdall, Eſq;
Reverend John Averal, D. D. *F. P.*
Francis Andrews, Eſq; L.L.D. Senior Fellow
Reverend William Andrews, A. M. Fellow
Mr. John Anderſon, *F. P.*
Mr. John Aſhe, A. B.
} of Trinity College, Dublin
Mr. William Alexander
Mr. Robert Allen

B

His Grace the Duke of Bedford, Lord Lieutenant General, and General Governor of Ireland, 2 Setts. *F. P.*
His Grace the Duke of Bridgewater
Right Honourable Earl of Belvedere
Right Honourable Earl of Bute
Right Honourable Earl of Bleſſington
Right Honourable Counteſs of Barrimore
Right Honourable Lord Viſcount Bolingbroke
Right Honourable Lord Bruce
Right Honourable Lord Blakeney
Right Reverend John Lord Biſhop of Bangor
Right Honourable Lord Boyle
Right Honourable Lord Beresford
Right Honourable William Briſtow, Eſq;
Honourable Francis Bernard, Eſq; Governor of New Jerſey
Honourable John Beresford, Fellow Commoner of Trinity College, Dublin *F. P.*

Sir Nicholas Bailly, Bart.
Sir Charles Bingham, Bart.
Conſtantine Barbor, Eſq; M. D.
Edward Barry, Eſq; M. D.
Nathaniel Barry, Eſq; M. D.
—— Bedingfield, Eſq;
Michael Beecher, Eſq;
Miſs Eliza Turner Beecher
Peter Benſon, Eſq;
Arthur Bernard, Eſq; 6 Setts.
William Bernard, Eſq;
John Birkbeck, Eſq;
William Blair, Eſq;
Jeremiah Blizard, Eſq; of Antigua
Nicholas Bonfoy, Eſq;
Thomas Bowlby, Eſq;
Bellingham Boyle, Eſq;
Arthur Brooke, Eſq;
—— Browne, Eſq;
Joſeph Burke, Eſq;
George Burners, Eſq;
Francis Pierpoint Burton, Eſq;
William Burton, Eſq;
Amias Buſh, Eſq;
Richard Brockleſby, M. D. *F. P.*
Thomas Brooke, M. D.
Reverend Theophilus Brocas, D. D. Dean of Killalla.
Reverend St. John Browne, L. L. D.
Reverend William Browne, A. M. Vicar of St. Andrews, Dublin,
Reverend Robert Beatty, A. M. *F. P.*
Reverend Thomas Benſon, A. M.
Reverend Mr. George Auguſtus Beaufort
Mr. Richard Baggs, A. B. } of Trinity College, Dublin
Mr. Stephen Baldwin, }
Mr. Richard Barry, }
Mr. Theophilus Bolton. }
Mr. Fitzmaurice Botet, } of Trinity College, Dublin
Mr. Thomas Browne, }
Mr. Matthew Browne, }
Mr. Daniel Browne, }
Mr. John Barton
Mr. Henry Boyde
Mr. James Buckland

C

Right Honourable Earl of Cheſterfield
Right Honourable Earl Cowper
Right Honourable Earl of Cardigan
Right Honourable Lord Viſcount Charlemont, 50 Setts *F. P.*
Right Honourable Lord Cariesfort
Right Honourable Lord Carpenter
Right Honourable Lord Frederick Cavendiſh
Right Honourable Lord George Cavendiſh
Honourable William Chetwyn, Eſq;
Honourable Francis Caulfield, Eſq;
Honourable John Caulfield, Eſq;
Honourable Miſs Caulfield
Sir James Caldwell, Bart. *F. P.*
Sir Oliver Croſton, Bart.
Arthur Carr, Eſq;
William Chaigneau, Eſq;
Richard Chiſwell, Eſq;
Henry Theophilus Clement, Eſq;
Thomas Cobbe, Eſq; L. L. D.
John Cooke, Eſq;
Robert Colebrooke, Eſq;
George Colebrooke, Eſq;
George Coleman, Eſq;
John O Connor, Eſq;
Joſhua Cooper, Eſq;
Chidley Coote, Eſq; *F. P.*

Charles

Charles Coote, Eſq;
Samuel Craghead, Eſq;
Reverend Richard Chaloner Cobbe, L. L. D. Prebendary of St. Patrick's Dublin
Reverend Walter Cope, A. M.
Reverend Ralph Card
Reverend Mordaunt Cracherode
Mr. Henry Carthy, A. B. } of Trinity College, Dublin
Mr. George Cartland, A. B. } of Trinity College, Dublin
Mr. Henry Crofton, A. B. } of Trinity College, Dublin
Mr. Andrew Carr, } of Trinity College, Dublin
Mr. James Caulfield, } of Trinity College, Dublin
Mr. John Connor, } of Trinity College, Dublin
Mr. Charles Coſslett, } of Trinity College, Dublin
Mr. Arthur Colley
Mrs. Clement

D

His Grace the Duke of Devonſhire
His Grace the Duke of Dorſet
His Grace Charles Lord Archbiſhop of Dublin
Right Honourable Earl of Dunmore
Right Honourable Lord D'Acre
Right Honourable Lord Digby
Right Honourable Lord Viſcount Dungarvon
Right Reverend William Lord Biſhop of Derry *F. P.*
Right Reverend Charles Lord Biſhop of Dromore
Reverend Patrick Delany, D. D. Dean of Down
William Domville, Eſq;
Thomas Dawſon, Eſq;
Gilbert Donnellan, Eſq;
Reverend John Dalton, D. D.
Reverend Mr. Dowding
Andrew Downes, Eſq; Fellow Commoner } of Trinity College, Dublin
Nicholas Dunſcombe, Eſq; Fellow Commoner } of Trinity College, Dublin
Mr. John Day, A. B. } of Trinity College, Dublin
Mr. Edward Day, } of Trinity College, Dublin
Mr. Arthur Denny, } of Trinity College, Dublin
Mr. Richard Dalton
Mr. Arlander Dobſon
Hiſtorical Society of Trinity College, Dublin, inſtituted June 1756.

E

Right Honourable Earl of Eſſex
Right Honourable Earl of Egmont
Sir Harry Echlin, Bart.
Edward Elliot, Eſq;
William Ellis, Eſq;
Miſs Eaton, 3 Setts

F

Right Honourable Henry Fox
Sir Matthew Fetherſtonehaugh, Bart.
Sir William Fownes, Bart.
Henry Flood, Eſq;
John French, Eſq;
Chriſtopher Fry, Eſq;
Reverend John Eletcher, A. M.
John Forſter, Eſq; Fellow Commoner } of Trinity College, Dublin
Mr. Thomas Figſbee, } of Trinity College, Dublin
Mr. Matthias Finucane, } of Trinity College, Dublin
Mr. James Fivey
Mr. James Bogle French

G

His Grace the Duke of Grafton
Right Honourable Earl Granville

Right Honourable Earl Gower
Honourable Baptiſt Leveſon Gower
Sir Richard Groſvenor, Bart.
Sackville Gardiner, Eſq;
Charles Gardiner, Eſq; *F. P.*
Richard Glover, Eſq;
William Gordon, Eſq;
John Gore, Eſq;
Henry Gore, Eſq;
John Graham, Eſq;
James Grattan, Eſq; Recorder of Dublin
Moſes Griffith, Eſq; M. D.
Frederick Guydickens, Eſq;
Reverend Edward Golding, Archdeacon of Derry
Richard Gorges, Eſq; A. M. of Brazen Noſe College, Oxon
Reverend Mr. Guyen Griffith, Fellow of Clare Hall, Cambridge
William Gilbert, Eſq; Fellow Commoner } of Trinity College, Dublin
Mr. Robert Gouldſbury, A. B. } of Trinity College, Dublin
Mr. Owen Gallaher, } of Trinity College, Dublin
Mr. William Godfrey, } of Trinity College, Dublin
Mr. Richard Godley, } of Trinity College, Dublin
Miſs Suſannah Gore
Mr. Thomas Gardiner

H

His Grace the Duke of Hamilton and Brandon
Right Honourable Earl of Harrington
Right Honourable Earl of Hertford
Right Honourable Earl of Hillſborough *F. P.*
Right Honourable Counteſs of Hillſborough
Sir Charles Hotham, Bart.
Right Honourable Arthur Hill, Eſq;
Arthur Hill, Eſq;
Thomas Pym Hales, Eſq;
William Gerrard Hamilton, Eſq;
Charles O Hara, Eſq;
Captain Patrick O Hara
James Heywood, Eſq;
John Hort, Eſq; *F. P.*
Joſiah Hort, Eſq;
Jacob Houblon, Eſq;
Richard Houghton, Eſq; Fellow Commoner of St. John's College, Cambridge
Reverend Lambert Hughes, D. D.
Dr. Hebberden, M. D.
Reverend Chriſtopher Hudſon, A. M. Fellow *F. P.* } of Trinity College, Dublin
Mr. Patrick Hare, A. B. } of Trinity College, Dublin
Mr. Hall Hartſon, A. B. } of Trinity College, Dublin
Mr. John Hely, A. B. } of Trinity College, Dublin
Mr. George Hickes, } of Trinity College, Dublin
Mr. Edward Hudſon, A. B. } of Trinity College, Dublin
Mr. John Hawkey
Mrs. Hill

I

Right Honourable Earl of Inchequin *F. P.*
Richard Jackſon, of Coleraine, Eſq; 3 Setts *F. P.*
Richard Jackſon, Eſq;
St. John Jefferyes, Eſq; *F. P.*
Alan Jefferyes, Eſq; *F. P.*
Loftus Jones, Eſq;
Laſſells Raymond Ironmonger, Eſq;
William Irvine, Eſq;

Mr.

Mr. Chriſtophilus Jenny, of Trinity College, Dublin
Mr. Samuel Ingram
Mr. James Johnſton, of Trinity College, Dublin

K

Right Honourable Earl of Kerry *F. P.*
Right Honourable Counteſs of Kildare
Right Honourable Lord Kingſton
Right Reverend Richard Lord Biſhop of Killalla
Sir Edward King, Bart.
Captain Whitſhead Keene
Robert Knight, Eſq;
Ralph Knox, Eſq;
Reverend John Kenney, A. M.
George Knox, Eſq; Fellow Commoner
Reverend James Knight, D. D. Senior Fellow
Reverend Mr. Michael Kearney, A. M. Fellow
Mr. Henry Kinſelah, A. B.
Mr. John Kearney,
Mr. Richard Kelly,
Mr. John Kenrey,
Mr. William Knox,
} of Trinity College, Dublin
Mrs. Rebecca King

L

Right Honourable Lord Limerick
Right Honourable Lord Longford
Honourable Joſeph Leeſon, Eſq;
Library of St. John's College, Cambridge
David Latouche, Eſq;
John Leland, Eſq;
Robert Lenox, Eſq;
Richard Levinge, Eſq;
Benjamin Lethulier, Eſq;
Captain —— Lloyd
Thomas Lloyd, M. D. *F. P.*
Charles Lucas, M. D.
Reverend Edward Ledwich, L. L. D. Prebendary of Chriſt Church, Dublin
Reverend Mr. Thomas Lipyeatt
Reverend Mr. Jonathan Lipyeatt
Reverend John Lawſon, D. D. Senior Fellow
Mr. William Lee, A. B.
Mr. Edward Ledwich,
Mr. Benjamin Lloyd,
Mr. William Lodge,
Mr. Edward Lowe,
Mr. Henry Lucas,
Mr. Richard Lucas,
} of Trinity College, Dublin
Mrs. Lumm

M

His Grace the Duke of Marlborough
Her Grace the Dutcheſs of Marlborough
Right Honourable Lord Viſcount Middleton
Right Honourable Lord Montfort
Right Honourable Lord Mornington *F. P.*
Right Honourable Lord Moore
Right Honourable Lord John Murray
Right Reverend Henry Lord Biſhop of Meath
Honourable Stewart Mackenzie, Eſq;
Sir John Meade, Bart.
Sir Capel Molineux, Bart.
Sir Edward Montague, Knight of the Bath

Sir

Sir Charles Mordaunt, Bart.
George Macartney, Eſq;
Richard Malone, Eſq;
James Manſergh, Eſq;
Antony Marlay, Eſq;
John Maſon, Eſq;
Charles Maſſy, Eſq;
Richard Meade, Eſq; Counſellor at Law
Thomas Millar, Eſq;
George Paul Monck, Eſq;
Hugh Morgan, Eſq;
William Mount, Eſq;
Roger Moyſton, Eſq;
Edward Murphy, Eſq; *F. P.*
Major Thomas Marlay
Major Hugh Morgan
Captain —— Meyer
Reverend Dr. Samuel Madden, 20 Setts *F. P.*
Reverend Dr. —— Markham
Reverend Jeremiah Mills, D. D.
Reverend John Magill, A. M.
Reverend Mr. Richard Marlay *F. P.*
Reverend Mr. Godfrey Maſſy
Reverend William Maxwell, A. M. *F. P.*

Richard Malone, Eſq; Fellow Commoner
Hugh Dillon Maſſey, Eſq; Fellow Commoner
William Maſſey, Eſq; Fellow Commoner
Reverend William Martin B. D. Fellow *F. P.*
Mr. Thomas Moſſe, A.B.
Mr. Henry Mannix,
} of Trinity College, Dublin
Mr. Bellingham Maleverar

Mr. John Marlar
Mr. Henry Moſſop
Miſs A. Macartney

N

Right Honourable Lord North
Sir Arthur Newcomen, Bart.
Arnold Neſbitt, Eſq;
Alexander Neſbitt, Eſq;
Robert Nugent, Eſq;
Alexander Nugent, Eſq; of Antigua
Edward Nugent, Eſq; Member of Parliament for Liſkeard in Cornwall
Reverend Mr. Rowley Noel
Mr. William Noble, of Trinity College, Dublin
Mr. Nathaniel Newberry
Mr. —— Nixon

O

Right Reverend Richard Lord Biſhop of Oſſory
William Ockenden, Eſq;
George Onſlow, Eſq;
Reverend John Owen, D. D. Rector of Clonmacnois
Dr. Fielding Ould *F. P.*
Mr. Charles O Neil, of Trinity College, Dublin

P

His Grace the Duke of Portland
Right Honourable Earl of Pembroke
Right Honourable Counteſs of Pembroke *F. P.*
Right Honourable Lord Percival
Right Honourable Lord Viſcount Powerſcourt *F. P.*

Right

Right Honourable John Ponſonbys Speaker of the Houſe of Common, of Ireland
Roger Palmer, Eſq;
John Pitt, Eſq;
Edward Popham, Eſq;
—— Purdon, Eſq;
Reverend Kane Percival, D. D.
Henry Puxley, Eſq; Fellow Commoner
Robert Phaire, Eſq; Fellow Commoner
Narciſſus Charles Proby, Eſq; Fellow Commoner
Mr. Thomas Parſons, A.B.
Mr. Parſons Perſſe,
Mr. Giles Powell,
} of Trinity College, Dublin

R

His Grace the Duke of Richmond
Right Honourable Marquis of Rockingham, 2 Setts *F. P.*
Right Honourable Richard Rigby, Eſq;
Right Honourable Hercules Langford Rowley, Eſq;
Hercules Rowley, Eſq;
Giles Rook, Eſq;
Captain —— Rainey
Captain —— Rodney
Reverend Richard Ratcliffe, D. D.
Mr. Henry Reynett, A. B.
Mr. William Rogers, A. B.
Mr. Charles Roberts,
Mr. George Rogers,
} of Trinity College, Dublin.
Mr. Joſeph Richardſon, 7 Setts
Mr. John Rivington, 7 Setts

S

Right Honourable Earl of Suſſex
Right Honourable Earl of Shannon
Right Honourable Lord George Sackville
Sir William Stanhope, Knight of the Bath
Sir Thomas Stapleton, Bart.
Honourable Philip Stanhope, Eſq;
Alexander Scott, Eſq;
Thomas Scroope, Eſq;
—— Screene, Eſq;
Charles Selwin, Eſq;
George Auguſtus Selwin, Eſq;
Henry Shiffner, Eſq;
John Spencer, Eſq;
—— Stacpoole, Eſq;
Thomas Stevens, Eſq;
Alexander Stewart, Eſq;
Anneſley Stewart, Eſq; *F. P.*
James Stewart, Eſq; *F. P.*
Robert Stringer, Eſq;
Reverend Thomas Smith, D. D. Rector of St. Anne's Dublin
Reverend James Stopford, A. M.
Francis Stoughton Sullivan, Eſq; L. L. D. Senior Fellow
Reverend John Stokes, D. D. Fellow
Mr. Gabriel Stokes, A. M. Fellow of
Mr. Francis Sanderſon,
Mr. William Savage,
Mr. William Sinclair,
Mr. Michael Smith,
} of Trinity College, Dublin
Mr. Coulſton Stow

T

Right Honourable Earl of Tilney
Right

Right Honourable Earl of Tullamore
Philip Tiſdall, Eſq; Sollicitor General of Ireland *F. P.*
John Tickell, Eſq;
Charles Tottenham, Eſq;
Charles Townſhend, Eſq;
Samuel Townſend, Eſq;
Charles Turner, Eſq;
Thomas Tyrwhitt, Eſq;
Auguſtus Montague Toplady, Eſq; Fellow Commoner of Trinity College, Dublin
Reverend John Tench, B. D. Prebendary of St. Patrick's Dublin

U

Right Honourable Lord Villiers
Univerſity of Dublin, for the Library *F. P.*
Samuel Vandewall, Eſq;
Arthur Vanſittart, jun. Eſq;
Edward Vernon, Eſq;
Clot. Upton, Eſq;
Mr. Simon Vokes, A. B. of Trinity College, Dublin
Mrs. Sarah Unett, of Woolverhampton

W

Right Honourable Lord Viſcount Weymouth
Right Honourable Lord Ward
Honourable John Ward
Honourable Richard Wingfield, Eſq;
Sir Thomas Worſeley, Bart.
John Thomas Waller, Eſq;
Talbot Williamſon, Eſq;
Robert Wood, Eſq;
William Woodley, Eſq;
Reverend John Walls, D. D.
Thomas Wills, Eſq; Fellow Commoner
Reverend Theaker Wilder, D. D. Fellow
Reverend Thomas Wilſon, A. M. Fellow
Mr. Matthias Walker,
Mr. Arthur Wolfe,
Mr. William Wray,
} of Trinity College, Dublin
Mr. John Wainewright, of the Six Clerks Office

Y

Mr. Barry Yelverton, A. B.
Mr. Thomas Young,
} of Trinity College, Dublin

To the Reverend

Dr. THOMAS LELAND,

ON HIS

HISTORY

OF

PHILIP of MACEDON.

THO' paſt the Bounds DAVID to Life aſſign'd,
I rhyme in this dark Evening of the Mind;
Tho' midſt my Books and Groves, from Courts retir'd,
Untun'd I ſing, by Love alone inſpir'd,
Still for a Friend diſdaining Cares and Years,
While Health's gay Smile his languid Numbers chears;
While inbred Comforts calm each peaceful Day,
And ſweet Content's dear Bleſſings ſwell his Lay;
While Zeal for thine and ev'ry public Good
Warms the weak Line, and thaws his frozen Blood;
Accept no venal Bard's enfeebled Song,
Whoſe Life or Verſe can never ſerve thee long:
Who Age endures, while with Delight he ſpends
His Fortune, to promote the nobleſt Ends:

Who, careleſs of his own, to thy juſt Praiſe
By PHILIP rous'd, this laſt Remembrance pays;
Chanting like ancient Swans before he dies,
And from this World of tedious Trifles flies!
Yet in bad Times, when Merit ſeems a Crime,
Its due Applauſe offends, tho' pall'd by Rhyme.
Jealous of thoſe who (taught from Heav'n) excel,
Men curb the Petulance of writing well.
They hate the Witty, and the Learn'd malign,
And, ſtung with Shame, at happy Pens repine.
Too proud to praiſe, too ſelfiſh to befriend,
With Pleaſure they condemn, with Pain commend.
A riſing State or Genius all oppoſe,
In both Succeſs and Grandeur raiſe them Foes.
As Froſts and Storms the Beauties of the Spring,
In their new Bloom, to ſure Deſtruction bring;
Watch'd in its Dawn is orient Worth purſu'd
By gloomy Spleen and black Ingratitude!
Thus venom'd Serpents in his Cradle ſtrove
To kill young HERCULES, tho' ſprung from JOVE.
Perplex'd with Doubts, I ſee the Riſks you run,
Where thoſe who venture moſt, are moſt undone.
Authors of old had only Fools to fear,
Now the half Scholar helps half Wits to ſneer.
Tho' Felons by the Book from Death are freed,
Writers are now condemn'd, becauſe they read;
Their Toils deſpis'd, by partial Judges try'd,
Readers that ſcarce can read, their Doom decide.
Nay, Men are prompteſt, Sir, to ſhew their Spite,
When ſome, like you, without groſs Errors write;
And, as our Appetites from ſtinted Food
Are ever in Proportion keen and good,
Still the leſs Cauſe appears to damn or blame,
Impaſſion'd more, infidious Tongues declaim.

So

So Diſputants, who Truth's calm Cauſe betray,
Are loudeſt where they know they've leaſt to ſay
And, while their lying Eloquence they vent,
Railing and Noiſe muſt paſs for Argument.
Alike are Authors and Projectors us'd;
Tho' moiling for our Good, they're both abus'd.
To nurſe this ſtarveling Iſle, in evil Days,
Loads thankleſs Want with Debts, which Slander pays;
And to write Books, to help this thoughtleſs Age,
Inflames reproachful Ignorance to Rage.
To write what all ſhunn'd, like ULYSSES' Bow,
Leſt the raſh Trial might their Weakneſs ſhew;
To draw the MACEDONIAN'S tow'ring Mind,
That with a Giant's Height o'erlook'd Mankind;
To mark his Courſe, like Comets that return
To Earth, and with their former Luſtre burn;
To trace his Schemes, while, with freſh Triumphs fir'd,
His daring Views to conquer Worlds aſpir'd;
To copy the Antique, yet paint his Soul
With RAPHAEL'S Grace from Nature thro' the Whole;
To ſhew ſo good a Spirit, Head, and Pen,
Are ſuch rank Inſults on this Race of Men,
That, as by Nature we're to Envy prone,
And hate all Merit that obſcures our own,
I fear you'll raiſe to ſuch a Height your Name,
That vengeful Malice muſt deſtroy your Fame.
Malign'd, traduc'd, thus ÆSCULAPIUS fell
By Thunderbolts, for ſerving Men too well!
Yet in theſe Volumes, Envy muſt confeſs,
Good Senſe is ſeen, and in a lovely Dreſs.
Oh! may thy Prince the World attentive keep,
(As oft he rous'd it from its ſlothful Sleep;)
Then will each Friend to Liberty be charm'd,
And every Heart that Virtue loves be warm'd.

A Zeal for righteous Deeds, a noble Scorn
For Crimes tho' thron'd, this gen'rous Work adorn.
Well have you turn'd hiſtoric Archives o'er,
And reſcu'd, from their Wrecks, your treaſur'd Store.
You've glean'd whate'er the letter'd Ancients knew,
And added more, a fine Arrangement too.
Nay, where they're ſilent, your Conjectures fill
The Vacancy with ſuch Addreſs and Skill,
We by our Loſſes gain, or their Neglects,
As from vaſt Ruins Art a Town erects.
Let Fools, turn'd Critics then, your Labours blame,
Whoſe Praiſe would Scandal be, their Cenſures Fame;
Tho' Slander growls, theſe poliſh'd Tomes are wrought
With the ſame Judgment that your Hero fought.
Rich from the Matter, richer from the Charms
With which a Love for GREECE each Section warms.
Faint Rolls of Annals ſhunn'd, your Taſte refin'd
Plans, from the Life, the Manners and the Mind,
Unfolds both Actors and their Actions too,
And lays their Hearts quite open to our View.
Here we diſcern blind Party's furious Heat,
Like Earthquakes tearing up the ſhatter'd State.
Here, Patriots, trace the Sources, whence the Crown
Of BRITAIN ſinks diminiſh'd in Renown;
High Poſts ador'd, Religion, ridicul'd,
A Scorn for Virtue, and a Luſt for Gold!
Luxurious Pride, and Ignorance careſs'd,
Skill, Courage, Public Spirit, Arts depreſs'd,
And true Deſert borne down by Intereſt!
Gaming and Drinking, Revelling and Show,
Preferr'd to all that's high and good below,
To all that us'd to raiſe the ENGLISH Name,
To CHURCHILL's Sword, or * RUSSELL's Patriot Flame!

* The great Lord RUSSELL, who in 1683 fell a Sacrifice to the Love of his Country and the Proteſtant Religion.

Such

Such Crimes, you ſhew, the Pow'r of ATHENS broke,
And bow'd her Neck to the proud Victor's Yoke.
Hence GREECE, enſlav'd, her abject Fate deplor'd,
While Bribes and Factions wing'd th'Invader's Sword.
Here Stateſmen taught, may dare to ſtand alone,
Without the Props of Placemen round the Throne.
If great by ALBION's riſing Strength they grow,
And raiſe an Int'reſt Penſions can't beſtow!
From PHILIP's Life, all Ranks may Wiſdom gain,
Subjects to guard their Rights, and Kings to reign;
PITT learn to ſpeak, and CHESTERFIELD to write,
And PRUSSIA's King, for Conqueſt born, to fight.
With nice Diſcernment varying Parts are brought
In Union, whence this beauteous Whole is wrought;
Blending mixt Authors in one lovely Maſs,
As burning CORINTH form'd her ſplendid Braſs.
To fix all Facts where Comments are at Strife,
And give to brooded Matter Heat and Life;
Each Scene as acted in our Sight to ſhew,
And o'er Confuſion, Grace and Order throw;
To make of half-writ Hiſt'ries one compleat,
Worthy a Prince, thro' Arms and Prudence great;
Oblivion ſpurn'd, to lift him near the Skies,
As Mortals crown'd by mighty Deeds can riſe;
Denotes a Soul, where Taſte and Science ſit
Inthron'd, to weigh what GREECE atchiev'd or writ.
Hence in his Majeſty of Mind array'd,
Nor by thoſe Spoilers DEATH and TIME decay'd,
Summ'd from looſe Fragments, PHILIP ſhines anew,
Cycles of Ages paſt, reſtor'd by you.
Hence his dead Lawrels, now freſh bloom'd, he wears,
While brighten'd from the Ruſt of waſting Years;
Adorn'd, repair'd, he rears his awful Head,
To rouſe the Living, and revive the Dead!

So

So midſt the Ruins, on ſome Claſſic Hill,
In ROME, the Connoiſſeur exerts his Skill;
The pregnant Caverns cautious he explores,
For Coins, Urns, Buſts, as Miners dig for Ores:
But if, while trenching up th'hiſtoric Ground,
Some Conſul's Statue, dear to Fame, is found;
Tho' maim'd and broke, he pieces up the Face,
Joins ſcatter'd Limbs, and aids each faded Grace,
The ſtrong Expreſſion, Attitude, and Air,
Aſſume new Life beneath the Artiſt's Care;
With priſtine Force the breathing Marble ſpeaks,
And ROME's old Warrior from his Sleep awakes!

GREEK Story, which, like captive JEWS confus'd,
No Marks diſtinct of Tribes or Dates had us'd,
You have clear'd up, and from that Chaos ſhewn
A well form'd fair Creation of your own.
Your Prince, tho' ſullied with Ambition's Crime,
(That royal Sin of Spirits too ſublime)
You ſtamp midſt Glory's Charms and Errors bright,
Like creſcent Moons, whoſe Spots obſcure their Light.
To teach ſurviving Kings, the Pen can raiſe
Dead Monarchs to recorded Shame or Praiſe;
But, juſt to Worth, his Faults you gently treat,
For thoſe ſlight Clouds ſhine where the Splendor's great.
Nay Heroes Faults oft ſerve, as Lees in Wines,
To make them work, which ſinking, all refines;
There human Frailties groſly to expoſe
Virtue's beſt Friends would level with her Foes.
Truth has her hid Reſerves, the Wiſe muſt own,
And dark Receſſes, which ſhould ne'er be ſhewn.
He writes without true Judgment, who reveals
Secrets, which modeſt Senſe from Fools conceals.
In Hiſt'ry, like Religion, Reaſon finds
Myſt'ries too high for low and vulgar Minds.

The Crowd may view whate'er demands the Light,
The reſt with Silence dwells, and loves the Night.
So, in Profile, ſkill'd Sculptors carv'd the Face
Of HANNIBAL, to veil his Eye's Diſgrace.
His native Beauties thus appear'd in View,
While caſual Blemiſhes unſeen withdrew.
Truth, blind with Age, and led by Falſehood wrong,
Now finds the couching Hand ſhe wiſh'd for long;
And, freed from Night's deep Gloom, and raving Dreams,
Bleſſes thine Art, and hails the Solar Beams.
Where Time's thick Miſts, with Men's Deluſions join'd,
Darken Events, there moſt thy Skill has ſhin'd,
For Light's the brighteſt Daughter of the Mind.
This both thy Works illumines with its Rays,
Warm, clear, and ſweet, as cloudleſs Summer Days.
Fair was thine Eldeſt born, as dawning Skies
Shew greater Spendor, yet will ſoon ariſe;
Here's one more fair; oh! may thy next prevail
O'er this, like JACOB catching ESAU's Heel,
The YOUNGEST NOBLEST—thus thy laſt may be
An Honour to Mankind, as well as Thee!
Yet is it ſtrange your earlieſt Works ſhould gain
That Maſt'ry aged Writers ſcarce attain.
Our Pen's firſt Efforts we on Trifles try,
All like th'ÆGYPTIAN Firſt-born, doom'd to die;
But, in this Piece, no Want of rip'ning Years,
Or the deep Themes which Sages boaſt, appears.
Such in long Toils for Wiſdom ſpend their Lives,
And purchaſe that, as JACOB earn'd his Wives;
Heav'n gave your Youth that Senſe Experience buys,
Time lends but Spectacles to older Eyes.
At your own Stage of Life, your PHILIP's Son,
The Earth ſubdu'd, had all his Lawrels won;

And,

And, as in Conqueſts, ſo in Letters too,
Genius can more than Time-taught Prudence do;
And, where inſpiring Virtue is their Aim,
Leads early Souls by Arts or Arms to Fame.
As PALLAS from JOVE's Head a Goddeſs ſprung
Compleat in Size and Grace, and wiſe as young;
So Nature's Gifts enlighten'd Spirits raiſe
To all their Heights, without a Length of Days!
Should Envy ſtill ſuggeſt ſuch Doubts as theſe,
How learn'd this Novice ev'ry Rule to pleaſe?
How found that myſtic Secret to excel,
To plan ſo right, and execute ſo well?
If Friendſhip never form'd a Thought unjuſt,
If I that dear, but partial Tie can truſt,
I'll name the Cauſe—'tis that the young Divine
Deigns in the lower Scenes of Truth to ſhine,
And, tho' more us'd to teach ſublimer Things,
Deſcends to ſpeak of Heroes and of Kings!
Thus Angels, when Men's Daughters bleſs'd their Arms,
Ador'd thoſe lovely Rivals of their Charms,
Till the grand Offspring of the genial Bed
Giants, tranſcending human Deeds, were bred!

SAMUEL MADDEN.

THE

THE

PREFACE.

THE hiſtories of ancient times, which ſeem moſt likely to engage the general attention, are ſuch as abound with extraordinary and ſurprizing events, great and glaring actions, aſtoniſhing viciſſitudes of fortune, and ſtriking inſtances of ſucceſs, apparently diſproportioned to the powers and abilities, or even to the expectations, of thoſe, whoſe bold attempts were thus wonderfully crowned. The hiſtory now preſented to the reader, it muſt be confeſſed, is of another nature. It leads him on gradually, through a ſeries of actions and events, many of them ſeemingly inconſiderable, but all operating regularly to produce one of the greateſt revolutions of power, which the annals of the heathen world afford. The ſlow and painful ſteps, by which PHILIP king of Macedon

warily and ſagaciouſly proceeded, with a patient reſolution, to ſtrengthen and to aggrandize his kingdom, to incorporate it with the illuſtrious nation of Greece, to ſubdue that nation, and to place himſelf at the head of its united powers; as they diſcover no leſs merit and abilities than that rapidity of conqueſt, which caſts ſuch glory round his ſon, and other heroic characters; ſo they may poſſibly appear no leſs worthy of attention, although the detail be frequently addreſſed rather to the judgment than to the imagination.

In this caſe indeed, the taſk of the hiſtorian is by far more difficult: his errors and imperfections more obvious and ſtriking. Great and ſurprizing actions ſupport themſelves, and animate the writer with that ſpirit and energy with which they ſhould be deſcribed. But to conduct the reader through the labyrinths of policy; to trace the progreſs of an artful, penetrating, and ſagacious prince, ſurrounded with dangers and difficulties, exactly and inceſſantly attentive to his deſigns, and wiſely chuſing and proportioning his inſtruments and means to the great ends which he propoſed; to diſcloſe the latent cauſes of the declenſion and ruin of nations, of the grandeur of kings, and the eſtabliſhment of empires;—theſe call for all the accuracy, all the judgment, of a writer.

In displaying the difficulties of his task, the author means not to insinuate, that he is possessed of any extraordinary abilities; but to bespeak the indulgence and pardon of the reader, for those imperfections, which his taste and judgment may, or rather must, necessarily discover in the following work; however the writer hath endeavoured, by a painful and laborious application, to avoid the guilt of any essential omissions. And he may possibly appear to have a better claim to this indulgence, when it is considered from what a variety of authors the following history is collected; and that his materials lie detached, and dispersed through so many of the great writers of antiquity: which were to be collected with care, united with propriety, and reconciled, where they disagreed, with truth, or at least with the appearance of probability: a task which required attention and accuracy, and other still higher accomplishments.

Theopompus, an historian cotemporary with Philip, collected a large and copious account of this prince's actions, of which time hath unhappily deprived us. The fragments of this historian, which Athenaeus hath preserved (if genuine) confirm the representations, which we find in ancient writers, of the severity and acrimony of Theopompus. Possibly, the corruption of those with whom Philip contended, as well as many

parts of this prince's conduct, (whatever greatneſs of ſoul, or elevation of genius, he poſſeſſed) might have juſtly merited this ſeverity. Had we not been deprived of his work, or even if Photius had tranſmitted to us the plan and general heads of his hiſtory, poſſibly we might have had many particulars both to admire and cenſure in this hero, which are now buried in eternal oblivion.

DIODORUS Siculus, in his ſixteenth book, hath given an abſtract of the hiſtory of PHILIP, collected, not only from Theopompus, but ſome other antient writers, whoſe names only have deſcended to us. His detail is frequently interrupted by the hiſtory of the affairs of Sicily; ſo as, in ſome ſort, to diſtract the attention of the reader, by the variety of objects. But this cannot ſo properly be cenſured as a fault, ſince the ſcheme of his hiſtory was general; and, whatever errors or omiſſions may be diſcovered in his account of PHILIP's actions, by comparing him with other writers, yet we muſt juſtly acknowledge our obligations to him, both as an hiſtorian, and as an accurate chronologer.

TROGUS Pompaeus intitled his univerſal hiſtory, Hiſtoria Philippica, either in imitation of Theopompus, or from a particular veneration for the king of Macedon. "Although he hath employed" (ſaith Olivier, an

an author of whom we ſhall immediately give ſome account) "but three books in reciting the actions of "this prince; yet he was perſuaded that theſe gave a "new appearance to the affairs and intereſts of the "world. And, in effect, the empires formed on the "ruins of that of Alexander, owe their foundation to "men trained up and taught by PHILIP. It is to be "preſumed, that Trogus preſerved many particulars "which his abbreviator hath neglected. There is "even a literal proof that this latter did not value "himſelf on his accuracy. Among ſome antient ma-"nuſcripts is found a ſummary of the Philippic hiſ-"tory, called Periochae Trogi: from which it appears, "that Juſtin hath not contented himſelf with reverſing "the order of facts, with omitting ſeveral eſſential ones, "and adding others; but that he hath related ſome, "in a manner totally different from his author."—If this be ſo, it affords an additional reaſon to juſtify the author of this work, in ſometimes neglecting, and ſometimes controverting, his authority.

AND, if Juſtin endeavoured to diffuſe ſome portion of the ſpirit and acrimony of Demoſthenes into the hiſtory of Trogus, Paulus Oroſius hath proceeded ſomewhat farther. His point was to prove, that the miſeries and enormities of the pagan world exceeded thoſe which mankind felt, from the time that Chriſtianity

was

was firſt propagated: and his zeal to ſupport his argument hath rendered his account of PHILIP's actions rather bordering on an invective, than a diſpaſſionate hiſtory: although he hath collected the facts from Juſtin into a ſmaller compaſs, with ſufficient art; and hath been rather more careful to preſerve the order of time.

THOUGH we have no life of PHILIP written by Plutarch; yet in thoſe of Pelopidas, Phocion, Demoſthenes, and Alexander, we have many particulars relative to this prince. And, had ſuch a valuable piece of antiquity deſcended to us, we might have found it rather made up of private anecdotes, calculated for marking out the temper and character of PHILIP, than a regular detail of facts, which might fully explain the whole ſcheme and ſyſtem of his conduct. In the lives of Phocion and Demoſthenes, he ſeems, as uſual, to ſuppoſe the reader already acquainted with the hiſtory of their time, which he relates in ſuch a manner, as that no common reader, who hath not recourſe to other works, can form a clear idea of it: and ſometimes in a manner by no means conſiſtent with other accounts of high authority. A regular and ample comment on his truly valuable Lives, to ſupply his defects, and to correct his inaccuracies as an hiſtorian, might make him to be read with greater ſatisfaction and utility. But, at preſent,

ient, the reader is to guard not only againſt theſe, but ſometimes againſt his prejudices: at leaſt, critics have attributed his unfavourable repreſentations of PHILIP, in his Lives, to this latter cauſe. In his moral works, however, he frequently does him ſufficient honour. He dwells on his maxims and ſallies of wit, on the inſtances of his condeſcenſion and humanity, with ſeeming pleaſure: and hath preſerved many agreeable anecdotes, which it would have been unpardonable in a modern compiler to paſs over, whatever pains the collecting and introducing them might coſt.

BESIDES the hiſtorians now mentioned, we are conſiderably indebted to others of the antient writers, from whom many particulars are collected relative to the preſent ſubject. Such are Athenaeus, Strabo, Pauſanias, Lucian, AElian, Polybius, Seneca, Pliny, and others. But the greateſt lights, the ampleſt ſupplement to the omiſſions and defects of hiſtory, are furniſhed by the noble and valuable remains of the great Athenian orators. And here the author muſt beſpeak all the candor of the learned reader, in judging of the uſe he hath made of their materials. They were undoubtedly the moſt capable of giving the cleareſt and moſt authentic account of affairs, in which they themſelves had ſo conſiderable a ſhare. Yet, in aſcertaining the force and extent of their teſtimony, in diſtinguiſhing between truth

truth and artifice, between the real or probable ſtate of facts, and the repreſentations of a vehement, impaſſioned, and perhaps intereſted ſpeaker, judgment, and ſagacity, and attention, are required: and here the defects of a writer muſt be particularly obſervable: not to mention the difference of ſentiment which neceſſarily ariſes in ſuch a caſe. If Iſocrates repreſents all the actions and deſigns of PHILIP in the faireſt and moſt advantageous light, the learned and judicious may not be intirely agreed, how far this is to be aſcribed to the inexperience and unſuſpecting honeſty, the benevolence and ſimplicity, of a recluſe rhetorician, unacquainted with the wiles of policy, and the corruptions of the great world. If, on the contrary, Demoſthenes burſts forth into the moſt animated indignation and abhorrence of this prince; if he loads him with the blackeſt imputations; it may not be agreed, how far we are to guard againſt the extravagance of an honeſt zeal, or the artifice of a popular leader. When two great rivals are contending for reputation, power, and all that is valuable in human life, if not for life itſelf, although the diſpute happily furniſhes us with many particulars of their public conduct, as well as that of their cotemporaries; although it hath preſerved many important inſtances of the policy, abilities, ſentiments, and paſſions, of the great actors in that ſcene in which the contending parties were engaged; yet what credit

is

is to be given to their different repreſentations, may ſometimes be thought by no means eaſy to determine, but a matter which may admit of ſome variety in opinion. When two competitors are violent againſt each other; when their moſt momentous intereſts are concerned in the conteſt; when they know that ſucceſs depends in a great meaſure on the preſent impreſſion made on the paſſions and imaginations of their judges; they muſt have more than ordinary integrity, if they are not tempted to paſs the bounds of truth and juſtice. And the contentions between Demoſthenes and AEſchines have diſcloſed ſome particulars, which render the integrity of both at leaſt ſuſpicious. Even in their repreſentations of facts, which might be ſuppoſed not ſo liable to fallacy and deception, we are often embarraſſed by the weight of contradictory evidence, and tempted to believe, that they ſometimes aſſerted, with a deliberate purpoſe of deceiving. Of this I ſhall take the liberty of laying before the reader one among many inſtances.

In that oration of Demoſthenes, in which he accuſes AEſchines of corruption and miſconduct in his management of a treaty which the Athenians concluded; in order to load his rival with public odium, he relates a particular incident highly to his diſhonour; and dwells upon it with all poſſible aggravations, and all the appearance of truth and ſincerity. He ſays, that, during his reſidence in

Macedon, he (AEſchines) was invited to an entertainment by one of his friends: that, in the courſe of the feſtivity, a woman was introduced, a native of Olynthus, a city which had been in alliance with Athens, which PHILIP had lately ſubdued, and whoſe inhabitants were now generally in a ſtate of ſlavery. This woman, ſaith Demoſthenes, was treated with the liberty which her preſent diſtreſſed condition ſeemed to allow, not with the decorum due to her former fortune. As ſhe was not yet inured to ſeverities, ſhe expreſſed her uneaſineſs and reſentment; which ſo provoked AEſchines, and ſome other gueſts, that, with unparalleled barbarity, they called in an attendant ſlave, who was ordered to laſh her without mercy; and would have put her to death, had it not been for the interpoſition of one man, to whom ſhe flew, imploring his protection; and who, with great difficulty, ſaved her from their drunken rage.—This the orator inſiſteth on as notorious; declares that it had raiſed the utmoſt indignation in Arcadia and Theſſaly, where it had been commonly ſpoken of; and offers to produce Diophantus, an Athenian of ſome eminence, as a witneſs to the truth of a fact, with which this citizen was well acquainted, and which he had before mentioned in the aſſembly.—One would imagine that nothing could be aſſerted more plauſibly, and with a greater appearance of truth and candor. Yet, when AEſchines comes to make his defence, we find him aſſerting, that the bare

bare mention of this had raiſed the utmoſt fury and indignation againſt the falſe accuſer; that Demoſthenes had actually attempted to ſuborn one Ariſtophanes, a native of Olynthus, to bear teſtimony to his malicious falſehood; that Ariſtophanes had rejected the infamous propoſition with horror; and, to atteſt the truth of all this, he produces the evidence not only of this Olynthian, but of two citizens of Athens.—Other paſſages may be obſerved in both the rival orators, which afford good reaſons for receiving their teſtimony with all due caution. If the author ſometimes appears to be determined to one particular ſide, and to aſſume the repreſentations of one of the parties as authentic; it would be preſumption to expect that the ſentiments of the learned reader, who examines his authority, muſt be ever exactly conſonant to his: and, if he ſometimes contents himſelf with relating the different repreſentations of the orators, without attempting to decide between them, this is a method which the hiſtorians of times and actions leſs remote and obſcure are ſometimes obliged to purſue.

THE orator Ariſtides, who lived about five hundred years after the death of PHILIP, made two orations againſt this prince, which are yet preſerved. They are written in the character of an ambaſſador ſuppoſed to be ſent to Thebes, to engage this ſtate to unite with.

the Athenians againſt Macedon. Had the oration which Demoſthenes really delivered on this occaſion been preſerved, it might have afforded many illuſtrations of the hiſtory of his time, as well as many noble proofs of his art and power of ſpeaking. But the topics on which Ariſtides enlarges, are common and well known; and ſcarcely any new materials can be extracted from him.—His abilities, as an orator, it is not to the preſent purpoſe to examine.

GEORGE Gemiſthius Pletho, a modern Greek, wrote a continuation of the hiſtory of Xenophon down to the death of PHILIP; a work ſufficiently accurate and well connected. Had he read thoſe authors which are now loſt, it might have been of conſiderable uſe; but his materials are taken intirely from writers well known, Diodorus Siculus and Plutarch: and therefore we are not to expect any new lights from him, or any information which may not be as well obtained by drawing from the ſame ſources.

THE modern compilers, who have treated this part of antient hiſtory, are perhaps already well known to the reader. Monſieur Tourreil, in his learned preface to his Tranſlation of the Philippic Orations of Demoſthenes, propoſes to ſupply the loſs of Theopompus, by collecting and uniting together the ſcattered remains of PHILIP's hiſtory.

hiſtory. But his collection is by no means ſuited to ſo magnificent a promiſe. It is confined within the compaſs of a very few pages, and is by no means ſo perfect and accurate as that of the learned Puffendorf, who hath given us ſhort but excellent and exact heads of this prince's actions, in the ſecond of his *Diſſertationes Academicae ſelectiores*, intitled, *de Rebus geſtis Philippi.*

THE labours of Rollin, on this ſubject, deſerve great commendations, whatever inadvertencies or omiſſions may be found in them. The nature of his work did not permit him to give it the full extent, which he himſelf thought that it merited; as appears by his wiſhing that ſome modern would undertake it particularly, and collect all the ſcattered remains of antiquity relative to the hiſtory of PHILIP. The ſame may be ſaid of the authors of the UNIVERSAL HISTORY, who, in their account of this prince, have diſcovered taſte, judgment, and learning, amidſt ſome leſs material errors, and ſome omiſſions, which might have been avoided, even conſiſtently with their plan.

WHAT Monſieur Rollin wiſhed to be executed, was undertaken by one of his countrymen, Claude-Matthieu Olivier, a native of Marſeilles, and Member of the Academy of Belles Lettres of that city: and ſome time after this writer's death, which happened in the year 1736, his

his work was publiſhed in two ſmall volumes, under the title of *Hiſtoire de Philippe*, &c. : a work to which the author muſt acknowledge himſelf greatly indebted, and whoſe publication makes it neceſſary for him to offer ſomething in juſtification of his preſent attempt.

OLIVIER appears plainly to have employed great aſſiduity in making his collection of materials, nor hath he diſcovered leſs genius and judgment in uſing them. It is ſaid that his attention to this work haſtened his diſſolution : and, unhappily, his papers fell into the hands of perſons by no means ſo well acquainted with the ſubject of them as the author himſelf. This ſeems to have been the reaſon that his authorities are frequently not quoted at all ; ſcarcely ever with any degree of accuracy ; and, in general, the quotations even ridiculouſly defective and erroneous ; which in a great meaſure defeats the advantages which a ſubſequent writer might derive from his labours. Had this author lived to finiſh and poliſh his hiſtory, a careful reviſal of the writers from whence he drew it, might have ſuggeſted to him many alterations, improvements, and corrections. As it ſtands at preſent, ſeveral inaccuracies appear to have eſcaped him ; many, and ſome material, omiſſions ; authorities ſometimes wreſted from their real and natural purport, or ſtretched beyond their due bounds, together with many faults in his arrangement, where we find the order of facts

facts and actions disturbed and reversed. Some of these imperfections the reader will find occasionally pointed out in the following history: by which he will judge, whether the author hath been severe in his censure, or rash in dissenting from Olivier; of whom he speaks with greater freedom, as he apprehends that a writer is not intirely accountable for the faults of a piece, to which he hath not put the last finishing hand. But there is one objection to be made to the whole tenor of this writer's history, and that is an objection which lies against most biographers: I mean, a strong prejudice and partiality in favour of his hero. "Unhappily" (saith he) "for the reputation of PHILIP, the city which opposed "his designs with most obstinacy, was that which gave "birth to the greatest orators of Greece: so that many "know PHILIP only as a prince, against whom Demosthenes delivered the master-pieces of eloquence."— The design of Olivier, therefore, was to form an *apology* (as he himself speaks) for this prince. And how far he was transported by his zeal, appears remarkably in his ingenious comparison between PHILIP and Alexander; in which his love to his hero hath betrayed him into some violations of historical truth, and even into some contradictions to his own history. The author's first intention was to have added this comparison, as well as that of Tourreil, between PHILIP and Caesar, to the present work; but, upon reflection, he resolved

rather

rather to deprive his hiſtory of theſe ornaments, than ſeem to take too great freedoms with the labours of other writers.

AND, if the obſervations he hath now made on the French writer do not exceed the bounds of truth and candor, it cannot be deemed preſumption, that he was not diſcouraged, by his work, from the purſuit of a deſign, undertaken ſome time before he had been made acquainted with it. At the ſame time that he hath endeavoured to give this hiſtory a greater extent and copiouſneſs than Mr. Olivier hath beſtowed on the ſubject, to avoid his errors, and to ſupply his omiſſions; he freely acknowledges the aſſiſtances he hath received from his learning and judgment; and, if at any time, in the courſe of this work, he hath neglected ſuch acknowledgment, he hopes that this declaration will free him from all ſuſpicions of ſo deſpicable a crime as plagiariſm. He is not conſcious of attempting to impoſe on the public by a tranſlation, or even a paraphraſe, of the French hiſtory. He hath followed the author of it, where this author himſelf followed the beſt leaders; he hath quitted his guidance, where he had any fears of being miſled.

AS to the importance and uſefulneſs of the ſubject itſelf, the learned reader is not to be informed of theſe: and,

and, as to the manner in which he hath treated it, nothing that might be here ſaid could excuſe or attone for its defects. From the nature of the work, it is impoſſible that every part of it can be equally intereſting and engaging. The judicious reader will be determined by the whole, and then pronounce equitably and candidly.—To prepare him for the peruſal of the following hiſtory, in which the council of Amphictyons acts ſo conſiderable a part, it ſeemed neceſſary to lay before him the nature and conſtitution of this famous body. Of theſe he will find a general account preſented to his view, in the form of a Preliminary Diſſertation; which is prefixed, not ſo much for the ſake of refining on thoſe learned men who have already treated of this ſubject, as to ſave the trouble of turning to other books.

I CANNOT cloſe this preface, without acknowledging my obligations to thoſe who have been kind enough to think my application to this ſubject merited their favour and encouragement. I am bound particularly to declare, that I owe the warmeſt and ſincereſt gratitude to the friendſhip of the Reverend Doctor SAMUEL MADDEN, a name which muſt be ever honoured and revered in *Ireland*, while it feels the happy effects of his extraordinary zeal and generous public ſpirit. That proof of his favourable ſentiments and regard to me, which is annexed to this work, I have the utmoſt reaſon to apprehend will do

more honour to the ardor of his benevolence, than to his true diſcernment of merit. I can only ſay, that had it been in my power to ſuppreſs it, the public ſhould never have known how far he was influenced by the partiality of friendſhip. For I apprehend that he muſt have more than an ordinary ſhare of ſelf-ſufficiency, who can liſten to the flattering ſuggeſtions of thoſe, whoſe affection will not permit them to view his faults with ſeverity, at the time when he is on the point of being expoſed to the accurate and judicious examination of the learned. But, whatever may be the fate of the author and his performance, he muſt ever reflect, with pride and pleaſure, that he had an opportunity of declaring thus publicly, that there is *another perſon*, by whom he hath been highly and particularly obliged; and that this work was undertaken at the deſire, and introduced to the world by the favour and patronage, of the generous friend to every uſeful and ornamental art, every attempt to improve or pleaſe mankind, the Right Honourable JAMES Lord Viſcount CHARLEMONT.

PRELIMINARY DISSERTATION

ON THE

Council of AMPHICTYONS.

ANTIENT Greece was inhabited by people, whoſe origin and language were the ſame; but their manners, cuſtoms, inſtitutions, and forms of government, in many reſpects, totally different [A]. Yet, amidſt this diverſity, their general principles were alſo the ſame, an ardor for liberty, and a ſtrict regard to the public good. "The Grecians," ſaith the learned

[A] Licebat Athenis eodem patre natam uxorem ducere, uterinam vero in matrimonio habere non ſolum nefarium erat, verum etiam inceſtuoſum: contra, Lycurgus, qui Lacedaemoniis, populo finitimo, leges tulit, germanarum inceſta eſſe conjugia voluit, uterinarum conſuetudinem indulſit. Rurſus huic populo quem ultimo memoravi, in uſu et moribus fuit, ea quae pro legibus obſervarent, non literis, ſed memoriae mandare: in illo autem viciſſim, ex legibus non ſcriptis jus dicere, cum capitis periculo conjunctum eſſe videbatur. Nemo erat Thebis Boeotiis tam nobilis imp. qui non et gratia et laude dignum duxit ſcienter tribiis canere, et pari eſſe in muſicis ac in bellicis fama: contra, ab Athenienſium moribus haec omnia aberant, et partim infamia, partim humilia atque ſervili homine digna habebantur. TAYLOR. Com. ad Marmor Sand. p. 53.

Boſſuet. Diſc. ſur l'Hiſt. Univ. Tom. 8. p. 285.

Biſhop of Meaux, " were naturally poſſeſſed of genius and valour, " which were timely cultivated by thoſe kings and colonies which " came from Egypt, who, by ſettling early in ſeveral parts of " Greece, ſpread through the whole country the excellent polity of " the Egyptians. Hence were learned the exerciſes of the body, " wreſtling, racing on foot, on horſeback, and in chariots, and all " the other exerciſes which were brought to perfection by the glo- " rious prizes of the Olympic games. But Greece derived ſtill more " important advantages from the Egyptians, that of wiſe laws and " inſtitutions; that of being taught a rational ſubmiſſion and ame- " nable deference to rightful power; that of being formed to a juſt " conception and ſtrict attention to the public intereſt. Its particular " inhabitants did not confine their regards to their own private affairs. " They did not conſider public difficulties merely as they affected " their own tranquillity, or that of their families; which they were " inſtructed to conſider as parts of a more extenſive body, that of their " ſtate or community. Such ſentiments were conſtantly tranſmitted " from the fathers to their children, who, from their infancy, were " taught to conſider their country as a common mother, to whom " they belonged no leſs than to their natural parents. The word " CIVILITY, among the Grecians, did not barely ſignify that " ſweetneſs and mutual deference which render men ſociable: their " ΑΝΗΡ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΟΣ was the man who conſidered himſelf " as a member of the ſtate; who ſubmitted his conduct to the laws; " who acted intirely under their direction; who conſpired with them " in promoting the general good; without any attempt to incroach " on the rights of individuals, or to violate the juſt equality of citi- " zens in the ſame community. The antient kings, who reigned in " the different parts of Greece, Minos, Cecrops, Theſeus, Codrus, " Temenes, Creſphontes, Euryſthenes, Patrocles, and others, diffu- " ſed this laudable ſpirit through the whole nation. They gained " popularity, not by flattering the people, but by procuring their " good, and eſtabliſhing the juſt authority of law."

A NUMBER

A NUMBER of neighbouring ſocieties, thus formed and modelled, became gradually to be conſidered as one body or nation, compoſed of ſo many diſtinct members, all united and connected together by intereſt and affection. As the good of each individual was ſubſervient to that of his community; ſo the good of each community was conſidered as ſubordinate to that of the whole nation. Hence aroſe a ſimilar ſpecies of CIVILITY, if it may be ſo called, which each ſociety owed to the general aſſemblage. Even amidſt thoſe conteſts and diſorders which unruly paſſions, or the accidental claſhing of intereſts, might produce, war had its laws and limitations; the univerſal intereſt of Greece was profeſſedly at leaſt the firſt and greateſt object of attention; the attempt of any ſtate to extend its power beyond the juſt and equitable bounds was conſidered as an injury to Greece in general: juſtice, moderation, equality, were ever ſtrenuouſly inforced, and all military conteſts carried on among the Greeks in a manner ſomewhat ſimilar to judicial controverſies in private ſocieties: and, while it was allowed thus to ſeek redreſs of particular injuries, the general rights of the contending parties were ſecured by the national laws, and demanded a juſt and ſcrupulous attention, even amidſt all the confuſion and violence of arms. Thus the great Athenian orator deſcribes the principles and ſentiments of the Greeks, ſpeaking of the ancient wars of Athens and Sparta: Οὑτω δ' αρχαιως εἰχον, μ αλλου δε ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΣ, ὡσθ' ὑδε χρημαθων ὠνεισθαι παρ ὑδενος ὑδεν· αλλ' ειναι ΝΟΜΙΜΟΝ τινα και προφαση του πολεμου. *Such was their ſimplicity, or rather* Dem. Phil. 3. Sect. 10. Ed. Dub. AEd. Acad. 1754.

their CIVILITY, (that is, their deference to the general laws of Greece, and their attention to the common good of that nation) *that corruption was never made the inſtrument of their ſucceſs; but they carried on a* LEGAL *and an open war.*

WHILE theſe principles preſerved their due vigour and influence, Greece continued a really united body, happy in itſelf, and formidable to its enemies. Many circumſtances contributed to form this union: and many inſtitutions were ſuggeſted, by the ſagacity of ſtateſmen and legiſlators,

legiſlators, to ſecure and confirm it. Of theſe, the famous COUNCIL OF AMPHICTYONS deſerves particular regard; whoſe origin and conſtitution are here to be explained, that the reader may come duly prepared to underſtand the hiſtory now preſented to him, in which this auguſt body makes ſo conſiderable a figure.

THE council of Amphictyons, like other inſtitutions of the ſame kind, was at firſt but inconſiderable; nor did it arrive to its full ſtrength and luſtre but by gradual advances, and in a long ſeries of years. Its firſt origin we are to aſcribe to Amphictyon, the ſon of Deucalion, an antient king of Theſſaly, as the authority of the Arundelian Marbles warrants us to determine. Their teſtimony is full and explicit, and, on account of the high antiquity of this monument, deſerves particular attention.— Αμφικτυων Δευκαλιωνος εβασιλευσεν εν Θερμοπυλαις, και συνηγε λαους περι τον ὁρον οἰκουντας, και ωνομασεν Αμφικτυονας, και Πυλαιαν, οὑτωρ και νυν ἐτι θυουσιν Αμφικτυονες.— "Amphictyon, the "ſon of Deucalion, reigned at Thermopylæ, and collected the "people bordering on his territory, and called them Amphictyons, "and *the aſſembly* Pylaea, in the place where the Amphictyons ſa-"crifice to this day." * Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, in the fourth book of his Roman Antiquities; Theopompus, as quoted by Harpocration on the word Αμφικτυονες; and Androtion, an antient writer quoted by * Pauſanias in his deſcription of Phocis; all concur with the Marbles of Paros, in aſcribing the inſtitution of this council to Amphictyon. Dionyſius indeed makes him the ſon of Hellen, the ſon of Deucalion. But to this we may juſtly oppoſe the authority abovementioned, as well as that of Philoponus, in his treatiſe on the Greek Dialects. Androtion aſſerts, that the convention was at firſt held at Delphi, and compoſed only of thoſe who lived in the neighbourhood of this city, and who were called not from Amphictyon, but Αμφικτιωνες, *the neighbouring inhabitants*. But to this again we muſt oppoſe the high authority of the Marbles, which ſeems to be confirmed by the names Πυλαια and Πυλαγορα, by which the council and

Prideaux. Mar. Ox. p. 160. Ed. Ox. 1676.

* p. m. 230.

* p. m. 323. Ed. Franc. fol. 1683.

and its members were ever called, in whatever place they were convened in ſucceeding times.

THE intention of Amphictyon, in inſtituting this aſſembly, was, that the children of Deucalion, who, at his deceaſe, divided the kingdom between them, ſhould have a common tribunal, to which they might appeal in all private conteſts; and a council, in which they might concert all meaſures neceſſary for their defence againſt their foreign enemies. And for theſe purpoſes, beſides thoſe laws by which each particular city was governed, he enacted others of general force and obligation to all, which were called Amphictyonic laws. By means of theſe, ſaith * Dionyſius, the people, thus united, continued in ſtrict and mutual amity; regarded each other as real brethren and countrymen; and were inabled to annoy and ſtrike terror into their barbarous enemies. Thermopylae was the limit which divided the territories of Amphictyon and Hellen, the two brothers; here, therefore, they built a temple to Ceres at the common charge, near the mouth of the river AEſopus, in which the members of the Amphictyonic council aſſembled to offer their ſacrifices, and to conſult about their common intereſt, twice in every year, in ſpring and autumn; and hence the names Πυλαια ἐαρινη και μετοπωρινη, the vernal and autumnal convention.

* in loc. cit.

Prideaux. Not. ad Chron. Mar. p. 122.

THE aſſembly, thus formed, was at firſt but ſmall, being wholly compoſed of thoſe people whom Deucalion had commanded, and who, from his ſon Hellen, were called ΕΛΛΗΝΕΣ. The Dorians and Ionians, who were deſcended from the poſterity of this Hellen, as yet had no being; nor were any of the Peloponneſians now accounted Hellenes, but were called Pelaſgi; nor were they diſpoſed to unite with the ſons of Deucalion, by whom they had been deprived of Theſſaly, and all that part of Greece which lay beyond the iſthmus. As Greece improved, and the Hellenes increaſed in number, new regulations became neceſſary: and accordingly we find, that, in ſome time

Ibid.

time after the original inſtitution, Acriſius, king of Argos, when, through fear of Perſeus, (who, as the oracle declared, was to kill him) he retired into Theſſaly, obſerved the defects of the Amphictyonic council, and undertook to new-model and regulate it; extended its privileges; augmented the number of its members; enacted new laws, by which the collective body was to be governed; and aſſigned to each ſtate one ſingle deputy, and one ſingle voice, to be enjoyed by ſome, in their own ſole right; by others, in conjunction with one or more inferior ſtates: and thus came to be conſidered as the founder of this famous repreſentative of the Hellenic body.

Strabo. L. 9. p. m. 420. Ed. Amſt. 1707.

FROM the time of Acriſius, the Amphictyons ſtill continued to hold one of their annual councils at Thermopylae, that of autumn. But it was now made a part of their function (and, in time of peace, became the moſt conſiderable part of it) to guard and protect the national religion. The vernal aſſembly therefore was held at Delphi, the great ſeat of the Grecian religion; the object of univerſal veneration; whither all people, Greeks and Barbarians, reſorted, to ſeek the advice and direction of the famous Pythian oracle. The immenſe quantity of wealth, the number of rich votive offerings, which the ſuperſtition of ſo many ages and nations had laviſhed on the temple, demanded the exacteſt care and moſt vigorous protection. The prodigious concourſe which attended there, at particular ſeaſons, naturally produced many conteſts, and required a well regulated polity, and the frequent interpoſition of a reſpectable and powerful juriſdiction. The Delphians themſelves were intruſted with the poſſeſſion and general guardianſhip of the temple: they attended intirely on the ſervice of the god, and were ſolely employed in the ceremonials of his religion: they were accounted in ſome ſort ſacred; the prieſts, the attendants, and as it were the family, of Apollo. So they are called by Lucian (in Phalarid. 1.) ἱεροὶ τε καὶ παρεδροι τῦ Πυθίυ, καὶ μονοις συνοικοι καὶ ὁμοσοφιοι. But although they enjoyed certain powers and privileges with reſpect to the temple, and could even grant ſome honours and favours

Dem. de Coron. Sect. 51. Ed. Foulke & Freind.

Van Dale Diſſertat. de Conc. Amph.

favours to particular perſons, ſuch as that of the Προμαντεια, or right of precedence in conſulting the oracle, as appears from an imperfect inſcription preſerved by Spon and Wheeler, and quoted by Van Dale [B]: yet ſtill were they ſubject to the inſpection and juriſdiction of the Amphictyons, who were the great conſervators and protectors of the ſhrine; and who, beſides their general care, appointed certain of their members, either by lot or rotation, to preſide over the temple; an honour which, according to Van Dale, was alſo called by the name Προμαντεια.

THE times of aſſembling we have ſaid were two in each year. The following hiſtory however affords an inſtance of the Amphictyons aſſuming a power of aſſembling oftener, on ſome extraordinary emergencies. But this ſeems to have been a corruption introduced by time, or the power of particular parties; and as ſuch we ſhall find it condemned and diſcountenanced. Here, however, we are to diſtinguiſh between the Συνεδριον Αμφικτυονων, the regular aſſembly formed of thoſe deputies only who had a right to vote, and who had theſe ſtated times of meeting; and the Εκκλησια, which muſt be here explained.

[B] The inſcription according to SPON:

....ΑΔΕΛΦΟ
.....ΑΝ. ΠΑΤΡΟΝΑ
....ΕΥΔΟΡΩΙ
....ΤΑΡΧΟΣ. ΒΟΙΩΤΟΙΣ.
...ΤΑΝΑΓΡΑΣ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ.
ΕΓΓΟΝΟΙΣ. ΠΡΟΞΕ
.....ΠΡΟΜΑΝΤΕΙΑΝ.
ΕΛΕΙΑΔΑΣΥΛΙΑΝ.
ΠΡΟΕΔΡΙΑΝ. ΠΡΟΔΙΚΙ....
ΑΝ. ΕΠΙΤΙΜΑΝ. ΚΑΘΑΠΕΡ.
....ΔΕΛΦΟΙΣ. ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ.
ΘΟΙΝΙΩΝΟΣ. ΒΟΥΛΕΥ
...ΝΓΩΝ. .....ΣΩΠΟΔΟΡΟΥ.
...ΡΑΚΛΕΙ ....ΑΔΑΜΟΤ.....

AEſch. in Cteſ. Sect. 39. Vallois. Diſſert. ſur les Amph. Vol. 3. Mem. des B. L. p. 207.

Whenever or wherever the council of Amphictyons was aſſembled, a great concourſe attended from all parts of Greece; to ſhare in the public games and ſpectacles which this council inſtituted and ſuperintended; and to expoſe their wares and merchandizes to public ſale. Theſe Greeks were always allowed to be preſent in the aſſembly, to obſerve the conduct of their repreſentatives, to aſſiſt, direct, and inſtruct them. When the council met at Delphi, the concourſe was ſtill farther increaſed, by the numbers who came to conſult the oracle, among whom were many perſons reſpectable by their ſtations and characters; and particularly the Θεωροι, or men commiſſioned to repair to Delphi by each ſtate, together with its Amphictyons, in order to conſult the oracle, to offer ſacrifices, and to aſſiſt in religious rites. All theſe perſons were not only permitted to be preſent in the council, but on extraordinary occaſions were ſummoned to attend. Thus an aſſembly extraordinary was ſometimes formed of the uſual and ordinary Amphictyonic deputies, and theſe additional numbers, called Εκκλησια. The learned Vallois is perſuaded that thoſe Greeks, which attended on the ſervice of the gods, are marked out by the words το κοινον των Αμφικτυονων, which occurs in one of the decrees quoted by AEſchines. And, if ſo, they ſeem not to have been excluded from voting in ſuch extraordinary aſſemblies; all reſolutions were at leaſt paſſed in their name, as well as in that of the ordinary Amphictyons. Εδοξε τοις Πυλαγοραις και τοις συνεδροις των Αμφικτυονων και το ΚΟΙΝΩ ΤΩΝ ΑΜΦΙΚΤΥΟΝΩΝ. "It is decreed by "the Pylagorae and aſſeſſors of the Amphictyons, and the commu- "nity of Amphictyons."

Ibid. p. 226.

Dem. de Coron. Sect. 51.

THE alterations, made in the council of Amphictyons at different times, ſeem to have occaſioned the difference in hiſtorians as to the number and names of the people who had a right to ſend repreſentatives to that aſſembly. Agreeably to the diſpoſitions made by Acriſius, twelve cities only were inveſted with this right, according to Strabo. AEſchines and Theopompus alſo confine it to twelve people, whom

whom the * orator calls, not πολεις, cities, but ἔθνη, a word denoting a collection of ſeveral particular communities. † Pauſanias alſo calls them γενη, a term of like ſignification.

* AEſchin. de falſa Leg. Sect. 36. Ed. Brooke.
† in loc. cit.

THE AMPHICTYONIC PEOPLE

According to AEſchines.	*To Theopompus.*	*To Pauſanias.*
THESSALIANS	IONIANS	IONIANS
BOEOTIANS	DORIANS	DOLOPES
DORIANS	PERRHAEBEANS	THESSALIANS
IONIANS	BOEOTIANS	AENIANS
PERRHAEBEANS	MAGNETES	MAGNETES
MAGNETES	ACHAEANS	MALEANS
LOCRIANS	PHTHIOTES	PHTHIOTES
OETEANS	MALEANS	DORIANS
PHTHIOTES	DOLOPES	PHOCIANS
MALEANS	AENIANS	LOCRI EPICNEMIDES.
PHOCIANS	DELPHIANS	
	PHOCIANS	

AESCHINES, we ſee, enumerates but eleven; yet he aſſerts the number to be twelve. By which it ſeems probable, that ſome copyiſt was guilty of an omiſſion, in leaving out one name, poſſibly that of the Dolopes. The Oeteans, in his liſt, are the ſame with the AEnians in the others, who were ſo called, from their vicinity to mount Oeta. And, amidſt all this diverſity of repreſentation, we may perceive there are ſome people whom all acknowledge as members of this council. Theſe are the Ionians, Dorians, Magnetes, Phthiotes, Phocians, and Malians. Difference of times and circumſtances might have produced many alterations; but the general intention of this aſſembly, and the invariable object of all its modellers and directors, was to form a compleat repreſentative of all Greece; and accordingly it is

called by Demosthenes το κοινον των Ἑλληνων Συνεδριον, and by Cicero, who exactly translates him, commune Graeciae concilium.

We are not therefore to imagine, that the twelve principal cities in the several districts, only, continued to send their deputies to the Amphictyonic council, (whatever might have been the case in earlier times) or that the twelve ΕΘΝΗ were so many distinct and separate societies, which had a right to send just twenty-four deputies (for the number of deputies from each state was doubled in some time after Acrisius.) Each of these districts, on the contrary, contained a number of Amphictyonic states, each of which, either by themselves, or in conjunction with others, had an equal right of sending their representatives. This cannot be better illustrated, and, at the same time, more fully proved, than by quoting the passage from * AEschines, to which we are indebted for this information: Κατηριθμησαμην δ' εθνη δωδεκα τὰ μετέχοντα τȣ ἱερȣ· Θετταλȣ̀ς, Βοιωτȣς, ȣ̓ Θηβαιȣς μονους, Δοριεας, Ιωνας, Περῤῥαιβȣς, Μαγνητας, Λοκρȣς, Οιταιȣς, Φθιωτας, Μαλεεῖς, Φωκεῖς· και τȣτων ἐδειξα ἑκαστον ἐθνος ἰσοψηφον γενομενον, το μεγιστον τω ἐλαττονι, τον ἡκοντα ἐκ Δωριȣ και Κυτινίȣ ἰσον δυναμενον Λακεδαιμονιοις, δυο γαρ ψεφȣς ἑκαστον φερει ἐθνος, παλιν ἐκ των Ιωνων τον Ερετριεα και Πριηνεα τοις Αθηναιοις, και τȣς ἀλλȣς κατα ταυτα. "I enumerated the twelve people who had a right to share "in the guardianship of the temple; the Thessalians, the Boeotians, "(not the Thebans alone) the Dorians, Ionians, Perrhebaeans, "Magnetes, Locrians, Oeteans, Phthiotes, Maleans, Phocians. Of "these I shewed that each particular state had an equal right of suf-"frage, the least with the greatest; the deputies of Dorium and of "Cytinium the same with the deputies of Lacedaemon: two voices "to each state: and again, of the Ionians, the Eretrian and Prie-"nean deputy an equal power with the Athenian: and so of the "rest."

* de falsa Leg. Sect. 36.

We

WE find a remarkable paſſage, in the life of Themiſtocles by Plutarch, which exactly agrees to this. The hiſtorian relates, that the Lacedaemonians endeavoured to have all thoſe cities excluded from the Amphictyonic council, that had refuſed to unite in the war againſt the Perſians; and that Themiſtocles, who conceived this to be a ſcheme for throwing the whole power of the council into the hands of the Lacedaemonians, oppoſed it ſtrenuouſly, and prevailed on the pylagorae to reject the propoſition: διδαξας ὡς τριακοντα και μια μοναι πολεις εἰσιν αἱ μεταχουσαι του πολεμου, και τουτων αἱ πλειϛς παντα-πασιν μικραι· δεινον οὐν εἰ της ἀλλης Ελλαδος ἐκποντου γενομενης, ἐπι ταις μεγιϛαις δυσιν ἢ τρισι πολεσιν ἐϛαι το Συνεδριον: *ſhewing that but one and thirty ſuch cities had ſhared in the war; and of theſe moſt were very ſmall; ſo that it would have alarming circumſtances, if the reſt of Greece ſhould be excluded from the council, and ſo the whole influence of it devolve to two or three principal cities.* Here, then, we find, that one and thirty cities made but a part of this council in the time of Themiſtocles. Non credo, ſaith * Van Dale, quod omnes iſtas XXXI civitates tunc ſingulas jus illud ſuffragii reverà poſſediſſe, ſed id voluiſſe Themiſtoclem, ut, ſi hae omnes iſtud jus obtinerent, reliquas non poſſe excludi, quod aeque civitates Graeciae eſſent. " I do " not believe, that every ſingle city of theſe thirty one really en- " joyed the right of ſuffrage: but that the meaning of Themiſtocles " is this, that, if they were all to be admitted to ſuch a right, the others could not be excluded, as theſe were equally ſtates of Greece." But where is the difficulty of believing what the hiſtorian aſſerts, and what is ſufficiently confirmed by collateral evidence? The queſtion was not whether any new right ſhould be conferred on the cities which had joined in the war, but whether the others ſhould be deprived of the right which they had before enjoyed. A few lines above the paſſage quoted, we have this ſentence: Φοϐηθεις μη Θετταλϐς και Αργειϐς ἐτι δε Θηϐαιους ἐκϐαλλοντας του Συνεδριου. κ. τ. λ. *apprehenſive leſt if the Theſſalians and Argians and Thebans ſhould be excluded from the aſſembly*, &c. But it is plain the Argians and Thebans

* Diſſert. de Conc. Amph.

Thebans ſat in the council, as members, the one of the Dorian, the other of the Boeotian body. Again, we find the Athenian orators ſpeaking of an Amphiſſaean, an Arcadian, a Pharſalian, as haranguing and acting in the Amphictyonic council: which cannot be naturally accounted for, but by ſuppoſing them to have been the repreſentatives of certain Amphictyonic ſtates which the twelve general diſtricts contained, all of which had an equal right of being repreſented. This might be thought a point too well eſtabliſhed to require to be enlarged upon, if the writers upon this ſubject had not either abſolutely denied it, or admitted it only with certain limitations and reſtrictions. * Prideaux, for inſtance, aſſerts that no more than twenty-four members ſat in this council: but how can this be reconciled with the declaration of AEſchines, that Dorium, Cytinium, Prienea, Eretria, had each two voices as well as Lacedaemon and Athens? Again, Van Dale ſuppoſes that the principal ſtates only ſent their deputies conſtantly, while the inferior cities were admitted to this privilege, at ſome particular times, which were determined by rotation. But it may be doubted whether this ſuppoſition can be thoroughly reconciled to that equality of power and ſuffrage, that ισοψηφον, which AEſchines ſpeaks of. In the time of * Pauſanias indeed, ſuch a regulation obtained as Van Dale mentions; and certain inferior cities were allowed only to ſend repreſentatives by turns, (as we ſhall hereafter have occaſion of obſerving:) but this ſeems to have been a new regulation, which had not obtained in any former times, but was eſtabliſhed on modelling this council in a new manner.

* Not. in Chron. Mar. p. 124.

* in Phoc. ut ſup.

We ſee, then, how this famous council was formed. The whole nation of Greece was divided into twelve diſtricts or provinces: each of theſe contained a certain number of Amphictyonic ſtates, or cities, each of which enjoyed an equal right of voting and determining in all affairs relative to the general intereſt. Other inferior cities were dependent on ſome of theſe, and, as members of their community, were alſo repreſented by the ſame deputies: and thus the aſſembly

bly of the Amphictyons became really and properly the repreſentative of the whole Hellenic body: το κοινον των Ἑλληνων Συνεδριον.

THIS idea of the Amphictyonic council may poſſibly ſerve to explain a remarkable paſſage in *Diodorus Siculus, which the interpreters and commentators ſeem to give up as totally inexplicable. It is in that decree which the Amphictyons made againſt the people of Phocis, at the concluſion of the famous ſacred war. One article of which runs thus: Των δ' εν Φοκευσι τριων πολεων περιελειν τα τειχη, και μεθεμιαν κοινωνιαν εἰναι τοις Φοκευσι τυ ἱερυ, μηδε τυ Αμφικτυονικου Συνεδριου. Utque trium in Phocide urbium moenia deſtruantur; nec templi deinceps, et Amphictyonum curiae Phocenſes ſint participes. The word τριων ſeems ſo very difficult to be explained, that it is ſuſpected to be an interpolation: but, even upon this ſuppoſition, it is obſerved by the commentators, that the article cannot be reconciled to another in the ſame decree, which imports, not that the cities of Phocis, or three cities of Phocis, ſhould be diſmantled, but that all the Phocian cities ſhould be razed to the ground. The article, now quoted, I would tranſlate in this manner: "That the walls of THE "three cities of the Phocians ſhall be pulled down; and that the "Phocians ſhall have no farther communication with the temple, "or the aſſembly of the Amphictyons." By THE THREE cities, ſo called by way of eminence, I would underſtand the three Amphictyonic cities of Phocis, or at leaſt the three Amphictyonic cities which had ſhared in the guilt of ſacrilege. The oath which each deputy in this council was obliged to take (as we ſhall immediately find) forbad the deſtruction of any one of theſe cities. Out of reſpect therefore to this oath, and to the right which theſe Amphictyonic cities of Phocis formerly enjoyed, I ſuppoſe that a diſtinction was made between theſe three, and the Phocian cities in general: and that, while the reſt were totally demoliſhed, their walls only were pulled down. And that ſuch a diſtinction was really made, and that, while a great number of cities in this ſtate were razed

* Lib. 16. Sect. 60. Ed. Amſt. 1746.

razed to their foundations, ſome were ſuffered to continue, appears from this, that, ſome years after this decree, Elataea, one of the cities of Phocis, was accounted a poſt of ſuch conſequence, that all Greece was thrown into the greateſt conſternation when Philip king of Macedon poſſeſſed himſelf of it. And this interpretation not only reconciles the two articles of the decree, which were deemed repugnant to each other, but alſo explains the addition of the ſecond clauſe in that now quoted, *and that the Phocians ſhall*, &c. which muſt otherwiſe appear not ſo natural at leaſt, if not difficult to be accounted for.

EACH of thoſe cities, which had a right to aſſiſt in the Amphictyonic council, was obliged to ſend its deputies to every meeting; and the number of theſe deputies was uſually and regularly two: the one entitled hieromnemon, to whom was particularly intruſted the care of religion and its rites. His office was annual, as appears from ſeveral decrees, in which his name is joined with that of the Athenian archon *επωνυμος*; and he was appointed by lot. The other deputy was called by the general name pylagoras, and was choſen by election for each particular meeting. Each of theſe deputies, however differing in their functions, enjoyed an equal power of determining all affairs relative to the general intereſt. And thus the cities which they repreſented, without any diſtinction or ſubordination, each gave two voices in the council of the Amphictyons, a privilege known by the name of the DOUBLE SUFFRAGE; which term, ſo frequent in the antient writings, is thus fully explained, without any refinement or difficulty. But, although the number of deputies ſeems to have been ſettled originally ſo as to anſwer to the number of votes which each city was allowed, yet, in proceſs of time, we find, that, on ſome extraordinary occaſions, the principal cities aſſumed a power of ſending more than one pylagoras to aſſiſt in a critical emergency, or to ſerve ſome purpoſe of a faction. Thus we ſhall find, in the following hiſtory, that the Athenians, at one particular time, nominated three pylagorae,

Suidas, Harpocration, et al.

Dem. de Coron. Sect. 51. Ariſtoph. in Nub. Dem. in Finoc. AEſchin. in Ctef. Sect. 30.

pylagorae, Midias, AEſchines, and Thraſicles. Prideaux aſſerts, that Demoſthenes alſo was joined with theſe; and ſpeaks with ſome ſeverity of thoſe who deny it. And yet poſſibly ſome arguments might be brought to diſprove this aſſertion, if, notwithſtanding the poſitive manner in which it is advanced, it was not ſufficiently diſcredited by coming intirely unſupported by any authority. But, in all caſes where the leading cities took the liberty of enlarging the number of their deputies, though ſuch procedure might ſerve to increaſe their ſecret influence, yet their power of voting continued the ſame. This was exactly aſcertained, without any regard to differences of grandeur or power in the different ſtates. Each enjoyed two voices, the leaſt as well as the greateſt; they who ſent but two deputies, and they whoſe affairs required a greater number.

WHEN the deputies, thus appointed, appeared to execute their commiſſion, they in the firſt place offered up their ſolemn ſacrifices to the gods; to Ceres, when they aſſembled at Thermopylae; when at Delphi, to Apollo, Diana, Latona, and Minerva: and, before they entered on their function, each deputy was obliged to take an oath, which AEſchines hath preſerved, or at leaſt ſome part of it; and which was conceived in theſe terms:

"I SWEAR that I will never ſubvert any Amphictyonic city: AEſch. de fal. Leg. Sect. 35.
"I will never ſtop the courſes of their waters either in war or peace.
"If any ſuch outrages ſhall be attempted, I will oppoſe them by
"force of arms, and deſtroy thoſe cities who may be guilty of ſuch
"attempts. If any devaſtations ſhall be committed in the territory
"of the god; if any ſhall be privy to ſuch offence, or entertain any
"deſign againſt the temple; I will make uſe of my feet, my hands,
"my whole force, to bring the offending party to condign puniſhment."

To render this oath ſtill more ſolemn, the following awful imprecations were ſubjoined:

AEſchin. in Ctef. Sect. 36.

"If any one ſhall violate any part of this ſolemn engagement, "whether city, private perſon, or country, may ſuch violators be "obnoxious to the vengeance of Apollo, Diana, Latona, and Mi- "nerva the provident. May their lands never produce their fruits: "may their women never bring forth children of the ſame nature "with their parents, but offſprings of an unnatural and monſtrous "kind: may they be for ever defeated in war, in judicial controver- "ſies, and in all civil tranſactions; and may they, their families, "and their whole race, be utterly deſtroyed: may they never offer "up an acceptable ſacrifice to Apollo, Diana, Latona, and Minerva "the provident; but may all their ſacred rights be for ever rejected."

As the hieromnemon was particularly intruſted with the affairs of religion, the dignity of his function gave him a ſuperiority over the pylagoras, who appears to have been obliged to pay him ſome kind of deference and ſubmiſſion. There is a paſſage in * AEſchines which ſeems to warrant this: Πεμψαμενος δε ὁ Ιερομνημων ἠξιου με εισελθειν εἰς το Συνεδριον, και εἰπειν τι προς τους Αμφικτυονας ὑπερ της πολεως, κ. τ. λ. "The hieromnemon ſent for me, and ſignified his directions "that I ſhould go into the aſſembly, and ſpeak to the Amphictyons "in behalf of the ſtate, &c." But this doth not fully prove that it was the peculiar province of the pylagoras to ſpeak in the council, as M. de Vallois ſuppoſes: for, at this particular time, the hieromnemon was ſick; and we may as well ſuppoſe that his directions to AEſchines were occaſioned by his preſent inability of appearing and ſpeaking, as that it was not a part of his office and power to ſpeak in the council. Indeed the principal weight of buſineſs ſeems to have fallen on the pylagorae, who, as they were choſen by election, were generally men of abilities; and from this cauſe ſeem to have become the ſpeakers (οἱ πεμπομενοι ἀπο των πολεων εἰς Αμφικτυονιαν ῥητορες. "Men "ſent

* In Ctef. Sect. 38.

" ſent from the ſeveral ſtates to the Amphictyonic council as " ſpeakers," as Suidas calls them) rather than from any particular power annexed to their office. As the hieromnemons, on the contrary, were appointed by lot, this office muſt have ſometimes devolved on men unacquainted with public buſineſs, and unſkilled in politics. And, when intrigue and corruption began to prevail in the Amphictyonic council, many inconveniencies muſt have ariſen from this. Artful ſtateſmen, and factious leaders, by affecting an high veneration for their authority, by alarming them with the real or pretended dangers to which religion was expoſed, abuſed their honeſt, though miſguided, zeal; and made them the dupes of their craft and policy. Thus we find * Demoſthenes complaining, το μελλον ου προοραμενους τους Ιερομνημονας πειθει ψηφισασθαι, κ. τ. λ. " He per- " ſuaded the hieromnemons, who did not foreſee the conſequences, " to vote, &c.

* de Coron. Sect. 49.

IT was the peculiar privilege of one of the hieromnemons to preſide in the council. He collected the votes; he reported the reſolutions: he had the power of convening the Εκκλησια, or general convention: (as we learn from * AEſchines: Κοτυφος ὁ τας γνωμας επιψεφιζων, εκκλησιαν εποιει των Αμφικτυονων. " Cottyphus, who collected the " voices, convened a general aſſembly of the Amphictyons.") His name was prefixed to every decree, together with his title, which was that of ſovereign pontiff or prieſt of Apollo. Of this * Demoſthenes furniſhes us with ſome inſtances: Επι Ιερεως Κλεινα γορου, εαρινης Πυλαιας εδοξε τοις Πυλαγοραις, κ. τ. λ. " In the pontificate of Clina- " goras, the vernal aſſembly, it is decreed by the pylagorae, &c." This honour of preſiding doth not ſeem to have been a privilege granted to power or grandeur, or to have been confined to the deputy of any one ſtate. We find in the Athenian orators, that Cottyphus, the preſident of the council, was the deputy either from Arcadia or Pharſalia, places of inferior note. It ſeems probable, therefore, that the hieromnemon of each Amphictyonic ſtate enjoyed this power in

* in Cteſ. Sect. 39.

* de Coron. Sect. 51.

rotation. Such ſeems to be the language of the following antient inſcription taken from Gruther, p. 129 and 1021, (if the inſcription be copied accurately:)

ΘΕΟΙΣ.
ΕΠΙ. ΑΡΙΣΤΑΓΟΡΑ. ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ. ΕΝ.
ΔΕΔΦΟΙΣ. ΠΥΛΑΙΑΣ. ΗΡΙΝΗΣ. ΙΕΡΟ
ΜΝΗΜΟΝΤΟΝΤΩΝ. ΑΙΤΟΛΩΝ. ΠΟ
ΛΕΜΑΡΧΟΥ. ΑΛΕΞΑΜΕΝΟΥ
ΔΑΜΩΝΟΣ.

*

BUT, whatever honours might have been annexed to the office of hieromnemon, the real equality of power was ſtill ſcrupulouſly obſerved; and even all appearances of ſuperiority, all forms of ſpeaking or writing, that might point out any difference between the members of the council, avoided with particular delicacy and politeneſs. Of this we have an inſtance in the form of an Amphictyonic decree, as it is explained by M. de Vallois: Εδοξε τοις Πυλαγοραις, και τοις Συνεδροις των Αμφικτυονων, και τω κοινω των Αμφικτυονων. "It is "decreed by the pylagorae, and *the other* aſſeſſors in the Amphictyonic "council, and by the community of the Amphictyons." By the Συνεδροις, according to this author, muſt be underſtood the hieromnemons, as the council was compoſed only of the two orders. Here, then, we find the hieromnemons named after the pylagorae. And the reaſon ſeems to him to be this: The office of the former was to collect the votes, to pronounce the decrees, and to reduce them to writing. To name themſelves in the firſt place would have been a violation of that decorum to which the Greeks ever carefully adhered; and, at the ſame time, their prerogative was to be preſerved. They therefore choſe to ſubſtitute the term Συνεδροι, in the place of their

Dem. ut ſupra.

their title Ιερομνημονες, in order to preſerve the reſpect due to their collegues, and, at the ſame time, not to derogate from the honour annexed to their own rank. As to the laſt clauſe, το κοινον των Αμφικτυονων, it hath been already explained.

SUCH was the conſtitution of this famous Grecian council. As to the diſputes of particular perſons, it was accounted beneath the dignity of the Amphictyons to take cognizance of them. Nor do we hear of any private man ſummoned to appear, or condemned in this aſſembly, except Ephialtes, who, when the Spartans poſſeſſed themſelves of Thermopylae, under the command of Leonidas, conducted the Perſians over the Oetean mountains into Greece. But all offences againſt religion, all inſtances of impiety and profanation, all conteſts between the Grecian ſtates and cities, came under the particular cognizance of the Amphictyons, who had a right to determine, to impoſe fines, and even to levy forces, and to make war on thoſe who preſumed to rebel againſt their ſovereign authority. The antient writings afford us ſeveral inſtances of the interpoſition of this their authority, ſome of which it may not be improper to lay before the reader. Prideaux. Not. in Chron. Marm. p. 125.

AFTER the famous naval victory at Salamis, where Themiſtocles deſtroyed the fleet of Xerxes; and the battle of Plataea, in which the Perſians received a total overthrow by the arms of Greece, conducted by Pauſanias the Spartan, and Ariſtides the Athenian; the Greeks conſecrated a golden tripod to Apollo, in acknowledgment of two ſuch ſignal ſucceſſes. Pauſanias, who was choſen to depoſit this offering, from an arrogant ambition of immortalizing his own glory, and that of his country, aſſumed to himſelf the whole honour of this offering, and inſcribed the following verſes on the tripod: Demoſth. in Neaer.

Ελληνων αρχηγος, επει στρατον ωλεσε Μηδων
Παυσανιας Φοιβῳ μνημ' ανεθηκε τοδε.

"Pauſanias, general of the Greeks, when he had deſtroyed the army

"of

" of the Medes, dedicated this memorial of his victory to Apollo." The people of Plataea, who had contributed conſiderably to the ſucceſs, conceiving a juſt indignation at this procedure of Pauſanias, ſummoned the Lacedaemonians to appear before the Amphictyons, who condemned them to pay a fine of a thouſand talents to the confederates, who had been injured and inſulted by this inſcription. It doth not appear whether or no this fine was rigidly exacted: but it is certain that the Lacedaemonians were obliged to efface this inſcription, and, in the place of it, to ſubſtitute the names, not of the Plataeans only, but of all the confederate cities, which contributed to the expence of the votive tripod, and the ſucceſs which had occaſioned this offering to be made. Thucydides indeed, towards the end of his firſt book, and from him Plutarch, at the end of his treatiſe on the Malignity of Herodotus, aſſerts that the Lacedaemonians voluntarily effaced this inſcription, when they had been informed of the general indignation with which the Greeks received it. But ſuch a confeſſion of their fault doth not ſeem to agree with the fierce and haughty temper of this people; and the implacable reſentment, with which they purſued the Plataeans, ſeems an argument of the reluctance with which, on this occaſion, they ſubmitted to a ſuperior authority.

Vid. Taylor. Comment. ad Marm. Sand. p. 19.

ANOTHER inſtance of the power and authority of the Amphictyons appears in the conteſt between the Athenians and Delians, concerning the patronage of the temple of Apollo in Delos. This iſland had long acknowledged the juriſdiction of the Athenians, who aſſumed the whole care of the temple, which Eryſicthon, the ſon of Cecrops, was ſaid to have erected; and, in many inſtances, exerciſed a tyrannic power over the inhabitants. About the end of the Peloponneſian war, the Delians made ſome ineffectual remonſtrances againſt the injuſtice of the Athenian claim to the property of their iſland, and the guardianſhip of their temple; but, in the hundred and ſeventh, or hundred and eighth Olympiad, they brought their cauſe before the Amphictyonic council, encouraged poſſibly by the enemies

of

of Athens. On this occaſion Hyperides was, by the interpoſition of the Areopagites, appointed to defend the right of his country, and delivered his famous Deliac oration; and probably with ſucceſs, though the antients do not particularly inform us of the event of this diſpute. Dem. de Coron. Sect. 42.

PLUTARCH, in the life of Cimon, takes notice of the inhabitants of the iſland Scyros being fined by the Amphictyons, for a violation of the law of nations, in plundering thoſe who brought merchandizes into their own port.

THE ſame author, in the concluſion of his treatiſe intitled Κεφαλαιων καταγραφη Ελληνικα, hath recorded, that, at a time when certain of the Peloponneſians were deputed to repair to Delphi, in order to conſult the oracle, in their way they ſtopped at Megara, and diſpoſed themſelves, with their wives and children, in their carriages, in order to paſs the night. The Megareans, with a brutal inſolence and cruelty, which were partly the effects of drunkenneſs, overturned theſe carriages into an adjacent lake, by which ſome of the Peloponneſians were drowned. This was an outrage which particularly demanded the interpoſition of the Amphictyons, as religion was affronted by the violation of the reverence due to the perſons and commiſſion of theſe Peloponneſians. This council therefore exerted its authority, and inflicted ſevere puniſhment on the Megareans; condemning ſome capitally, and baniſhing others who had not ſhared ſo largely in the offence.

QUINCTILIAN informs us, (in his fifth book and tenth chapter de Inſt. Orat.) that, when Alexander demoliſhed Thebes, he there found an authentic record, by which it appeared that the Thebans had lent two hundred talents to the Theſſalians: and that, in conſideration of the ſervices he had received from the Theſſalian cavalry, he cancelled the deed. When Thebes had been reſtored by Caſſander, this

this ſtate demanded the repayment of the loan; and brought its ſuit before the council of the Amphictyons.

CICERO (de Inventione, L. 2.) relates, that the Thebans, having gained a victory over the Lacedaemonians, inſtead of ſetting up a ſlight trophy, which might continue but for a time, according to the antient moderation of the Greeks, erected one of braſs, and were accuſed of this inſolent attempt to perpetuate the memory of Grecian diſcord, before the council of the Amphictyons.

THESE two laſt inſtances indeed may poſſibly have been no more than fictions, invented by the teachers of oratory, as ſubjects for declamation, in order to exerciſe their ſcholars. The power of this council is however fully proved by the other examples, and much more by thoſe religious wars which were undertaken by their authority, and which the reader will find related at large in the following hiſtory.

WHILE the generous principles, on which this illuſtrious body was firſt formed, continued to preſerve their due vigour, the Amphictyons of conſequence were reſpectable, auguſt, and powerful. When the nation itſelf began to degenerate, its repreſentative of courſe ſhared in the general corruption. Selfiſh, luxurious, and venal conſtituents committed the care of their intereſts to men who gratified their paſſions, with an intent to abuſe the truſt repoſed in them. We find that, in the time of Philip, the popular leaders, in one particular ſtate, were ſo totally loſt to all ſenſe of decency, that they openly avowed their proſtitution and corruption, which were made a matter of mirth to their fellow-citizens. And, as the degeneracy was in a great degree univerſal through Greece, it ſeems highly probable, that moſt of thoſe, who were deputed to ſit in the council of the Amphictyons, came prepared to earn the wages of iniquity, and to devote themſelves intirely to the ſervice of a crafty and enterprizing prince, who

Dem. Phil. 3. Sect. 8.

who could pay them liberally, without regard to their own honour, the intereſt of their community, or the general good of Greece. And the natural and neceſſary conſequences of ſuch depravity were weakneſs and contempt.

THE decline of this council we may therefore date from the time when Philip king of Macedon began to practiſe with its members, and prevailed to have his kingdom annexed to the Hellenic body. It continued, however, for ages after the deſtruction of Grecian liberty, to aſſemble and to exerciſe ſome remains of its authority. Not only the Phocians, but the Lacedaemonians, and all the Dorians, are ſaid by * Pauſanias to have been excluded from the council at the concluſion of the ſecond ſacred war. The Phocians, however, afterwards recovered their ſeat by the ſervices which they performed in defence of Delphi, when that city was beſieged by the Gauls. When Auguſtus, the Roman emperor, had built Nicopolis, in honour of his victory at Actium, he ordered that this new city ſhould be admitted into the council, and enjoy the power of ſuffrage, which was before poſſeſſed by the Magnetes, Maleans, AEnians, and Phthiotes (who were now ordered to unite, and to make one Amphictyonic ſtate with Theſſaly) and by the Dolopes (a people at that time loſt.) In the time of Pauſanias, who lived in the reign of Antoninus Pius, the Amphictyonic cities were thirty; but of theſe the cities of Athens, Delphi, and Nicopolis, only ſent their deputies conſtantly, the reſt at particular times in rotation. But as their care was now intirely confined to the rites of their idolatrous worſhip; and as theſe came to be forbidden in the time of Conſtantine; this famous council of Amphictyons ſeems to have fallen, together with their temple and their religion.

* in loc. cit. Ibid.

Prid. Not. in Chron. Marm. p. 127.

ILLYRIS
TRIBALLI
PONTUS
EUXINUS
GRAECIA
ITALIA
DODANIA
THRACIA
PAEONIA
MYGDONIA
PROPONTIS
ASIA
Illyricae gentes
Epidamnus
Parthinum
Corcyra
Cephalonia I.
SICULUM MARE
Sinus
ADRIATICUM
THESSALIA
LOCRIS
PHOCIS
BOEOTIA
ACHAIA
ELIS
PELOPONNESUS
ARCADIA
LACONIA
MESSENIA
MARE AEGAEUM
EUBOEA I.
MYSIA
TROAS
AEOLIS
IONIA
LYDIA
CARIA
DORIS
Sporades
MARE CRETICUM
CARPATHIUM MARE
CRETA
ANTIENT GREECE
and the
ADJACENT COUNTRIES
designed
for the HISTORY of
Philip King of Macedon

THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE AND REIGN OF *PHILIP* KING of MACEDON.

BOOK THE FIRST.

BOOK I. SECTION I.

CONTENTS.

MACEDON deſcribed.—The original ſettlement of Caranus at Edeſſa.—He founds the kingdom of Macedon.—The regal power; religion; manners; and original boundaries of his kingdom.—His ſucceſſors.—Perdiccas the firſt.—Argaeus.—Amyntas the firſt.—The deputies of Megabyzus entertained at his court.—Alexander the firſt.—His merit and abilities.—Perdiccas the ſecond.—His policy.—Original eſtabliſhment of the united ſtates of Olynthus.—Hiſtory of Amphipolis.—Archelaus.—His character.—Is killed by Craterus.—Oreſtes.—AEropus.—Pauſanias.—Amyntas the ſecond, father of Philip.—Is ſupported by Derdas.—Marries Eurydicè.—Defeated by the Illyrians, who eſtabliſh Argaeus on the throne.—His kingdom expoſed to the incurſions of Theſſaly and Olynthus.—Amyntas reſigns the remaining part of his territories to the Olynthians: but is reſtored by the Theſſalians, and reclaims them.—Favoured by a particular event.—The birth of PHILIP. *—Sparta and Macedon unite againſt Olynthus.—The conduct of Sparta explained.—Eudamidas ſent into Thrace.—Phoebidas ſeizes the citadel of Thebes.—Actions in the Olynthian war.—Death of Teleutias.—of Ageſipolis.—Siege of Olynthus by Poliſtiades.—A peace.—Its effect on the fortune of Amyntas.—His attention to the commotions in Greece.—The citadel of Thebes recovered by Pelopidas.—The reſtauration of the Athenian power.—Amyntas recommends himſelf to the friendſhip of the Athenians, by acknowledging their right to Amphipolis.—The wicked deſigns of Eurydicè.—Death of Amyntas.—Alexander the ſecond.—Is obliged to pay tribute to the Illyrians: to whom his brother Philip is given as an hoſtage.—Alexander is killed*

by Ptolomy.—Who is dethroned by Pauſanias.—Pathetic addreſs of Eurydicè to Iphicrates.—Perdiccas.—Diſorders in Macedon.—Pelopidas eſtabliſhes Perdiccas on the Throne.—Philip conducted to Thebes.—Character of Epaminondas.—Education of Philip.—Obſervation of Plutarch.—Philip's excurſions from Thebes.—His firſt interview with Olympias.—Ptolomy raiſes new diſorders in Macedon.—He ſubmits to Pelopidas.—Death of Pelopidas.—of Ptolomy.—Character of Perdiccas.—He oppoſes the Athenians in their attempts to recover Amphipolis.—The truce of Calliſthenes.—Death of Epaminondas.—The effects of this event on Macedon.—Perdiccas defeated, and killed by the Illyrians.—The diſtreſſes of the kingdom.

THE LIFE and REIGN OF PHILIP King of MACEDON.

BOOK the FIRST.

SECTION I.

THE founder of the Macedonian greatneſs, whoſe actions are to be the ſubject of this hiſtory, was by no means of the number of thoſe princes who were aſſiſted by the advantages of an illuſtrious country, who inherited the opulence and force of ſplendid and extenſive dominions, or were ſtrengthened by the acquiſitions, and animated by the atchievements, of a long train of renowned anceſtry. To his own abilities alone did PHILIP owe his elevation; and appears equally great, and equally the object of admiration, in ſurmounting the difficulties attending on his infant power, as in his maturer and more extenſive fortune. But before we proceed to relate thoſe actions in which his vigour, courage, and policy, were ſo eminently diſplayed; before we attempt to trace his gradual progreſs through all the various obſtacles which ſurrounded him, to that conſummate

mate greatneſs which his ambition preſented as the proper object of his views, and his abilities happily acquired; it will be previouſly neceſſary, to detain the reader for a while, by a brief account of that kingdom which he governed, and of thoſe actions of his predeceſſors, which tend more immediately to illuſtrate THE HISTORY OF PHILIP.

THE kingdom of Macedon, in its moſt flouriſhing condition, (as a compariſon of the different deſcriptions which antiquity affords directs us to determine) contained all that extent of territory, which lies to the north of Theſſaly and Epirus, ſeparated from the one, by the mountains Pelion, Olympus, and Oſſa; and from the other, by Pindus and the Chaonian mountains. The river Neſſus, and the Egean ſea, divided by three peninſulas, into the Thermaic, Toronaic, Singitic, and Strymonic bays, were its eaſtern boundaries. On the north, the mountains Pangaeus, Hoemus, Orbelus, and Scardus, divided and protected it from the Dardani, Triballi, and Illyrians. On the weſt it was waſhed by the Adriatic and Ionian ſea, extending on that ſide from the river Liſſus, to the Chelidnus, and the entrance into Epirus. Within this tract, the antient geographers recount no leſs than one hundred and fifty different people, who, in the earlier times, lived independent of each other; enacted their diſtinct laws, and adminiſtered their ſeveral governments, while their habit, language, and unpoliſhed manners, were the ſame. Nor did Macedon acquire that extent which hath been deſcribed, but by a ſlow and gradual progreſs, and in a long ſeries of years: when the abilities of that prince, who is the ſubject of this hiſtory, enabled him to reduce all the neighbouring powers; to extend his territories far beyond their antient limits, and to add his country, hitherto obſcure and barbarous, to the renowned body of Greece.

Crophii Antiq. Maced. p. 7.

Plin. Hiſt. Nat. L. 4. C. 10.

Pomp. Mela de ſitu Orbis L. 2. C. 3.

CARANUS, an Argian by birth, and a deſcendant from Hercules in the ſixteenth degree, according to *Velleius, is ſaid to have been the original founder of this kingdom. The difficulties of his family, or his own ambition, determined him to forſake his native country, according to the cuſtom of thoſe early ages, to ſeek ſome new ſettlement, and to create

CARANUS. Juſtin L. 7. C. 1.

*L. 1, C. 6.

Juſtin ut ſupra.

create that power and fortune for himſelf, which his native land denied him. At the head of a choſen band of Greeks, whom fortune had obliged, or glory animated, to the undertaking, he marched out, and pierced into the midland part of that diſtrict which hath been deſcribed, then called Emathia; and encamped in the neighbourhood of Edeſſa its capital. On a ſudden, the ſky was overcaſt, a great ſtorm aroſe, and a herd of goats was obſerved to fly for ſhelter to the city. The oracle was ſaid to have promiſed, that "goats ſhould conduct him to his "ſettlement:" the preſent accident recalled this prediction to his mind; and, thus encouraged, his men flew after theſe their deſtined leaders; and ſurprized Edeſſa. In commemoration of this event, Caranus, now lord of the city, changed its name to AEgae: and goats, which are called by that name among the Greeks, were appointed the enſigns of his army, and of his new country. The neighbouring people ſoon roſe up in arms to oppoſe this new ſettlement, but proved unequal to Caranus and his valiant Greeks. * Pauſanias, in his deſcription of Chaeronea, records a tradition, which hath been thought worthy to be obſerved, as it is an inſtance of the manner by which maxims and cuſtoms come to be eſtabliſhed in kingdoms, and of which poſterity frequently find it difficult to aſſign a reaſonable cauſe. Among other princes, againſt whom Caranus was obliged to turn his arms, he attacked Ciſſaeus, the ſovereign of a ſmall territory, ſouth of his new kingdom, and having defeated him, erected a trophy according to the Grecian cuſtom. An enormous lion, which hunger had brought from a foreſt in the neighbourhood of mount Olympus, fell on this trophy, overturned and demoliſhed it. This the conqueror underſtood as a warning from heaven to treat the vanquiſhed with a juſter moderation, inſtead of inſulting and irritating them by thoſe monuments of their defeat: From that time, therefore, it became an eſtabliſhed rule never to erect a trophy, and was obſerved as a maxim of ſtate by his ſucceſſors. But whether Philip and Alexander paid a ſtrict attention to this maxim, as the author abovementioned aſſerts, may come to be conſidered hereafter.

* In Boeot. p. 315.

Univ. Hiſt. Fol. Vol. 3. p. 271.

FROM

FROM hence forward Caranus ſought to gain the affection of the neighbouring nations, and to reconcile them to his government, rather than to oppreſs or to extirpate them. In their defence, or to repel a danger which threatened his ſettlement, he is ſaid, by the abbreviator of Trogus, to have drove out Midas king of Phrygia, who had poſſeſſed himſelf of ſome part of the adjacent territory: and thus having gradually reduced or perſuaded the ſeveral neighbouring ſtates to a ſubmiſſion, he laid the firſt foundations of the Macedonian empire *.

Juſt. L. 7. C. 1.

*An. M. 4387. according to Euſeb.

THE adventurers, who attended Caranus, muſt have had that valour which the enterprize demanded: his new ſubjects were poſſeſſed of the ſame virtue, the moſt obvious and ſtriking proof of merit among a barbarous and unpoliſhed people, and neceſſary in a diſordered age of violence and bloodſhed. The king boaſted a deſcent from an illuſtrious hero, the deity of the warlike, and patron of hardy and brave atchievements. Valour therefore naturally became the great diſtinguiſhing character of this new kingdom, and was neceſſarily cultivated and encouraged, as the qualification eſſential to its very being.

THE principles of civil government which Greece had taught, her ſons adopted; and, in all the inſtitutions which the preſent ſettlement demanded, a juſt attention was paid to the ſubject's liberty and welfare. Though the form was monarchical, yet the regal power was circumſcribed. The king governed according to the exacteſt rules of natural equity; ſo that the Macedonians, ſaith * Arrian, preſerved as great, or greater liberty, than was enjoyed under moſt of the Grecian commonwealths: and Lucian, in his dialogue between Philip and Alexander, calls them freemen. This was the original conſtitution; nor was it ſubverted but with the kingdom. In war the king, though abſolute in his command, was yet obliged to treat his ſoldiers with tenderneſs and affection; in peace he adminiſtered juſtice, and heard and redreſſed the grievances of his ſubjects in perſon. The preſent hiſtory will afford inſtances of this cuſtom; and the hiſtorian * Livy aſſures us, it was obſerved by Perſeus, the very laſt of the royal race of Macedon. The

* L. 4.

Crophius p. 39, 40.

* L. 41. C. 20. L. 42. C. 67.

lives

lives of the people were by no means at the diſpoſal of their king: nor even to their lateſt times could a Macedonian be regularly and legally put to death, until his ſentence was confirmed by the people in time of peace, or by the army in the field. [A] Curt. L. 6. C. 8, 25. Polyb. L. 5. C. 27.

THEIR religion was alſo borrowed from Greece, with all its rites and ceremonies. Jupiter their protector, Hercules the founder of the royal race, and Diana the goddeſs of hunting, the ſport of the manly and robuſt, were held in particular honour by the Macedonians, as appears from many of their coins. Manners, cuſtoms, and inſtitutions, were alſo eſtabliſhed, to inſpire reſolution in the mind, and to give vigour and ſtrength to the body. [B]

THUS was the kingdom of Macedon ſo modelled by the principles of equity, juſtice, and moderation, in the prince, and valour, and national loyalty, in the people, as to promiſe happineſs and ſtability; but in its infancy was ſurrounded by many ſecret or avowed enemies, many jealous and wavering allies and dependents, equally ſuſpecting or ſuſpected. On the weſt lay the Lynceſtae and Elimiotae; on the north the Pelagonians, Eordians, and Edonians; the Bottieans and Pierians on the eaſt; and on the ſouth the Magnetes and Dolopians. Moſt of theſe people had their particular ſovereigns, who acknowledged their dependence on Caranus and his ſucceſſors, or roſe up in arms againſt them, according to the different viciſſitudes of their fortune and power.

AMONG the earlier kings of Macedon, Perdiccas, the firſt of the name, ſeems to have been a prince endued with abilities, and favoured PERDICCAS I.

[A] De capitalibus rebus vetuſto Macedonum modo, inquirebat exercitus: in pace erat vulgi: nihil poteſtas regum valebat niſi prius valuiſſet auctoritas.

CURTIUS in loco citat.

[B] THUS we learn from Athenaeus (L. 1. p. 18.) that among the Macedonians no one was admitted to lie down at ſupper, until he had killed, with his ſpear, a wild boar, in hunting. And thus Ariſtotle (de Rep. L. 7. C. 2.) hath recorded, that every Macedonian, who had not yet killed his enemy, was obliged to wear a kind of collar, as a mark of his noviciate in military affairs.

Herod. L. 8. C. 137. by fortune. His hiſtory is obſcured by the ſhade of fiction, a circumſtance, which ſhould perſuade us that he had real merit, and that his actions, which we find magnified and diſtorted by fable, were really worthy of being faithfully recorded, as they were thought worthy of exerciſing the imaginations of the early writers. The fame of his predeceſſors was ſo far loſt in the ſplendor of his reputation, that he is * in loco cit. accounted by * Herodotus the firſt of the Macedonian kings. When Juſt. L. 9. C. 2. full of days he is ſaid to have ſhewed to his ſon Argaeus the place where he wiſhed to be interred, and where, he likewiſe directed, that, in all ſucceeding ages, the bodies of all the royal race ſhould be depoſited; declaring, that till this cuſtom was aboliſhed, there ſhould not want one of his line to ſit upon the throne. And hiſtorians have been ſuperſtitious enough to ſuppoſe, that this prediction was accompliſhed by the interment of Alexander in Babylon.

ARGAEUS. ARGAEUS, the ſon of this prince, together with his immediate ſucceſſors, are only diſtinguiſhed by the wars in which they were engaged with the Illyrians, the old and inveterate enemy of the Macedo- Ibid. nian power, and other neighbouring nations. Theſe continual wars confirmed the valour of his people, improved their diſcipline, and extended their reputation: yet checked and awed on one hand by the ſeveral ſtates of Greece, who exerted their increaſing power, and endeavoured to extend their dominions, both by ſea and land; terrified and controuled on the other, by the new erected empire of Aſia, formed by the junction of the Median and Perſian power in the perſon of Cyrus; and, at the ſame time, ſurrounded by ſecret enemies, or avowed rivals; the abilities of the Macedonian princes, and the valour of their ſubjects, ſeem to have been for a long time exerted rather for the defence, than the enlargement of their boundaries.

AMYNTAS I. AT the time when Darius was obliged to make an ignominious retreat into Aſia, after his Scythian expedition, he left Megabyzus in Europe with a large army, in order to make ſuch conqueſts as might retrieve Herod. L. 5. C. 17. the honour of his arms, and conceal the late diſgrace. In purſuance of his

his inſtructions, this general ſent his ambaſſadors to all the neighbouring nations to demand earth and water, the marks of ſubmiſſion and vaſſalage. Amyntas, who then reigned in Macedon, received the ſummons; and readily conſented to acknowledge his ſubjection to a power ſo vaſtly ſuperior to his own. The Perſian emiſſaries were entertained with all the magnificence which his court could diſplay; and, at their deſire, the Macedonians ſo far complied with the Aſiatic manners, that women were introduced to add to the feſtivity. The indecent freedoms with which theſe were treated by the Perſians, inſolent in their acknowledged ſuperiority, and enflamed by wine, were beheld with ſilent grief by king Amyntas, but by his ſon Alexander with a livelier and more dangerous indignation. He deſired leave for the women to withdraw, under pretence of preparing for the entertainment of theſe gueſts, and in their places introduced as many youths, diſguiſed in female habits, who inſtantly returned the lewd careſſes of the Perſians, by plunging their daggers in their hearts. And when Megabyzus ſent Bubaris, one of his principal officers, to enquire after the ambaſſadors, the young prince contrived to elude the enquiry, by captivating Bubaris with the charms of his ſiſter. With her the Perſian wedded; the maſſacre was paſſed over in oblivion; and the Perſian court acknowledged the Macedonians as faithful and honourable allies. C. 21.

ALEXANDER had ſucceeded to his father's throne, when Xerxes invaded Greece. The alliance made with an illuſtrious and powerful Perſian, ſecured him from all the dangers of this invaſion, and gained him a peaceful poſſeſſion, and even an [c] enlargement of his territories. ALEXANDER Juſt. L. 7. C. 4.

[c] THE earlier ſtate of this kingdom, and the gradual enlargement of it, which was partly the work of this Alexander, will be diſtinctly conceived by attending to the following paſſage of Thucydides.—Τῶν Μακεδονων εισι και Λυγκηςαι και Ελειμιῶται, και αλλα ἐθνη ἐπανωθεν, ἃ ξυμμαχα μεν ἐςι τετοις και ὑπηκοα, βασιλειας δ' ἐχει καθ' αὑτα. Τὴν δὲ περι θαλασσαν νυν Μακεδονιαν, Ἀλεξανδρος ὁ Περδικκε πατηρ, και οἱ προγονοι αυτε Τημενιδαι το αρχαῖον ὀντες ἐξ Ἄργες πρωῖοι ἐκτησαντο, και ἐβασιλευσαν, αναςησαντες μαχῃ ἐκ μεν Πιερίης Πιερας, ——Ἐκ δε τῆς Βοττιαιης καλεμενης Βοττιαιες, οἱ νυν ὁμορῳοι χαλκιδεων οἰκεῦσι. Τῆς δε Παιονιας παρα τον Ἄξιον ποταμον, ςενην τινα καθηκεσαν ἀνωθεν μεχρι Πελλης και θαλασσης ἐκτησαντο· και περα Ἀξιε, μεχρι Στρυμονος, την Μυγδονιαν καλεμενην, Ἠδωνας ἐξελασαντες, νεμονται. Ανες ησαν δε και ἐκ τῆς

Nor doth hiſtory attribute the proſperity of his kingdom, more to the protection of Perſia, than to the virtues and abilities of Alexander himſelf, which were known and celebrated through Greece. When a youth, he had paſſed over into that country to learn and practiſe thoſe arts which were eſteemed ornamental and honourable. He appeared at the Olympic games, amidſt the robuſt and accompliſhed champions and competitors for glory: whence the national pride of the aſſembly would have removed him as a foreigner and barbarian. But the prince boldly aſſerted his right of aſſiſting at thoſe famous games, as being by deſcent an Argian, and was admitted even to contend in the exerciſes, and bore away the prize from thoſe who had deſpiſed him as unworthy of ſharing in the Grecian entertainments. A prince of genius and renown, admired in Greece, beloved and revered in his own kingdom, and reſpected by the Perſians, both on account of his own virtues, and his ſiſter's marriage, was eſteemed by Mardonius as a fit ambaſſador to negotiate a ſeparate peace with Athens, that he might thus weaken the force of Greece. In this negotiation, though the propoſitions were rejected with

Herod. L. 5. C. 2.

τῆς νῦν Ἐορδίας καλεομένης Ἐορδοὺς. (ὧν οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ διεφθάρησαν, βραχὺ δέ τι αὐτῶν περὶ Φύσκαν καλῶκηται) καὶ ἐξ Ἀλμωπίας, Ἀλμωπᾶς. Ἐκράτησαν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνέων οἱ Μακεδόνες οὗτοι, ἃ καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἔχουσι, τόν τε Ἀνθεμοῦντα καὶ Γρηστωνίαν καὶ Βισαλτίαν, καὶ Μακεδόνων αὐτῶν πολλήν. Τὸ δὲ ξύμπαν Μακεδονία καλεῖται, καὶ Περδίκκας Ἀλεξάνδρου, βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν ἦν, ὅτε Σιτάλκης ἐπῆλθε. In the general name of Macedonians, are comprized the Lynceſtrians and Helimiotians, and other nations lying upwards, allied to, and dependent upon, the reſt, yet governed as diſtinct kingdoms. The dominion over the maritime Macedonia, was firſt obtained by Alexander, father of Perdiccas, and his anceſtors the Temenidae, who derived their original from Argos. Theſe, by a ſucceſful war, had driven the Pierians out of Pieria.—From the region called Bottia, they alſo expelled the Bottiaeans, who now live upon the confines of the Chalcideans. And further, they ſeized in Paeonia, near the river Axius, a narrow tract of land running along from the mountains down to Pella and the ſea; and got poſſeſſion of that which is called Mygdonia, lying between the Axius and the Strymon, by driving away the Edonians. They expelled the Eordians out of what is now called Eordia (of whom the greateſt part were deſtroyed, but a ſmall number dwell now about Phyſca;) and out of Almopia, the Almopians. Theſe Macedonians alſo conquered other nations, of which they are ſtill in poſſeſſion, as Anthemus, Greſtonia, and Biſaltia, and a large part of the territories belonging to the other Macedonians. But this whole tract of country hath the general name of Macedonia: and Perdiccas, ſon of Alexander, reigned over them, when Sitalces formed his Invaſion. SMITH.

a diſdain

a diſdain which hiſtory hath recorded with wonder and applauſe, yet the ambaſſador himſelf was acknowledged as a friend. And however his preſent intereſt might oblige him to adhere to Perſia, yet a prince of his endowments could not but admire and love the Grecian virtue. He ſoon after diſcovered his real attachments, by informing the Greeks, even at the hazard of his life, of the intentions and motions of Mardonius. [D]

Herod. L. 8. C. 140.

L. 9. C. 43. 44.

HE had three ſons, Perdiccas, Alcetas, and Philip Tharaleus. The firſt ſucceeded to the throne; but his brothers diſputed his pretenſions, and roſe up in arms to diſpoſſeſs him. The neighbouring nations beheld, with envy and diſcontent, the acceſſions of territory which Macedon had received in the reign of Alexander. The Athenians were powerful by their colonies and allies, their dependent towns and diſtricts on the ſea-coaſts; and either to ſecure, or to enlarge their territories, found it convenient to aſſiſt his rivals. Greece was at this time in commotion: the Lacedemonians began to think of eſtabliſhing a power in Thrace; while the Perſians, hitherto the great ſupport of Macedon, were weak and contemptible. A kingdom thus circumſtanced, required a prince of vigour and abilities: and Perdiccas ſeems to have inherited all the virtues of his father. He ſupported himſelf againſt his rivals, and neighbouring enemies: and, by his art and policy, made both Athens and Lacedemon ſerve to ſtrengthen his power, at the time that he appeared, and profeſſed, to aſſiſt them in the eſtabliſhment of their own.

PERDICCAS II.

Thucyd. B. 1.

THE mutual jealouſies ſubſiſting between theſe two ſtates, and king Perdiccas, was one great cauſe of the Peloponneſian war. The actions of this prince, and the ſhare which he bore in the Grecian conteſt, are diſtinctly recorded by Thucydides: here, it is only neceſſary to point out ſome particulars, tending more immediately to illuſtrate the preſent

[D] THIS prince's actions are here related with a brevity which would be unpardonable, were it my preſent purpoſe to give an accurate hiſtory of the earlier ſtate of Macedon. The delightful account which Herodotus gives of theſe tranſactions, will abundantly reward the learned reader, who may turn to the paſſage quoted in the margin.

hiſtory.

hiſtory. At the firſt riſe of the famous Peloponneſian war, the Athenians, as hath been obſerved, had a conſiderable power on the coaſts of Thrace; and controuled the king of Macedon by their tributary and dependent towns and diſtricts, bordering on his territories. All that tract, which lay towards the coaſt between the Thermaic and Singitic Bays, was inhabited by Greeks originally from Chalcis, a city in the iſland Euboea, who all acknowledged the juriſdiction of Athens, afforded that ſtate the convenience of their ports and harbours, and aided and ſecured its commerce with the upper Thrace. But when the Corinthians and Corcyraeans began to quarrel about Epidamnus, and that the Athenians took a part in this conteſt, the Corinthians perſuaded Potidaea, one of the chief towns in the Chalcidian region, to revolt from Athens; while Perdiccas, to revenge himſelf on a people who had ſupported the pretenſions of his competitors, urged the other Chalcidians to abandon their ſettlements on the coaſt, to fortify Olynthus, a city about ſixty ſtadia from Potidaea, built on the river Strymon, and which preſerved a communication with the ſea, by means of the port of Myceberna; to make this their reſidence, and to ſhake off their dependence on the Athenians. His inſtances were ſo far ſucceſsful; that Olynthus was made the chief ſeat of their power; and all the other cities united in intereſt, and governed by this their capital. Such a revolution was conſidered by the Athenians as an outrage on their lawful authority. They declared war againſt the Olynthian confederacy, and laid ſiege to Potidaea. This city was, after ſome difficulties, reduced; but the Chalcidians found means to ſupport their independency, and protracted the war to a conſiderable length. Theſe practices of Perdiccas, however neceſſary and politic at this time, yet in the end proved the means of raiſing up a powerful and dangerous rival to the Macedonians; and had laſting and important effects, both on that kingdom, and on Greece. In the courſe of the diſputes, which thus aroſe, the attack of the famous city of Amphipolis, of which ſo frequent mention muſt be made in the progreſs of this work, is alſo worthy of particular notice.

Thucyd. L. 1.

Lucceſini Not. in Arg. Olyn. 1.

Thucyd. ut ſup.

THIS

THIS city was ſeated on the Strymon, in that narrow gut, where the river divides into two branches, waſhing the town on each ſide, and falling into the ſea at the diſtance of two ſtadia. At the mouth of the principal of theſe branches ſtood Eion, a ſmall town, which ſerved as a port to Amphipolis, and rendered the commerce with the upper Thrace eaſy and convenient. The place where Amphipolis ſtood, was originally called Enneodoi; that is, the nine ways; poſſibly becauſe the roads, which led through Macedon and Thrace, iſſued from that point. Ariſtagoras, of Miletus, attempted to ſettle there, after his revolt from the Perſians; but was prevented by the Edonians, a people of Thrace, who then inhabited that diſtrict. The Athenians, fully ſenſible of the value of its ſituation, took care to aſſert a claim to it, and deduced their title from Acamas, the ſon of Theſeus, who they ſaid received it as a dowry with his wife. Thirty-two years after the attempt of Ariſtagoras, they ſent thither a colony of ten thouſand men, who drove out the Edonians: but attempting to puſh their victory to the upper Thrace, they were ſurrounded, and cut to pieces, by a general confederacy of the people of that country, who ſuſpected the new colony. At length, Agnon, the ſon of Nicias, eſtabliſhed himſelf in this place, with a colony, which the Athenians ſent thither twenty-nine years after their firſt attempt. He expelled the Edonians, and raiſed a fortification round from one arm of the river to the other; ſo that the new ſettlement had now the form of a triangle, whoſe baſe was towards the ſea, and whoſe two ſides were defended by the branches of the Strymon, which was conſiderably deep, and formed a moraſs at the upper angle. Here the Athenians continued peaceable poſſeſſors, till the Peloponneſian war broke out; and Perdiccas ſpirited up the Lacedemonians to carry their arms into theſe parts, and to endeavour to diſpoſſeſs them from a ſettlement of ſuch importance to their commerce; from whence, beſides a large pecuniary revenue, they drew all their materials for building their ſhips; and which he muſt neceſſarily have regarded with uneaſineſs and jealouſy, as it abſolutely commanded his kingdom on that ſide. Hither, therefore, Braſidas, the Lacedemonian general, was now.

Thucyd. L. 4.

Olivier Hiſt. L. 1. p. 67.

Thucyd. L. 4.

Eſchin. de falſ. leg. Sect. 14.

Thucyd. L. 4.

Thucyd. L. 4.

now ſent: and partly by force of arms, partly by addreſs, and an equitable attention to the liberty and welfare of the inhabitants, wreſted Amphipolis from the Athenians; who, fully ſenſible of their loſs, and naturally impatient of every diſappointment, baniſhed Thucydides, the famous hiſtorian, who had been unſucceſsful in his attempts to ſecure the city. And when Perdiccas ſhewed ſome inclination to deſert the Lacedemonians, another army was ſent from Athens to recover Amphipolis, under the command of Cleon; which produced the engagement where the general on each ſide fell. The people of Amphipolis in-
L. 5. terred Braſidas in the moſt honourable manner, acknowledged him as their real founder, and demoliſhed all the monuments of Agnon, the ſon of Nicias; yet the city was yielded the next year to the Athenians, by a treaty concluded with Lacedemon, and continued under their juriſdiction, until the deſtruction of their liberties, by the victory of Lyſander.

IN all theſe diſputes, Perdiccas had a conſiderable ſhare; and appears to have acted a part, which the intereſt of his own kingdom recommended; but which, by no means, diſcovered a ſtrict and honourable adherence to his engagements.

ARCHELAUS in Gorg. p. 471. HE was ſucceeded by Archelaus, his illegitimate ſon, according to Plato, who ſpeaks with great ſeverity of this prince; the blood which he ſhed, to ſecure the poſſeſſion of his throne, having ſullied thoſe great qualities which he afterwards diſcovered. As his meaſures for fortifying and ſtrengthening his kingdom, alarmed the neighbouring powers;
Diod. Sic. L. 13. Sect. 49. Pydna, a city of ſome conſequence on his confines, endeavoured, by the aſſiſtance of Athens, to ſhake off its dependence on Macedon. But, in defiance of all the ſupport which that ſtate detached to her new ally, Archelaus beſieged and reduced Pydna to his obedience; and, in order to cut off all future intercourſe between that city and the Athenians, he
* About two miles. obliged the inhabitants to remove * twenty ſtadia farther from the ſea.

BUT

BUT this prince was for nothing so remarkable, as his attachment to learning, and its professors. Socrates was invited to, and Euripides entertained at, his court. Painters were employed to adorn his palace; and men of genius, of every kind, caressed, rewarded, and encouraged to honour his kingdom by their residence. But the advantages which Macedon might have derived from his temper and abilities, were all cut off by his untimely death. Diodorus relates, that he was killed accidentally in a chace by his favourite Craterus. But the representation of * Aristotle has been thought more probable, who ascribes the death of Archelaus to the ambition of Craterus, and his resentment at being denied his daughter in marriage. The murderer ascended the throne, but, in a few days, met with the same fate; and was removed by an assassination.

Stoboeus Serm. 237. Arist. Rhe. L. 2. C. 29. Plut. Apoph. AElian. hist. var. L. 14. C. 17.

Diod. Sic. L. 14. Sect. 37. * Polit. L. 5. Sect. 19.

AElian. L. 8. C. 9.

THE peace of Macedon became now totally subverted. Orestes, the infant son of Archelaus, was scarcely seated on the throne, when he fell a victim to the ambition of his tutor AEropus. The disorders and frequent revolutions, which now rose in Macedon, have occasioned a difference in the representations of historians, as to the order of succession. But it is agreed, that Pausanias usurped the throne, either directly, or soon after AEropus; and, after a reign of one year, was succeeded by Amyntas, father of that prince, to whose actions we are now hastening. Amyntas was (according to Thucydides) the son of Philip, the brother of that king Perdiccas, who had so considerable a share in the affairs of Greece, during the course of the Peloponnesian war. He had found means, by the assistance of Sytalces, king of Thrace, and the Athenians, to disturb the reign of Perdiccas, by his attempts to dispossess him. These attempts, however, proved ineffectual; but now having taken the opportunity of the weakness of the throne, and the confusions of the kingdom, to assert his old pretensions more effectually, he attacked, dethroned, and killed Pausanias.

ORESTES. Diod. L. 14. Sect. 37.

AEROPUS. Solinus. L. 9. Diod. L. 14 & 15.

PAUSANIAS.

AMYNTAS II. Thucyd. L. 4.

Diod. L. 14. Sect. 89.

THE succession of Amyntas to the throne of Macedon, seemed to promise a more settled state of peace and tranquillity to a kingdom so long harrassed by intestine wars and commotions. His brother Derdas governed

Xenop. Hist. Grae. L. 5.

governed the province of the Elimiotae; and their mutual harmony contributed to their mutual ſupport. The prince of the Lynceſtae, a neighbouring people, then independent on Macedon, Amyntas contrived to attach firmly to his intereſt, by his eſpouſal of Eurydicè, the grand-daughter of that prince, and one of the family of the Bacchidae of the royal race of Corinth.

Strab. L. 7. p. 326.

FOR five years, the vigilance and abilities of Amyntas preſerved the peace of Macedon, and defeated all the attempts of Argaeus, the brother of Pauſanias, who aſſerted his title to the ſucceſſion; and practiſed with the Macedonian nobles, and the neighbouring powers, to engage them in a revolt. But now Bardyllis, king of the Illyrians, a warlike nation, trained, exerciſed, and improved, by the activity and long experience of their ſovereign, invaded Macedon with all his powers; and, while he affected only to ſupport the title of Argaeus, determined to gratify his own ambition, by reducing the kingdom to a ſtate of ſubjection and dependence on Illyria. The courage of Amyntas, and the efforts of his ſoldiers, proved ineffectual againſt this formidable enemy. He was defeated in two ſeveral engagements: the enemy ſeized his capital, and placed Argaeus on the throne, who readily conſented to govern under the direction of Bardyllis, and to render the kingdom of Macedon tributary to Illyria.

Diod. L. 14. Sect. 92.

IN this time of general diſtraction, the cities of the Chalcidian diſtrict, now united into one formidable body, of which Olynthus was the head, ſeized the occaſion of enlarging their territories. They began with the city of Potidaea, which had been reduced under the power and judiſdiction of Athens; fell on the eaſtern parts of Macedon, and puſhed their conqueſts even to Pella, a city of importance by its ſituation, and afterwards rendered illuſtrious by the birth of Alexander. The Theſſalians, on their part, though in alliance with Amyntas, ſeemed reſolved to forget their engagements, and to ſhare the ſpoil of his dominions. The ſouthern provinces were expoſed to their invaſion,

Xenop. Hiſ. Grae. L. 5. p. 554.

Dem. in Ariſtocrat.

ſion, and ſoon became their prey. Thus deſpoiled of almoſt all his dominions, and without hope of being reſtored, he endeavoured to provide for the peace and ſecurity of thoſe places which ſtill continued firm to him, by making a formal ceſſion of them to the Olynthians. They were the only neighbouring power that could diſpute them with the Illyrians; and Amyntas deemed it leſs diſhonourable to ſee them dependent on a confederacy, compoſed of Grecian cities, than to expoſe them to the fury of a barbarous enemy, or the reſentment of a rival, who muſt conſider their adherence to their prince, as in the higheſt degree criminal. The Olynthians took poſſeſſion of them, and maintained their title againſt all the attempts of Illyria and Argæus; ſtill continuing to receive the revenues of theſe provinces, which they had thus annexed to their own dominions, during the ſhort interval of Argæus his power. Diod. L. 14. Sect. 89. Diod. L. 15. Sect. 19.

THUS was Amyntas, for ſome time, compelled to yield to the preſent ſtorm, and to retire in expectation of better fortune. When his rival, according to ſome hiſtorians, had enjoyed the royal title and authority for two years, the Theſſalians were prevailed upon to give ſuch aſſiſtance to Amyntas, as enabled him once more to aſcend the throne. What were the inducements which now moved this people, hiſtory hath not mentioned; but poſſibly they might have been diſappointed in the advantages they propoſed from the diſorders of Macedon; and envied thoſe, whoſe attempts to diſmember that kingdom, had been more ſucceſsful; or even found it neceſſary, for their own ſecurity, to check their increaſing power. But though the king had, by this aſſiſtance, reſcued a part of his dominions from the Illyrians, yet ſtill a conſiderable part remained in the hands of the Olynthian league, a people who ſeemed determined to ſupport that right, with which the neceſſity of his affairs had obliged Amyntas to inveſt them. His honour, and even his ſafety, called on him to endeavour to recover theſe territories: he firſt began by negociation, and formally reclaimed them, as if his ceſſion had been but temporary and occaſional: the Olynthians, on their part, peremptorily rejected his demand, and declared themſelves fully reſolved to maintain their poſſeſſion by force; when commotions aroſe in the Chalcidian L. 14. Sect. 92. L. 15. Sect. 19.

diſtrict, highly favourable to the intereſts of Amyntas, and which greatly facilitated his deſign of reducing the Olynthian power.

As Olynthus had erected itſelf into a kind of ſovereignty over the other neighbouring cities, ſome of them ſeem to have beheld with impatience their ſplendor diminiſhed; and thoſe advantages, which all had joined to acquire, and all had equally a right to ſhare, confined, for the moſt part, to that which now called itſelf the ruling city. Apollonia and Acanthus, the two moſt conſiderable, next to Olynthus, had expreſſed their jealouſies and diſſatisfactions; and, having ſhewed ſome inclination to detach themſelves from the confederacy, were threatened by the Olynthians with force and ſeverity. Theſe two cities, therefore, conſulted for their ſecurity and revenge, by ſending deputies to Sparta, in order to alarm that ſtate with apprehenſions of the increaſing greatneſs of Olynthus. This city, they obſerved, had already poſſeſſed itſelf of a conſiderable part of the Macedonian territories, and even of Pella, the city of greateſt conſequence in that kingdom. Inſolent in theſe important acquiſitions, the Olynthians began to treat the reſt of the confederacy as ſubjects and vaſſals; were endeavouring to ſtrengthen themſelves by an alliance with Athens and Boeotia; a junction which could not but have the moſt important conſequences; that it became the Spartans to conſider how to guard againſt the danger with which they themſelves were threatened by ſo formidable a coalition; to redreſs the injuries, and maintain the independency of the Chalcidian cities; and to cruſh the ambitious efforts of Olynthus, before any farther acceſſions of power might fruſtrate all ſuch attempts.

Xenoph. Hiſ. Grae. L. 5. p. 554, 555.

SPARTA made no difficulty of undertaking this quarrel; and, encouraged by the proſpect of ſo powerful an aſſiſtant, king Amyntas collected his forces, and declared war againſt Olynthus. His fortune began to wear a fairer aſpect. His wife Eurydicè had already born two ſons, Alexander and Perdiccas: and now his third ſon Philip, deſtined by providence to raiſe his paternal kingdom to a degree of greatneſs far beyond

beyond all preſent expectations, firſt ſaw the light. * Chronologers and hiſtorians generally agree in fixing the birth of this prince to the ſecond year of the ninety-ninth Olympiad. † Strabo hath aſſigned Pella as the place of his birth. If ſo, the apprehenſions of the Spartan invaſion muſt have determined the Olynthians to evacuate this city. As Pella is ſaid to be in their hands in the ſpeech of the Acanthian deputy at Sparta, recorded in the fifth book of the hiſtory of Grecian affairs by Xenophon, the French author of the hiſtory of Philip concludes, that he was born near Mount Pindus, at the time of his father's exile; and warns his readers againſt what he apprehends to be a miſtake of Strabo, and ſuch modern compilers as have been guided by his authority. But, whatever difficulties or objections may be ſuggeſted about the place, the time of his birth is clearly aſcertained, and will by no means agree to the time aſſigned by this writer; as it appears by the account of * Diodorus, and is agreed by chronologers, that the reſtauration of Amyntas muſt be fixed to the ſecond year of the ninety-ſeventh Olympiad.

* Petav. v. 2. * Euſeb. Chron.

† L. 16. p. 572.

Oliv. L. 1. p. 13.

* L. 14. p. 92. Euſeb. Chron. Petav.

EVERY addition to the family of Amyntas, muſt have been regarded by him, and his adherents, as an omen of happy fortune; as the oracles were ſaid to have pronounced, that Macedon was to be eminently flouriſhing under the reign of one of his ſons. They are even ſaid to have pointed out the new-born prince by name, as the deſtined inſtrument of the happineſs of this kingdom. [E] An antient Sybilline verſe

Juſtin. L. 7. C. 6.

[E] Αυχοῦνες βασιλεῦσι Μακεδονες Αργεαδησιν,
Ὑμιν κοιρανεων ἀγαθον και πημα Φιλιππος.
Ἥτοι ὁ μεν πρῶτερος πολεσιν λαοῖσι τ' ἀνακτας
Θησει· ὁ δ' ὀπλοτερος τιμην ἀπο πασαν ὀλεσσι,
Δμηθεις ἐσπεριοισιν ὑπ' ἀνδρασιν ἠωοις τε. PAUSAN.

What boots the pride which high deſcent inſpires?
And what, thy race, from royal Argian ſires?
Hear Macedonia!—From a Philip's reign,
Expect thine happineſs: expect thy bane.
The firſt, great prince! ſhall diſtant lands obey;
And realms confeſs his delegated ſway.
The laſt, O fatal name! what woes attend!
With him thy conqueſts, honours, all ſhall end:
From eaſt, from weſt, behold thy foes ariſe!
And in one hapleſs hour thine empire dies.

in Achai. p. 214.. is recorded by * Pauſanias, importing, that the firſt grandeur, and the final ruin of Macedon, were both to be the work of a Philip. It is too clear and explicit not to have been made after the event: however, it ſtill might have been the intereſt of Amyntas, in a ſeaſon ſo critical, at the eve of a dangerous and hazardous war, to amuſe and encourage his barbarous and ignorant ſubjects, with predictions and oracles; and to improve this incident, of the birth of his ſon, into a pledge of future happineſs, vouchſafed by heaven itſelf.

WHILE he was thus encouraging his ſubjects, collecting his army, and making every proviſion in his power for war, he had the pleaſure of finding, that the Spartans concurred ſo warmly in his views, that, in conjunction with their allies, they declared war againſt Olynthus; reſolved to raiſe ten thouſand men for this ſervice; and, in the mean time, diſpatched Eudamidas, with two thouſand Lacedemonians, in order to keep thoſe cities firm in their revolt, or diſaffection, which were declared, or ſecret enemies to Olynthus. To have the clearer conception of the nature and reaſons of the conduct of Sparta on this occaſion; a conduct which had the moſt important conſequences, and proved the ſource of many great events, which the following hiſtory muſt diſplay; it will be convenient to recal to the reader's mind the character, diſpoſitions, and preſent circumſtances, of that famous people.

Xen. Hiſt. Grae. L. 5. p. 556.

WHOEVER is in the leaſt acquainted with Grecian hiſtory, muſt know, that their legiſlator, by the ſeverity of his inſtitutions, formed the Spartans into a robuſt, hardy, valiant nation, made for war; that their early atchievements, in the field, ſoon raiſed their military reputation; inſpired them with exalted ſentiments of glory, and vaſt deſigns of power; and that under the appearance of a rigid diſcipline, manners ſtrictly corrected, and a life of frugality and labour, they concealed an inordinate and violent ambition. The victory of their general Lyſander, over their great rival ſtate, ſeemed to have confirmed them in that ſupreme authority, to which they had inceſſantly aſpired, from the moment that their foreign enemies had been driven out of Greece. An intemperate and tyrannical abuſe

abuſe of power, was the immediate conſequence of this ſuperiority, which, joined with an unreaſonable partiality in favour of their own form of government, (now arbitrarily and cruelly impoſed on all the ſtates which they had reduced to ſubjection) made them ſoon regarded as the odious and haughty maſters, not as the protectors, of Greece. A natural love of liberty, animated by the patriot zeal of one illuſtrious Athenian, ſoon overturned the power of thoſe tyrants, whom they had impoſed on that ſtate. The other Greeks ſaw this event with ſecret ſatisfaction, and ſome even dared to deny their aſſiſtance to ſupport the tottering dominion of the thirty, and to rivet the chains with which their countrymen, (for ſo the Greeks regarded each other) were cruelly loaded. But, although the original conſtitution was thus re-eſtabliſhed at Athens, ſtill the Spartan ſovereignty was acknowledged and felt in Greece. The genius of this ſtate, and the ſupport of this its ſovereignty, required a continued courſe of action and war. Diſputes and conteſts were perpetually excited; and the Grecian ſtates attacked, harraſſed, and oppreſſed, by a people, whoſe domeſtic courſe of ſeverity rendered them inſenſible to the diſtreſſes of their neighbours. Their reſtleſs ambition, at length, prompted them to ſend their king Ageſilaus into Aſia; there to extend his conqueſts, and the glory of his country, under pretence of ſupporting the independency of the Grecian colonies. The king of Perſia, alarmed at his progreſs, and well informed and experienced in the method of ſecuring his own peace, by arming the Grecians againſt each other, wiſely ſends his emiſſaries to foment the diſcontents already conceived againſt Sparta; and, by the power of money, to induce the ſtates to riſe up againſt an odious, oppreſſive dominion. The Thebans were the firſt to embrace the deſign; the Athenians eagerly concurred; Argos and Corinth joined in the confederacy; a pretence of quarrel was ſoon found out; and the defeat and death of Lyſander, the ſoul of all the ambitious deſigns of Sparta, obliged this ſtate to recal Ageſilaus to the defence of his native land. This prince, while yet upon his march, receives an account of the naval victory gained at Cnidus by Conon the Athenian; the fatal ſtroke to the ambition and power of his country: whoſe allies now began to revolt. Sparta itſelf was forced to that mortifying

mortifying meaſure of making overtures of accommodation to Perſia; and, by the peace of Antalcidas, to renounce all the advantages gained in Aſia, to abandon the Aſiatic colonies to the Perſian, and to acknowledge the right of all the ſeveral Grecian ſtates to freedom and independency.

THUS controuled, diſmembered, and reduced, Sparta ſtill retained a paſſion for pre-eminence and ſovereignty; exerted an affected ſuperiority over the leſſer ſtates; and, under pretence of ſupporting the late accommodation, dictated ſuch terms, and, by force of arms, made ſuch diſpoſitions in the ſeveral communities, as might raiſe her own reputation, and convince others of their weakneſs; at the ſame time fully ſenſible how eſſentially the late events affected her real ſtrength and grandeur, and retaining the moſt inveterate reſentment againſt Thebes, whoſe practices had obliged the Spartan arms to retreat from Aſia, and had produced the late revolutions of power, by which their old rivals had been once again enabled to diſpute the ſovereignty of Greece.

FROM this affectation of appearing the ſupreme umpire and general protector of the injured, and with theſe diſpoſitions of reſentment and revenge againſt their late oppoſers, the Spartans now engaged in the war with Olynthus. Eudamidas, their general, fortified ſome towns in Thrace, ſecured their attachment by his garriſons, and became maſter of Potidaea; which, by its voluntary ſubmiſſion, ſeems to have been diſpleaſed with its new maſters. In the mean time Phoebidas marches to reinforce his brother Eudamidas with a powerful body. He encamps near Thebes, and there renders his expedition famous, by boldly and unexpectedly, in time of peace and ſecurity, ſeizing the [F] citadel of Thebes; an action which his hiſtory hath juſtly branded as the great diſgrace of Spartan integrity, and which proved the ſource of thoſe calamities, which afterwards fell on this ſtate, as a puniſhment of

Xenop. Hiſt. Grae. L. 5. p. 556.

p. 557.

Plut. in vitis Pelopid. Ageſil.

[F] It was an antient fortreſs built by Cadmus, 1519 years before the Chriſtian era, and called after his name Cadmaea. The city of Thebes was afterwards built round this place, and thus the Cadmaea became its citadel. Oliv. L. 1. p. 16.

ſo

ſo outrageous a violation of public faith. With an unaccountable and ridiculous inconſiſtency the Spartans kept poſſeſſion of the citadel, yet cenſured and recalled Phoebidas; and Teleutias, the brother of one of their kings, was ſent to command in the expedition againſt Olynthus.

THIS general urged king Amyntas to unite his force with that of Lacedemon againſt their common enemy. His brother Derdas was alſo warned of the danger to be apprehended from the ambition of Olynthus, and invited to aſſiſt in cruſhing a power which might prove as dangerous to his peace, as to that of the Macedonians. Theſe two princes embraced the favourable occaſion of fighting their own cauſe with the arms of Sparta, and took the field with a well-appointed body of horſe, which proved of conſiderable ſervice. Derdas, who commanded in perſon, diſplayed both abilities and valour; the Olynthians were defeated, and obliged to ſhelter themſelves, within the walls of their city, from the purſuit of the victorious army. This action cloſed the firſt campaign. Derdas and his Macedonians were diſmiſſed with the reſpect due to their conduct, but did not ſpend the winter inactively. This warlike prince found a favourable opportunity of ſallying forth from Apollonia, on a large body of Olynthian cavalry who were ravaging the adjacent country; whom he defeated, and drove to their very walls with conſiderable ſlaughter. Xen. Hiſt. Grae. L. 5. p. 560, 561.

THE next ſeaſon proved more favourable to the Olynthians. Teleutias appeared at the head of his troops, and began to lay waſte their territories; when the enemy iſſued out, and ſeemed diſpoſed to give him battle. The Spartan general, with contempt and indignation, ordered ſome light armed forces to charge them: theſe the Olynthians, by an affected retreat, drew on, till they had paſſed a river which cut them off from all aſſiſtance; then furiouſly attacked and deſtroyed them, together with their commander. Teleutias, naturally warm and impatient, now loſt all remains of temper, and hurried on with his main body to attack the enemy; who ſtill retired, and were purſued with paſſion and reſentment, rather than with caution and diſcipline. The Ibid.

Spartans ſoon found themſelves before the walls of Olynthus, in confuſion and diſorder, attacked by miſſive weapons from the fortifications, and furiouſly charged by a general ſally; unable either to oppoſe the enemy, or to retreat with any order or ſafety. Here Teleutias, by his fall, payed the price of his temerity; and his army fled with precipitation to the adjacent cities in the intereſts of Sparta and Macedon.

p. 564. BUT this defeat neither diſcouraged the Spartans nor Macedonians. Ageſipolis, one of the kings of Sparta, was ſent to purſue the war; and Amyntas, and Derdas, both united with him, and exerted extraordinary and ſucceſsful efforts. The ſickneſs and death of Ageſipolis, for a while, ſuſpended their operations. Poliſtiades, his ſucceſſor, for whom the deciſion of this quarrel was reſerved, ſhut up the Olynthians within their walls, and ſoon obliged them to demand a capitulation. Their deputies were ſent to Sparta, where a peace was ſoon concluded, upon terms rather more favourable than their preſent difficulties could claim. They
p. 565. were obliged to acknowledge thoſe as their allies, with whom Lacedemon was thus connected; to aſſiſt this ſtate, and to march under its ſtandard. Theſe conditions ſecured Amyntas in the peaceful poſſeſſion of his kingdom; reſtored a conſiderable part of his territories, and en-
Excerpt. Strab. p. 330. abled him to appear with ſplendor. He fixed his reſidence at Pella, the city of greateſt figure and conſequence in Macedon: and here his young ſon Philip received his earlieſt education. His alliances in Greece were the means of deterring his barbarous neighbours from diſturbing the tranquillity of his government; and the jealouſies of theſe barbarous neighbours, rendered it neceſſary for him to be ever careful to embrace all occaſions of ſtrengthening thoſe alliances; to have a conſtant attention to the affairs of Greece; and, according to the different fluctuations of power, to attach himſelf to that ſtate which appeared moſt likely to afford him an effectual protection. The Spartans, by the reduction of Olynthus, ſeemed to have attained the full ſummit of authority and
Plut. in Pelop. Corn. Nep. in Epaminon. grandeur. They counted among their allies, that is, their dependents and ſubjects, almoſt all the communities in Greece. Athens, though enabled to maintain its liberty, was ſtill incapable of contending for ſuperiority:

periority: and Thebes was ſecured by the Spartan garriſon, which commanded its citadel, and the Spartan governors who ruled the city; and who had baniſhed all thoſe that had been ſuſpected of the leaſt deſign to diſturb the preſent ſettlement. But the fortitude and patriotiſm of Pelopidas, one of theſe illuſtrious exiles, raiſed an unexpected ſtorm, which firſt ſhook, and, in the end, overturned all this great fabric of power. This man, ſeconded by Epaminondas, that truly great and virtuous Theban, and aſſiſted by ſome other of his gallant countrymen, determined to relieve his native land from the preſent oppreſſion; killed the Spartan tyrants, and (ſupported by ſome forces which the Athenians had ſent to aſſiſt this daring enterprize, againſt the enemies of their power,) recovered the citadel, reſtored liberty to Thebes, and laid the foundation of its future greatneſs. The better to ſupport the war which this event produced, the Thebans determined to engage the Athenians in a conteſt with their common enemy, and by ſecret practices prevailed on the Spartan general to make an attempt to ſeize the Athenian port: juſtly incenſed at this injurious attempt; fired with revenge, jealouſy, and ambition, Athens determined to ſeize this favourable opportunity of joining in a confederacy againſt her rival, which had a fair proſpect of ſucceſs; engaged vigorouſly in the war, and, by her repeated ſucceſſes, recovered the empire of the ſea, and this in a manner which had a fair and popular appearance, and enabled her orators to declaim on her generous concern for relieving the oppreſſed, and her invariable attachment to the liberty of Greece. Thus did the Athenians divide the ſovereignty with Sparta; but ſaw, with ſome concern, the riſing greatneſs of the Thebans, and therefore were obliged to uſe their advantages with moderation: and when the king of Perſia, who had occaſion for ſome Grecian troops to aſſiſt him in a war againſt Egypt, ſent his ambaſſadors to recommend a renewal of the late peace, an accommodation was readily embraced, and a convention held to adjuſt ſuch terms as might ſecure the tranquillity of Greece.

Plut. in Pelop.

Diod. Sic. L. 15.

Xen. Hiſt. Grae. L. 5. Diod. L. 15.

Dem. in Phil. 2. & alibi.

Xen. Diod. ut ſupra.

THE king of Macedon, duely attentive to theſe events, thought it neceſſary to gain the friendſhip and alliance of the Athenians, who now

appeared the great riſing power of Greece; and, for this purpoſe, preſented an advantage to their view, the moſt flattering and agreeable, the recovery of Amphipolis. From the time of Lyſander's victory, this city had continued to enjoy its independence under the protection of Lacedemon. A conſiderable number of Lacedemonians had taken their reſidence there, and lived in amity with the original inhabitants. But now their late ſucceſſes had encouraged the Athenians to renew their old pretenſions to a place of ſuch conſequence to their ſtate; and, in the convention held to ſettle the affairs of Greece, their right to Amphipolis was by them aſſerted, and acknowledged by the whole aſſembly. It was even reſolved, that they ſhould be reinſtated, in full poſſeſſion, by the general force of Greece, in caſe of any oppoſition. Amyntas was the firſt to confeſs the juſtice of their claim, and by, his apparent zeal, ſo far wrought on the Athenians, that they thought themſelves bound to acknowledge him as their friend and ally.

Philippi Litt. ad Athen.

Eſchin. de falſ. leg. Sect. 14.

BUT while the prince was thus wiſely engaged in providing for the ſecurity of his government, and his policy ſeemed to promiſe a perfect and undiſturbed tranquillity; in his own family he found that uneaſineſs and diſtraction, which his foreign enemies could not occaſion. His wife Eurydicè, a princeſs of exalted genius, but of paſſions evil and ungoverned, having conceived a violent affection for a young nobleman of Macedon, to whom ſhe had given her daughter Euryonè in marriage, formed the deteſtable project of diſpatching her own huſband, and giving her ſon-in-law poſſeſſion both of his bed and throne. But whether the Macedonian looked with horror on a deſign ſo ſhocking, and, in his ſurprize and tenderneſs, communicated it to his wife; or, whether this princeſs diſcovered the unwarrantable correſpondence and conſpiracies of her mother and huſband by accident, ſhe defeated the infernal ſcheme, by diſcloſing it to Amyntas. The king, too tender in his nature to inflict the full ſeverity of puniſhment on the mother of his three young princes, was prevailed on to forgive the offence: and hiſtory hath ſuggeſted, that this proved a fatal weakneſs; and that his death, which happened ſoon after, was occaſioned by the wicked arts of Eurydicè,

Juſtin. L. 7. C. 4 & 5.

dicè, who ſuſpected the ſincerity of his pardon, (conſcious how little her offence deſerved it) and calmed her apprehenſions by diſpatching Amyntas. Olymp. 102. Y. 3.

ALEXANDER, the eldeſt of his three legitimate ſons, ſucceeded to the throne; unable, however, to ſupport his dignity with ſplendor or ſecurity. The Illyrians once more roſe up in arms, and obliged the king to purchaſe peace by a tribute, which he agreed to pay, and gave his brother Philip as an hoſtage and ſecurity for the performance of his ſtipulation. The Illyrians, on their part, ſeem to have been ſoon convinced of the integrity of the king of Macedon; as it will appear, that the young prince was, in ſome time after, ſent back to his court, where the wickedneſs of his mother, and the ambition of Ptolomy, raiſed ſuch diſorders, as utterly ſubverted the peace and ſecurity of the kingdom, which Amyntas had long endeavoured to eſtabliſh. This Ptolomy is called by * Diodorus the ſon of Amyntas. But, as † Juſtin doth not mention him, in recounting the offſpring of this prince; as he is alſo called ἀλλοτριος του γενους, an alien from his race, in * another author; and as we find him, in Plutarch's life of Pelopidas, promiſe to keep the kingdom for the brothers of Alexander, without mentioning any affinity of his own, we muſt ſuſpect ſome miſtake, or at leaſt ſome inaccuracy of expreſſion, in the abovementioned hiſtorian. It is ſuggeſted by a learned commentator on Diodorus, that he was the huſband of Euryonè, for whom Eurydicè conceived her unlawful paſſion. By the ſecret practices of Eurydicè, or of Ptolomy (for hiſtorians are not agreed in their relations) Alexander died, after a reign of one year. The conjecture of Palmerius may enable us to reconcile their differences, by making the death of this prince the effect of a conſpiracy formed by the queen and her adulterer. And, that there really was ſome combination formed to deſtroy him, appears from Demoſthenes, who, in his oration on the ambaſſy, mentions Apollophanes, a citizen of Pydna, as one of the accomplices. ALEXANDER II. Ibid. Ibid. * L. 15. Sect. 71. † L. 7. C. 4. Dexippus in Syncell. Chrono. p. 24. Jacob. Palmerius in Diod. L. 15. p. 49. Juſtin ut ſupra. Athen. L. 14. De falſa leg. Sect. 58.

We

L. 14. p. 629. We find it aſſerted, in the fourteenth book of Athenaeus, from an hiſtorian called Marſyas, that Alexander fell, by the hand of Ptolomy, in a martial dance, in which the performers were armed: if ſo, the murderer did not reap the fruits of his cruelty and treachery. For Pauſanias, a prince of the royal blood, but from another branch, took advantage of the preſent confuſion, and returned to Macedon, from whence ſome former attempts to diſturb the government had occaſioned him to be baniſhed. Here he found many friends and adherents. He poſſeſſed himſelf of Anthemus, Therma, and Strepſa, with ſome other towns, and aſſumed the royal title. The friends of Perdiccas, the ſecond ſon of Amyntas, who now became the lawful poſſeſſor, were gained over or intimidated; and the intereſts of the family of king Amyntas began to appear totally deſperate, when, happily for the young princes, Iphicrates, the Athenian general, appeared in Macedon, upon an important commiſſion from his ſtate. Amphipolis, as hath been already obſerved, was, by the general voice of Greece, conſigned to the Athenian juriſdiction. But the preſent inhabitants had ſo long taſted the pleaſures of independence, (and poſſibly were influenced by the Spartans) that they refuſed to ſubmit to the ſentence of the Grecian convention, or to return to a ſtate of ſubjection. The Athenians, on their part, determined to aſſert their right by force of arms. But firſt, they ſent their general, whoſe character gave weight and dignity to his repreſentations, with a few ſhips, to try the gentler methods of perſuaſion and remonſtrance, as well as to inform himſelf of the preſent condition of the city, and the meaſures fit to be purſued, if an open rupture ſhould prove neceſſary. Iphicrates had been ſome years before in Macedon, when charged with an expedition againſt ſome barbarous natives of Thrace: on which occaſion Amyntas had expreſſed his reſpect to this illuſtrious Athenian, and his ſtate; and had entertained him at his court, with due magnificence and politeneſs. A friendſhip and affection grew from this incident, which the people of that age would have deemed it the utmoſt baſeneſs to forget. Eurydicè therefore now ſought an interview with this general; he was

Eſchin. de fal. leg. Sect. 13.

Plut. in Apoph. Cor. Nep. in Iphic.

enter-

entertained at her palace, and there ſurprized by an action, which could not fail to have the utmoſt influence on a humane and poliſhed mind.

THE queen, with her two ſons, whoſe age, ſtation, and misfortunes, rendered them objects of attention and reſpect, appeared ſuddenly before him in all the marks of grief and calamity. The elder ſhe gave to his hand; Philip, the younger, was placed on his knee. "Here" ſaid Eurydicè, "behold the tender pledges of that friendſhip which "Amyntas always felt, always expreſſed, for Iphicrates. To you he "was a father; you he conſidered as his child. Your city he loved "and revered; and you the moſt reſpectable of that city. Theſe "helpleſs orphans are your brethren and your friends. To you they fly "for protection and aſſiſtance. Pity their tender years, oppreſſed by "cruel uſurpation; pity their weeping mother, who thus begs redreſs "of her own, and her children's injuries; relieve the dear remains of "your antient friend, and reſtore the peace of that kingdom, which "hath ever merited the kindeſt offices from Athens."

IPHICRATES, affected by this addreſs, readily engaged to reinſtate the ſon of Amyntas in the throne of Macedon. Pauſanias was ſoon obliged to yield to his power and authority: Perdiccas was acknowledged ſovereign: and, during his minority, the adminiſtration was entruſted to Ptolomy. This diſpoſition could not at all contribute to abate the ambition of Ptolomy, who was by no means contented with the power and dignity of a regent. Fired with the hopes of aſcending the throne, he began with forming his alliances and connexions in Greece, ſo as to facilitate his ſecret deſigns. The Thebans were by this time become eminent and powerful. The implacable reſentment of Ageſilaus, who never could forgive the people that ſtopped the glorious progreſs of his arms in Aſia, kindled up the flames of a war with Thebes, which proved fatal to his country. At Leuctra the Spartans loſt one of their kings, the choice of their troops, and the reputation of their arms. The Thebans, conducted and encouraged by Epaminondas, purſued their advantage, and almoſt all Greece crowded to their ſtandard;

Xen. Hiſt. Grae. L. 6, 7.

ſtandard; the Athenians excepted, who envied and dreaded their riſing power; and, in order to preſerve the ballance, united with Lacedemon. The Thebans, therefore, Ptolomy determined to gain; and, to recommend himſelf to their alliance and protection, oppoſed the Athenians in their attempts to recover Amphipolis. Thus ſtrengthened, as he imagined, by the alliance of a ſtate now in the full ſplendor of its glory, this turbulent and ambitious prince began to avow his deſigns, and openly claimed a right to the ſovereignty of Macedon. A conſiderable party was brought over to his intereſt, and the whole kingdom fell once more into confuſion and diſorder, by the contentions of the two competitors to ſupport their different claims: when a particular event put an end to this confuſion, and greatly contributed to lay the foundation of that greatneſs, to which Philip, the younger prince, afterwards attained.

Eſch. de fal. leg. Sect. 14.

Plut. in Pelop.

THE Theſſalians had for ſome time groaned under the oppreſſion of a family of uſurpers. Jaſon, the Pheraean, who had at firſt ſeized the government, was a prince of merit, genius, and ſagacity. His aſſiſtance had been of the utmoſt conſequence to the Thebans in the war with Sparta; and both the contending parties he had endeavoured to manage in ſuch a manner as to prevent either of them from growing too great, ſo as to obſtruct thoſe vaſt deſigns of power and grandeur which he had meditated for himſelf and Theſſaly. His abilities reconciled the Theſſalians to his uſurpation, and might have had important conſequences, had he not been ſuddenly cut off by a conſpiracy. The reſpect due to his memory induced the Theſſalians to acknowledge his two brothers Polydorus and Polyphron as their rightful ſovereigns. The latter, impatient of a divided power, ſtabbed Polydorus; but ſoon after met with the like fate by the hand of Alexander, ſon, or, according to * Diodorus, the brother of the murdered prince. This action might have been conſidered as the effect of a juſt reſentment: but the conduct of Alexander left no room to extenuate his crimes. His ambition and cruelty were equally outrageous, and equally oppreſſive to the Theſſalians, who ſoon found themſelves obliged to implore the good offices of Thebes, to relieve

Xen. Hiſt. Grae. L. 6. p. 601.

* L. 15. Sect. 61.

lieve them from ſo intolerable a tyrant. His outrages had even reached to the Thebans and Athenians; and all mankind ſeemed concerned to repreſs the cruelties of this deteſtable monſter. The Thebans, therefore, ſent Pelopidas, their illuſtrious citizen, into Theſſaly to reſtore the tranquillity of that country. His reputation rendered him revered and dreaded; the principal cities opened their gates to him; and the tyrant fled before him. At firſt, he endeavoured, by the gentle methods of perſuaſion and addreſs, to infuſe ſuch principles into the breaſt of Alexander, as might prove more friendly to mankind; but finding him incapable of reformation, and receiving repeated complaints of his cruelty and abandoned ſenſuality, he thought it neceſſary to threaten him with the ſeverity of his power, which ſo intimidated the tyrant, that he retired privately with his guards, and left his countrymen freed from his oppreſſion. Xen. ut ſupra. Plut. in Pelop.

To Pelopidas, who was ſtill in Theſſaly, and who ſeemed formed for reſtoring the peace of kingdoms, and redreſſing the injuries of the oppreſſed, the Macedonians now applied. Nor could the two contending brothers refuſe to ſubmit their cauſe to the determination of an umpire, no leſs diſtinguiſhed for his equity, than for his other glorious accompliſhments. On this occaſion, his ſentence ſeemed entirely conſonant to the ſtricteſt rules of juſtice and moderation. Thoſe, whom the violence of party had driven from their country, he cauſed to be reſtored both on one and the other ſide. Perdiccas he declared ſole king of Macedon, and obliged Ptolomy to relinquiſh his pretenſions, and to profeſs a cordial reconciliation with his lawful prince. The king, whom he had now eſtabliſhed on the throne, engaged to act, in all particulars, as a friend and ally to the Thebans; and, as a ſecurity for his performance of every thing required on his part, [G] Philip his brother, together Ibid.

[G] The hiſtory of this prince's earlier years is embarraſſed with many differences and inconſiſtencies in different hiſtorians. By weighing and comparing their ſeveral accounts, I have endeavoured to form a conſiſtent narration, without entering into any particular diſcuſſion of the relations of thoſe writers, who ſpeak of his confinement in Illyria and Thebes; which might add to that tedioufneſs which the reader may have already found in the introductory part of this hiſtory.

with thirty noble youths of the firſt diſtinction in Macedon, were committed as hoſtages to the hands of Pelopidas, and by him conveyed to Thebes. A tranſaction which, as Plutarch obſerves, reflected the higheſt honour on his country; diſplayed the authority which the reputation of the Theban arms had gained abroad, and the opinion which had been univerſally conceived of the juſtice and integrity of that ſtate.

Ibid. Olymp. 102. Y. 4.

To the inſtances he had already given of his humane and generous diſpoſition, Pelopidas added that of a ſtrict attention to the care and education of the young prince, whom the neceſſity of affairs had thus torn from his family and his country. He had now attained the age of fifteen years, the time of life which demanded the exacteſt culture and regulation; and when a mind, to which nature hath been bountiful, begins to be ſuſceptible of ſolid inſtruction. And Pelopidas conſulted moſt effectually for his improvement and direction, by placing Philip in the family of Polymnus, the father of Epaminondas, who had the happineſs to be ſtill living, a witneſs of the glory and greatneſs of his illuſtrious ſon. The ſame tutors, and the ſame courſe of ſtudy, by which Epaminondas had been formed, were provided for the Macedonian prince. He had now an opportunity of forming his mind by the Grecian manners, the ſtandard of politeneſs, and the ſchool of virtue. He had ever before his eyes a character, one of the moſt truly great and amiable, which the Grecian ſtory hath preſerved, which he was inſtantly taught to revere, and to believe it his intereſt and glory to imitate. But it may be neceſſary to enter a little more particularly into the character of this renowned Theban, that we may have the clearer conception of thoſe advantages which Philip happily derived from his preſent ſituation.

Plut. in Pelop. Diod. L. 16. Sect. 2. Nep. in Epam.

EPAMINONDAS was born and educated in that honeſt poverty, which thoſe leſs corrupted ages accounted the glorious mark of integrity and virtue. The inſtructions of a Pythagorean philoſopher, to whom he was intruſted in his earlieſt years, formed him to all the temperance and ſeverity peculiar to that ſect, and were received with a docility and pleaſure which beſpoke an ingenuous mind. Muſic, dancing, and all thoſe

Nep. ut ſupra.

thoſe arts which were accounted honourable diſtinctions at Thebes, he received from the greateſt maſters. In the athletic exerciſes he became conſpicuous, but ſoon learned to apply particularly to thoſe which might prepare him for the labours and occaſions of a military life. His modeſty and gravity rendered him ready to hear and receive inſtruction; and his genius enabled him to learn and improve. A love of truth, a love of virtue, tenderneſs, and humanity, and an exalted patriotiſm, he had learned, and ſoon diſplayed. To theſe glorious qualities he added penetration and ſagacity, a happineſs in improving every incident, a conſummate ſkill in war, an unconquerable patience of toil and diſtreſs, a boldneſs in enterprize, vigour, and magnanimity. Thus did he become great and terrible in war; nor was he leſs diſtinguiſhed by the gentler virtues of peace and retirement. He had a ſoul capable of the moſt exalted and diſintereſted friendſhip. The warmth of his benevolence ſupplied the deficiencies of his fortune: his credit and good offices frequently were employed to gain that relief for the neceſſities of others, which his own circumſtances could not grant them: within the narrow ſphere of theſe were his deſires regularly confined; no temptations could corrupt him; no proſpect of advantage could ſhake his integrity; to the public he appeared unalterably and ſolely devoted, nor could neglect or injuries abate his zeal for Thebes. All theſe illuſtrious qualities he adorned with that eloquence which was then in ſuch repute, and appeared in council equally eminent, equally uſeful to his country, as in action. By him Thebes firſt roſe to ſovereign power, and with him ſhe loſt her greatneſs.

SUCH was the accompliſhed perſonage, in whoſe ſteps Philip was now taught to tread. [H] A Pythagorean philoſopher was alſo given Clemens Alex. in to Paedag.

[H] A SEVERE perſecution, to which the diſciples of Pythagoras had been expoſed in Italy (of which we have a particular account in Juſtin, L. 20. Polybius, L. 2. Plutarch de Gen. Socrat. and other authors) obliged thoſe few, who could eſcape from the barbarity of their enemies, to take ſhelter in Greece, where they found protection and reſpect; and were employed in inſtructing youth in the ſevere rules and precepts of their philoſophy. Hence Epaminondas found an uſeful and agreeable preceptor in Lyſis;

to him as an inſtructor, to form his mind by thoſe precepts, whoſe effects were already ſo eminently diſplayed in Epaminondas. But theſe precepts do not ſeem to have been received by Philip with that due regard to their intrinſic worth, which the virtuous Theban had diſcovered. Yet, as reputable and honourable accompliſhments, they ſufficiently engaged his attention; and, under the direction of this tutor, he attained to a remarkable proficiency in the Pythagorean doctrine. The ſame polite and ornamental parts of education he had alſo the faireſt opportunities of acquiring, and was early taught to admire all thoſe arts in which Greece excelled. Eloquence was pointed out, as an accompliſhment highly meriting his regard; and he continued, even in his moſt exalted fortune, to glory in the proficiency he was now labouring to gain. The converſation of Epaminondas enriched his mind with knowledge, and taught him the lovelineſs of virtue. High and exalted ſentiments of glory were beſt fitted to his diſpoſition; and all the arts and accompliſhments, which led to this, he ſtudiouſly cultivated, and eagerly acquired. From the great Theban he learned activity and vigour in all military operations; addreſs and ſagacity in improving all opportunities, and turning every incident to his advantage; but the more material parts of this great man's excellencies, ſaith Plutarch, his juſtice, his magnanimity, and his clemency, of theſe Philip poſſeſſed no ſhare by nature, nor did he acquire them by imitation. But, although the conduct of this prince may ſometimes give a ſanction to this ſevere ſentence, yet may we reaſonably conſider the hiſtorian as ſpeaking from the reſentment of a man, whoſe country had ſuffered by this prince's power. To conceal his faults, and, by a ſtrained defence, to convert his moſt exceptionable actions into ſo many inſtances of virtue or abilities, is to deſtroy that profitable inſtruction which his hiſtory may afford to mankind. But it may be at leaſt aſſerted, without any violation of hiſtorical truth, that Philip doth not always appear deſtitute of thoſe

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 2.

Plut. in Alex.

In Pelop.

Lyſis; and hence Nauſithous, another of that ſect, was now at Thebes ready to undertake the important charge of the young Macedonian prince. The poverty of Polymnus may induce us to concur with the Abbè de la Tour, author of the Life of Epaminondas, in ſuppoſing, that a public penſion was aſſigned, to defray the expence of Philip's education.

virtues.

virtues. He was ſenſible of the worth and amiableneſs, and never failed to aſſume the exterior appearance of them; and it may be more conſonant to his character to ſay, that an inordinate ambition, the firſt great paſſion of his mind, checked and controuled all the humane and benevolent ſentiments which he received from nature and education. Glory was his ultimate purſuit; and, to this, all his virtues were made ſubſervient. Hence it is, that we find this prince, who, from many inſtances of his conduct, appears by no means inſenſible to the dictates of juſtice and clemency, yet ſometimes acting injuriouſly and cruelly; forgetting, or neglecting, thoſe noble inſtructions he had received, and that example of true greatneſs, which had been pointed out to his imitation.

THAT this young prince, whoſe genius now began to ſhine out, might want no advantages to compleat his education, he was not confined to Thebes, but ſeems to have been attended by his preceptors into different parts of Greece, where the peace which this country enjoyed in the beginning of the reign of Perdiccas, admitted him to viſit the ſeveral ſtates, to ſtudy the tempers, manners, and diſpoſitions of thoſe people, who then engaged the general attention. The arts, the learning, and elegance of Athens, he ſeems to have particularly ſtudied, reliſhed, and admired. With the learned men of that city he formed connexions which continued during the whole courſe of his reign. He revered and admired Plato, as appears from that regard which he ever diſcovered to his followers: nor doth he ſeem to have been leſs regarded by the philoſopher. He paid the due reſpect to the riſing genius of Theophraſtus; and that intimacy, to which he admitted Iſocrates, we ſhall have frequent occaſion of obſerving. But his intercourſe with Athens doth not ſeem to have been entirely devoted to the adorning his mind, or improving his taſte. The political ſtate of that city, the paſſions, inclinations, and preſent corruptions of its inhabitants, were objects no leſs fitted to gain his attention. Theſe he undoubtedly ſtudied with the greateſt diligence; for no man appears to have been more intimately acquainted with them. He well knew how to

Oliv. L. 1. p. 37.

AElian. L. 4. C. 19. Athen. L. 11. AElian. ibid.

to eſteem their good qualities, to deſpiſe their faults, and to derive the due advantages from their prejudices and weakneſs.

Plut. in Alexan. In theſe his excurſions from Thebes, he viſited Samothrace, and was there initiated into thoſe grand myſteries of Ceres, which were celebrated at Athens, at Eleuſis, and in other parts of Greece. Here he firſt ſaw Olympias, the ſecond daughter of the King of Epirus; who was alſo initiated into the myſteries, and was now called Myrtalis, a name which the remembrance of their firſt affection ſeems to have preſerved, and occaſioned it to be frequently repeated. The affinity of their houſes naturally engaged Philip's attention to this princeſs. For Lanuſſa, the grand-daughter of Hercules, had been eſpouſed by Peleus, the grandſon of Achilles, from whom the kings of Epirus were deſcended. And her extraordinary beauty, joined to the natural graces of her tender years, made an impreſſion on the young prince, which never was effaced, but by their conjugal diſagreements.

Pauſan. in Corinth. Juliani Caeſ.

Olivier L. 1. p. 39. Rollin. It ſeems alſo probable, that Philip was permitted to attend Epaminondas in ſome of theſe expeditions which have ſo highly exalted the military character of that great Theban. Men of diſtinguiſhed note in Greece thought themſelves honoured by following the ſtandard of that general, whoſe arms pierced into the very boſom of Sparta, and who, more than once, made his enemies tremble for the ſafety of their very city.

While Philip was thus labouring to acquire all thoſe accompliſhments which might render him great and eminent, the kingdom of Macedon became again diſtracted by the ambition of Ptolomy, who was again encouraged to renew his pretenſions to the ſovereign power; again began to oppreſs the family of Amyntas; and obliged them once more to apply to Pelopidas, their protector. His honour and his diſpoſition both engaged him to ſupport his own ſettlement, and to aſſert the intereſts of his friends: but, as the Theban forces were otherwiſe engaged, he was obliged to collect ſome mercenary troops; and, at their

Plut. in Pelop.

their head, marched againſt the uſurper. As they approached, Ptolomy contrived to corrupt thoſe mercenaries, to engage them to revolt from their general, and to join his own army: yet the very name of this illuſtrious Theban ſtruck him with more terror than the appearance of an armed force. Single, and deſerted, as he was, the Macedonian humbled himſelf before him, acknowledged his fault, and implored pardon, as from a ſuperior: ſolemnly promiſing, for the future, to confine himſelf to the duties of a regent; to pay due allegiance to the lawful heir of the throne, and to behave, in every particular, as a faithful friend and ally to the Theban ſtate; and, as a ſecurity for his conduct, he gave his own ſon Philoxenus, with fifty other young Macedonians, as hoſtages; who were all ſent to Thebes.

THIS expedition, ſo honourable to Pelopidas, in the end proved fatal to him. His deſire of revenging the treachery of his mercenaries, was the occaſion of his falling into the hands of Alexander, the tyrant of Theſſaly; (from whence he was delivered by his friend Epaminondas;) and his reſentment of the tyrant's cruelty afterwards induced him to lead an army into Theſſaly: where his fury and impatience to attack Alexander in perſon, hurried him into the midſt of his enemies; and this renowned Theban fell beneath their numbers. Plut. ibid.

PROBABLY the death of Pelopidas encouraged Ptolomy once more to aſſert his pretenſions; and to raiſe new diſorders in Macedon. At leaſt, we find that Perdiccas ſtill ſuſpected his enterprizing temper; and, to ſecure the quiet poſſeſſion of a throne, which he had hitherto enjoyed but in name, recurred to the expedient uſually practiſed in this unſettled kingdom, and quieted his apprehenſions by murdering his turbulent guardian. Thus was this prince eſtabliſhed in an undiſturbed poſſeſſion of the ſovereign power: and, from this event, we find hiſtorians date the beginning of his reign. Diod. L. 16. Sect. 2. Olymp. 103. Y. 4.

PERDICCAS was a prince who did not want talents, but wanted the art of regulating and applying them; he had more boldneſs than Oliv. C. 1. p. 42.

firmneſs,

firmneſs, more cunning than prudence, and more genius than judgment. He valued himſelf upon his learning, and was paſſionately fond of learned men, without informing himſelf whether their characters anſwered to the knowledge they had acquired. Not contented with ſupporting them with his bounty, and encouraging them by his favour, he admitted them indiſcriminately into his ſtricteſt confidence; and even ſuffered himſelf to be abſolutely governed by one Eupratus, a philoſopher unworthy of the ſchool of Plato, where he had been inſtructed; who poſſeſſed the prince with an high opinion of his own proficiency in ſcience, with an affectation of refinement and ſpeculation; collected all thoſe about him, who might flatter this diſpoſition, and made him prefer pedants to his generals.

Athen. L. 11. p. 508.

His connexions with Thebes naturally led him to oppoſe the Athenian intereſt. Amphipolis, the perpetual ſubject of diſpute, was ſtill claimed by that people: but Perdiccas peremptorily refuſed to acknowledge the juſtice of their pretenſions, and prepared to defend the poſſeſſion of this important city, which he now aſſumed, by the force of arms. The Athenians, on their part, determined to aſſert their right, and, for this purpoſe, ſent out a conſiderable armament, under the command of a general named Calliſthenes. Perdiccas found himſelf unable to oppoſe this force, which had defeated him; and was on the point of regaining the city, when he was obliged to call in artifice to his aſſiſtance, and (poſſibly by tampering with Calliſthenes) obtained an advantageous truce. The Athenians were juſtly diſſatisfied with the conduct of their general, who now returned with diſgrace, and ſome time after fell under the reſentment of his countrymen. He was put to death, but without any public declaration, that the truce which he had concluded with Perdiccas, was the real cauſe of his ſentence. The people rather affected a regard to public faith, to adhere inviolably to the act of the man whom they had regularly commiſſioned, and even to approve of this truce, as a means of bringing the king of Macedon to a juſt ſenſe of the equity of their cauſe. Nor had they ſufficient opportunity to aſſert their claim effectually, being now engaged in aſſiſting

AEſchin. de fal. Leg. Sect. 14.

Xen. Hiſ. Grae. L. 7.

ing the Lacedemonians. The united force of theſe ſtates were conquered by Epaminondas at Mantinea, but unhappily the Thebans loſt their glorious general; and, with him, all the fruits of their victory, and all their ſhort-lived power and grandeur. Olymp. 104. Y. 2.

THE effect which this important loſs muſt neceſſarily have on Thebes, was ſoon perceived by the powers bordering on Macedon, which had hitherto been awed by that ſtate, and prevented from attacking its ally. But now the declenſion of the Theban grandeur, evidently foreſeen, appears to have encouraged the old enemies of the Macedonians to diſturb their peace: The Illyrians had ſtill at their head the ſame brave and experienced prince, Bardyllis, whoſe age doth not ſeem to have abated his vigour, and whoſe arms had already proved ſo formidable. He now ſent to Perdiccas to demand the payment of that tribute which he had exacted from ſome former kings; and, on his refuſal, advanced at the head of a powerful army to ſupport his claim; which quickly roufed the Macedonians, who marched out to oppoſe the invaders. The valour of each army was equal: but the Illyrians were better diſciplined, and better conducted; and found but little difficulty in gaining a compleat victory. The poor remains of the Macedonian army, of which more than four thouſand, by far the greateſt part of its force, had been cut to pieces, was obliged to lay down their arms, and ſubmit to the conqueror. Their king, who had not been deficient in acts of valour, fell a priſoner into the hands of his enemies, and there died of the wounds he had received in battle. His ſon Amyntas, who now became his ſucceſſor, was yet in his infancy, unable to aſſume the government, much more to retrieve the diſordered and dangerous ſtate of his kingdom. Thus was Macedon left expoſed to all the conſequences of civil diſſenſion, at the ſame time that it was drove to the brink of ruin by the moſt fatal calamities of a foreign war. Diod. L. 16. Sect. 2.

BOOK I. SECTION II.

CONTENTS.

DIFFERENT opinions about the place of Philip's reſidence at the time of Perdiccas's death.—Complicated diſtreſs of Macedon at this conjuncture.—Philip aſſumes the regency.—The immediate effects of his appearance.—Is raiſed to the throne in the place of his infant nephew.—Animates his ſubjects, by his ſucceſſes, againſt the Paeonians.—Inforces military diſcipline.—Inſtitution of the Δορυφοροι.*—Philip forms the Phalanx.—Deſcription of that body.—Obſervations on its form, arms, advantages, and defects.—Philip prevails on the king of Thrace to abandon his rival Pauſanias.—Declares Amphipolis a free city.—His conduct explained.—Philip defeats Argaeus.—Concludes a treaty with Athens.—Subdues Paeonia.—His battle with the Illyrians.—The death of Bardyllis.—Philip erects a trophy.—A probable reaſon of his making this alteration in the Macedonian cuſtoms.—Philip projects the ſiege of Amphipolis.—His addreſs in defeating an intended union between Athens and Olynthus.—He gains over the Olynthians to his intereſt.—He beſieges Amphipolis.—Amuſes the Athenians.—The Amphipolitans ſue to this people for ſuccours—but in vain.—Philip takes Amphipolis.—Finds it neceſſary to cement his union with the Olynthians.—He gives them Pydna.—The account of Libanius conſidered relative to Philip's*

lip's conduct towards the Pydeneans.—Potidaea beſieged by Philip.—His treatment of the Athenian garriſon.—The city given up to the Olynthians.—Philip's expedition into Thrace.—Character of Cotys.—Eſtabliſhment of the city of Philippi.—Golden mines near Crenidae.—The advantages which Philip derived from this fund of wealth.—War between Cotys and the Athenians.—Death of Cotys.—Diſorders occaſioned by the ambition of Cerſobleptes.—Philip's attention to the commotions in Thrace.

BOOK the FIRST.

SECTION II.

* DIODORUS aſſerts, that Philip was ſtill detained at Thebes, and there reſided; when the news of the total defeat of the Macedonians, and the death of their king, ſpread through the neighbouring nations, and reached this young prince. Education, example, his youth, and natural ardor, all conſpired to render him impatient for ſome great occaſion of exerting his abilities; and this event ſeemed, as it were, the ſignal for his ſtarting forward in the race of honour and glory. According to that hiſtorian, he now eluded the vigilance of the guards, to whom the care of his perſon was entruſted; and fled privately away to Macedon; reſolved to aſſiſt his family, and country in their diſtreſs; elevated with expectations of renown; and perhaps not without hopes of the throne, to which he afterwards was raiſed. Olymp. 105. Y. 1. * L. 16. Sect. 2.

BUT, according to this account, Philip muſt have reſided for a much longer term at Thebes than three years, which * Juſtin makes the time of his confinement in that city. And this ſeems to favour a relation, which † Athenaeus hath preſerved, but which he ſpeaks of as obſcure and uncertain. It is ſaid, that Plato conceived ſuch expectations of this prince, that he recommended him to the late king Perdiccas as a perſon entirely qualified for a public truſt; and that, in conſequence of the philoſopher's advice, Perdiccas placed him at the head of one of the Macedonian provinces, that he might there raiſe, train, and diſcipline, a body of forces, by way of a reſerve, on any ſudden emergency. If we may credit this relation, Philip muſt have been in his government at the time of his brother's defeat; and now appeared opportunely in defence of his country, not ſingle or unprepared, but at the head of a conſiderable reinforcement. * L. 7. C. 5. † L. 11. p. 506.

CIR-

Oliv. L. 2. P. 47.

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 2.

CIRCUMSTANCED as Macedon was at this time, a prince whoſe only virtue was courage, muſt neceſſarily have compleated its ruin, and one who poſſeſſed leſs of this than Philip could not have attempted to re-eſtabliſh it. The choice of all its forces had been cut to pieces, or made priſoners, in the late engagement; the remains were totally intimidated; their wounds ſtill bleeding, and the terror of the enemy ſtill ſtrongly impreſſed upon their minds. The victorious army, which Bardyllis had augmented by new levies, was every moment expected to pour down upon them; and nothing was ſpoken of, but the neceſſity of an abſolute ſubmiſſion. The Paeonians, a powerful and warlike people, accounted, in earlier times, leſs barbarous and more conſiderable than the Macedonians, had received ſome cauſe of offence from Perdiccas; and were now indulging their revenge, ravaging and inſulting the kingdom without the leaſt interruption or controul. Antient pretenſions to the ſovereignty were at the ſame time renewed; and foreign enemies invited to ſhare the ſpoils of this unhappy kingdom, under the pretence of ſupporting the claims of different competitors. Pauſanias, whom Iphicrates had diſpoſſeſſed, openly aſſerted his right to the crown. The Thracians he had engaged to ſupport his title; and was now ready to invade the kingdom, at the head of a formidable army, which the king of that country had been prevailed upon to raiſe for his aſſiſtance. Argaeus, the old competitor of king Amyntas, looked on the victory of his friends, the Illyrians, as an event highly favourable to his pretenſions; which he alſo now avowed and aſſerted. His known connexions with the victorious enemy, muſt have conſiderably increaſed his party in Macedon: but his dependence was not intirely on this party, nor on the Illyrians. The people of Athens had conceived an high reſentment againſt Perdiccas, who had preſumed to diſpute their right to Amphipolis; and oppoſed their attempts to regain that city. They were by no means favourably diſpoſed to Philip, the friend of Thebes, and pupil of their enemy Epaminondas. They juſtly ſuſpected that this prince, if once eſtabliſhed in the peaceable adminiſtration of affairs, would not be inclined to make them any conceſſion which Perdiccas had denied. Argaeus, on his part, who was grown old in intrigue,

intrigue, knew how to make the moſt flattering promiſes, when he ſtood in need of aſſiſtance: and ſo effectually convinced the Athenians, that their intereſt was cloſely connected with his reſtauration to that throne, on which he had for ſome time ſat, that they reſolved to exert themſelves in defence of his title; and, for this purpoſe, ſent out Mantias, one of their commanders, with a powerful fleet, and three thouſand men. Diod. Sic. ut ſupra.

Two pretenders to the crown, and four formidable enemies, now actually in arms, and ready to ſurround him, were not capable of deterring Philip from aſſuming the reins of government, under the title of regent and protector to his infant nephew. His eloquence was now firſt exerted to rouſe the Macedonians from their deſpair; to recal to their minds the courage, and the antient honours of their fathers; to inſpire them with hopes of better fortune; and to engage them in a faithful allegiance to the reigning family. All the motives that could poſſibly diſſipate their terror, and conciliate their affections, were pathetically and effectually urged by this prince: his own undaunted deportment gave weight to his arguments; and the appearance of his extraordinary merit made them conſider fidelity and ſtrict adherence to him, not only as their duty, but their true intereſt. He poſſeſſed all thoſe qualifications, in an eminent degree, which render a prince amiable in the general eye. His perſon was remarkably graceful, and commanded affection and reſpect: his addreſs and deportment were obliging and inſinuating: his conſummate penetration had not the leaſt appearance of reſerve: he had affability the moſt pleaſing and flattering; natural and unſtudied; without that timidity and heſitating condeſcenſion, that aukward and ridiculous mixture of caution and affected openneſs, which the great may ſometimes betray, who know the uſe of affability, and vainly hope to appear what nature forbids them to attempt. He had a temper gay and unclouded; a wit indulged with apparent eaſe, but ever well corrected. Such accompliſhments are oftentimes found to be the veil of deep deſigns and turbulent paſſions; but are frequently known to raiſe ſuch prejudices in favour of the poſſeſſor, as caution and reflection

Ibid.

Juſt. L. 7. C. 5.

Diod. L. 16. Sect. 3.

AEſchin. de falſa Leg. Plut. in Apopth. Athenae. & al.

reflection cannot conquer. The bare appearance, therefore, of such a prince, in a time of public danger, must have had a considerable effect: and the first experience of his abilities, in the beginning of his regency, strengthened the expectations of the people, and confirmed their attachment to him. But the dignity of regent was by no means suited to the greatness of his ambition, now inflamed by the popular favour, and general good opinion, which his merit had acquired. The oracle was industriously published, which promised that Macedon should arrive to the highest grandeur, under the reign of a son of Amyntas: and it was received with all possible deference. "This is the man," they cried, "whom we are to regard as the destined deliverer of his country. "Let us reflect upon the dangers now impending over us, and can we "hope for any security but from a king like him, or that an infant "reign can be at all consistent with the present state of Macedon? "Can it be expected, that a young prince, fired with a generous love "of glory and power, will exert all his abilities in defence of the glory "and power of another? No: let us make our cause his own: let us "offer him a prize worthy to be contended for; and let us place that "prince upon the throne of Macedon, whom the God himself points "out to us, and commands to be received as our deliverer." Such sentiments were, no doubt, propagated with all diligence by the friends and partizans of Philip, and were heard with all attention. And, as the circumstances and inclinations of the Macedonians favoured the schemes of his ambition, the infant Amyntas was set aside, without difficulty, in a kingdom which had frequently been used to see the lineal succession interrupted; and Philip himself was now invested with the royal title and authority.

Justin. L. 7. C. 6.

THUS was he happily and easily put in possession of the first darling object of his aspiring hopes. And, having ascended the throne of Macedon, he instantly began to exert himself with due policy and vigour, for the defence of his own power, and the welfare of his new subjects. His attention was, in the first place, turned to the army which had suffered so severely in the late engagement: and his first care was to restore

Diod. Sic. ut supra.

reſtore its ſtrength and vigour; and to eſtabliſh and improve its diſcipline.

THE art of war had not, as yet, been duly underſtood in Macedon, though, from the earlieſt ages, the ſoldiers of this kingdom had been remarkable for natural valour: and, in a diſordered ſtate, where many competitors frequently contended for the ſupreme power, and the government was weak and precarious, it is eaſy to conceive that princes might have been tempted to connive at many relaxations in military diſcipline, in order to preſerve the affections of their ſoldiers by this falſe indulgence. But Philip's views were much juſter, and more extenſive. The obſervations he had made, and the inſtructions he had received, in Greece, formed him compleatly in the military art; and taught him to regard an exact regulation of his army, as the ſure foundation of all his future hopes. He therefore applied to this work with an attention ſuited to its importance. He began with providing a ſufficient quantity of arms for his ſoldiers; and, in the form and management of theſe, made ſuch alterations as his experience and obſervation had ſuggeſted. His forces were conſtantly exerciſed, reviewed, engaged in mock battles; trained and inured to form, to move, to march, with eaſe and regularity. Every thing that tended to luxury and indulgence was ſtrictly prohibited. Their wives were never ſuffered to attend his officers; though [A] he himſelf was yet not careful to inforce this ſtrict regard to the diſcipline of his camp, by his own example. His exact care, in baniſhing luxury and effeminacy, continued during the whole courſe of his reign. We learn from * Polyaenus, that one officer was diſmiſſed from his ſervice, for uſing warm baths; and two others for entertaining a ſinging girl. The men of moſt diſtinction in his army were not permitted to make uſe of any carriages in their march, either for themſelves, or for their baggage; which was allowed to be no more than their ſervants could carry: nor were the number of theſe permitted to be any greater than ſtrict neceſſity required.

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 3.

Athenae. L. 13. P. 557.

* L. 4. C. 3.

Front. Strat. L. 4. C. 1.

[A] Ὁ δὲ Φιλιππος ἀεὶ καλὰ πολεμου ἐγαμει. Athen. in loco cit.

AMONG the inſtances of his attention to the modelling and regulating his army, and training up his ſoldiers to the military art, we may reckon one which * Arrian and † AElian both aſcribe to Philip: and that is the inſtitution of the ΔΟΡΥΦΟΡΟΙ, or ſpear-men, as they were called. Theſe were carefully choſen from all the noble families in Macedon; educated and inſtructed, in all liberal accompliſhments, at the royal court, from their earlieſt years, and employed in all offices about the king's perſon. They guarded his chamber-door by turns; they attended him in hunting and in battle; they had peculiar honours and privileges, and particularly were admitted to dine at the king's table. Thus he contrived to keep, as it were, a number of hoſtages, to ſecure the allegiance of all the nobles in Macedon: and theſe youths, early taught to love and reſpect the perſon of their prince, conſtantly under his inſpection, and, of conſequence, fired with emulation to render themſelves worthy of his regard, ſerved as a glorious ſeminary (ſo * Curtius calls them), of future generals and officers; on whoſe abilities and zeal, the king might have the firmeſt reliance. And, for this purpoſe, it was particularly neceſſary, that they ſhould be inured, to an exemplary obſervance of his regulations. Not all the favour which he ſhewed them; not all the affability and condeſcenſion with which he entertained them, as his equals and companions, was ſuffered to encourage them to the leaſt relaxation of his vigorous diſcipline. One of them, who had left his company on a march, to allay his thirſt in a tavern, was ſeverely chaſtiſed. Another, who, when he ſhould have remained under arms, was tempted to lay them down, for the greater convenience of plundering, was put to death without mercy; and without the leaſt regard to his intimacy with the king, which had encouraged him to commit this offence.

* Arrian L. 4. p. 268.
† AElian L. 14. C. 49.
* L. 8. C. 6.
AElian ut ſupra.

AND now it was, that Philip formed the famous Macedonian PHALANX, which afterwards performed ſuch effectual ſervices on many occaſions; which ſo greatly contributed to his ſon's conqueſts in Aſia, and which appeared ſo formidable to the Romans, at a time when its figure and its arms alone remained, without the ſpirit by which it was originally

Diod. Sic. ut ſupra.

originally animated. Homer was the ſource from whence the Grecians drew all their knowledge: and, from the following paſſage of his immortal poem, Philip is ſaid to have conceived the firſt idea of this renowned body:

Ασπις ἀρ' ἀσπιδ' ἐρειδε, κορυς κορυν, ἀνερα δ' ἀνηρ.
Ψαυον δ' ἱπποκομοι κορυθες λαμπροισι φαλοισι
Νευοντων ὡς πυκνοι ἐφεσταν αλληλοισι. Il. N. 131.

An iron ſcene gleams dreadful o'er the fields;
Armour in armour lock'd, and ſhields in ſhields.
Spears lean on ſpears, on targets targets throng:
Helms ſtuck to helms, and man drove man along. Pope.

Thus Diodorus relates: but it hath been ſuggeſted, and not without reaſon, that Philip was by no means the original inventor of the Phalanx, but only new modelled and diſciplined a body, with which the Macedonians, as well as all the Grecians, were already well acquainted. In the time of Philip, this Phalanx was compoſed of a body of infantry of about ſix thouſand men, which uſually formed his main battle. Their arms were a ſhort cutting ſword, a large ſquare buckler, four feet in length, and two and an half broad; and a pike fourteen cubits long, called by the Grecians ΣΑΡΙΣΣΑ. This body was uſually drawn up ſixteen in depth: the files were ſometimes doubled, ſometimes divided, as the different exigencies required: and, in the manner of their evolutions and counter-marchings, on ſuch occaſions, Philip introduced an alteration which he deemed of conſequence, as it tended to encourage his own ſoldiers, and to intimidate the enemy. The original manner of this counter-march, which the Macedonians invented, was ſo contrived, as to have the appearance of a retreat; the new method, which was adopted from the Lacedemonians, had an oppoſite effect, and ſhewed like a bold and undaunted onſet.

See note on the life of Philip in the Univ. Hiſt.

Polyb. L. 17.

AElian Tact. C. 28.

THE ſpace between each Phalangite, on their march, (as * Polybius hath deſcribed this body in the time of the Romans) was four cubits; and the diſtance between the ranks the ſame: as they advanced towards the enemy, the men cloſed to half theſe diſtances; and, when they were to receive the enemy, they locked ſtill cloſer, ſo that the diſtances were but one cubit. Their pikes, as hath been obſerved, were fourteen cubits long. The ſpace between the hands, and that part of the pike which projected beyond the right, took up four, and, conſequently, each pike was advanced ten cubits beyond the body of the ſoldier. So far did they advance towards the enemy, from the ſoldiers of the firſt rank; while thoſe alſo, of all the four ſucceeding ranks, projected beyond the front to their ſeveral proportional diſtances. The ſoldiers of all the other ranks behind the fifth held their pikes, (which could not reach the enemy) raiſed and reclining a little over thoſe before them, ſo as to form a kind of roof to ſecure them from all miſſive weapons. But this was not the only uſe of thoſe ſoldiers, whoſe pikes could not reach the enemy. They were moſt effectually employed in bearing up againſt thoſe who preceded them, and ſupporting them with all their ſtrength. So that the charge was ever made with the whole united force and impetuoſity of all this mighty body; immoveable and impregnable by its union; and without the leaſt poſſibility of a retreat for thoſe ſoldiers who were on every ſide cloſely locked in, and puſhed forward by their comrades.

* L. 17. p. 764—767. L. 12. 664.

THE difficulty of ſuſtaining the weight of this body, appears evidently from its deſcription; the difficulty of opening or breaking it * Polybius thus demonſtrates, by comparing it with the diſpoſition of the Roman army. Each Roman ſoldier, ſaith this hiſtorian, takes up in fight two cubits: the ſame diſtance muſt be allowed for ſhifting their ſhields, and wielding their arms. The whole, then, is twice the diſtance of the Phalangites, when they move to attack the enemy. Every Roman, therefore, oppoſes two of theſe, and is obliged to make head again ten different pikes. And, when the Phalanx waits to receive the enemy, the numbers and difficulties are doubled. The efforts of the aſſailants

* ut ſupra.

aſſailants might indeed ſometimes break one or more in this vaſt foreſt of pikes. But then, (as * Livy hath obſerved in one particular inſtance,) the pike, ſo broken, ſtill continued to fill up the tremendous range, without any vacancy or interval: nor was its broken point incapable of doing execution.

* L. 32. Sect. 17.

A * LATE author of a diſcourſe on the Roman art of war is of opinion, that the principal defect of the Phalanx, lay in its diſadvantageous armour, and order of battle. "In reality, ſaith he, the pikes of the "two firſt ranks, only were ſerviceable in an engagement; thoſe of the "reſt ſcarcely availed any thing. The men of the third rank could not "ſee what paſſed in the front, nor had any command of their long "pikes, which were entangled and locked up between the files, with-"out a poſſibility of moving them to the right or left: hence the Ro-"mans found no great difficulty in ſurmounting an obſtacle, formidable "indeed in appearance, but at bottom very trifling. They had only to "gain upon the pikes of the two firſt ranks, that they might join "the enemy, and fight hand to hand. This they were enabled to do "by their large bucklers, with which they bore up the pikes of the "Macedonians, and, forcing their way under, reached them with their "ſwords. All reſiſtance was then at an end: the Phalanx, unprovided "for defence, and rather embarraſſed than aided by their pikes, could "no longer ſtand the furious charge of the Romans, who made dread-"ful havock with their pointed ſwords. We find at the battle of "Pydna, where Paulus AEmilius gained ſo compleat a victory over "Perſeus, that no leſs than twenty thouſand Macedonians were ſlain, "with the loſs of only one hundred men on the ſide of the Romans. "This, our author adds, it is impoſſible to aſcribe to any other cauſe, "than to the inſufficiency of the pike, when oppoſed to an infantry "armed with ſwords and bucklers."

* Duncan's Tranſlat. of Caeſar's Comment.

IT becomes the writer of this hiſtory to ſpeak with the utmoſt caution on ſuch a ſubject: particularly as * Folard, from whom theſe obſervations are almoſt exactly copied, has pronounced poſitively on the inconvenience

* Traité de Colonne. Polybe. Tom. 1.

venience of the Macedonian pikes. But it is obvious to remark, that the battle, here brought as an example to eſtabliſh this theory, doth not afford a ſingle circumſtance in favour of it; but, on the contrary, doth remarkably confirm that of Polybius. In the firſt place, we find the conſul AEmilius uſing all poſſible artifice to bring Perſeus from his ground, which he had choſen particularly for the ſake of his Phalanx: and to which he obſtinately adhered, till accident, or rather the policy of the Roman, obliged him to advance. The ſight of the Phalanx, though deſcending into a leſs advantageous place, ſtruck AEmilius with horror and amazement. It was attacked with all imaginable gallantry in front, but bore down all before it with ſuch irreſiſtible impetuoſity, that AEmilius rent his garments in an agony of grief and indignation. When the inequality of the ground, the immenſe front of this body, and the confuſion of the battle, began to deſtroy the firm and ſolid form of the Phalanx; then it was, that this able Roman conceived hopes of ſucceſs: then it was, that he ordered his legions to attack it in the intervals and vacancies now laid open. [B] And to this diſpoſition * Livy, in expreſs terms, aſcribes the victory. Had the whole Roman army, ſaith he, continued to make its impreſſion on the front, it muſt have run directly on the Macedonian pikes; nor could it have ſuſtained the weight of this cloſe and firmly compacted body.

Livy L. 44. Cap. 40. cum Sup. Freinſh.

* Ibid. cap. 41.

THE Phalanx, therefore, appears to have been irreſiſtible in almoſt every caſe, but where the inequality, or accidental obſtructions in the ground, or the unwieldineſs, occaſioned by its numbers, made it break or fluc-

[B] NEQUE ulla evidentior cauſa victoriae fuit, quam quod multa paſſim praelia erant: quae fluctuantem turbarunt primo, deinde disjecerunt Phalangem: cujus confertae, & intentis horrentis haſtis intolerabiles vires ſunt. Si carptim aggrediendo circumagere immobilem longitudine et gravitate haſtam cogas, confuſa ſtrue implicantur: ſi vero ab latere aut ab tergo aliquid tumultûs increpuit, ruinae modo turbantur. Sicut tum adverſus catervatim incurrentes Romanos, et interruptâ multifariam acie obviam ire cogebantur; & Romani, quacunque data intervalla eſſent inſinuabant ordines ſuos. Qui, ſi univerſâ acie in frontem adverſus inſtructam Phalangem concurriſſent, quod Pelignis principio pugnae incaute congreſſis adverſus cetratos evenit, induiſſent ſe haſtis, nec conferatam aciem ſuſtinuiſſent. Liv. in loco cit.

tuate.

tuate. This was the chief inconvenience attending on the Phalanx, which is ſaid to have been greatly increaſed by the later kings of Macedon, who were enabled to augment this body to ſixteen thouſand men. Though their diviſion of the Phalanx, thus augmented into ten diſtinct battalions, ſeems to have been purpoſedly intended to obviate this inconvenience. And, if once broken, either by the nature of the ground, or the artifice of the enemy in retiring, and tempting the Phalangites to a diſorderly purſuit, or by any other cauſe, the miſchief became totally irreparable, as it was abſolutely impoſſible for them ever to rally and reſume their form. Oliv. L. 2. p. 64. Polyb. ut ſupra.

ANOTHER defect of this body ſeems to have been, that its rear was left intirely expoſed and defenceleſs. Men armed with long pikes, and exceeding cloſely drawn up, could, by no means, if attacked behind, face about readily, and preſent their arms that way. Accordingly, we find, that in the battle of Cynocephalae, where the Roman conſul Flaminius conquered Philip, the later king of Macedon, a legionary tribune, with a few manipuli, undertook to break through a formidable body of the Macedonian Phalanx, which continued, after the diſperſion of their comrades, to fight firmly on the right wing; and, by attacking them in the rear, eaſily effected his deſign, cut the hindmoſt to pieces, and obliged the reſt to fly. Livy L. 33. C. 10.

THE Phalanx, thus formed, Philip juſtly conſidered as his beſt and moſt effectual reſource: and the ſoldiers, of which it was compoſed, he treated with every mark of diſtinction and regard. That affability and affection, which he ſhewed to all his ſoldiers, and which he well knew how to expreſs, without deſcending from his true dignity, were doubled to them. He gave them the honourable title of ΠΕΖΕΤΑΙΡΟΙ, his fellow ſoldiers, a name invented to animate and encourage them, and to ſoften the utmoſt ſeverity of their toils. Such familiarities, ſaith the French tranſlator of Demoſthenes, are eaſily practiſed, and coſt a prince but little, yet frequently prove of the utmoſt conſequence. Demoſth. Olyn. 1. Sect. 8. Tourreil Not. in Olyn. 1.

BUT,

BUT his different enemies were now pouring down upon him, and made it neceſſary to exert all his efforts and abilities to avert the danger. In his preſent difficulties he deemed it by no means inconſiſtent with his honour, to treat, to promiſe, and to oblige. He began with ſending a deputation to the Paeonians; and, partly by bribing ſome of their chiefs, partly by fair and artful promiſes, (the methods with which he firſt began, and always continued to conduct his deſigns) he prevailed on that people to grant him a peace, and to leave his territories unmoleſted. From this experience of the effectual power of gold, he was induced to try the ſame artifice againſt the people of Thrace, who had eſpouſed the intereſts of his rival Pauſanias. The wealth of the kingdom had been entirely exhauſted by the public diſorders, and gold was now ſo exceedingly ſcarce in Macedon, that Philip is ſaid to have regarded an only cup of that metal, as a poſſeſſion of ſuch conſequence, that, for the greater ſecurity, it was always placed on his pillow. Yet, on this preſſing occaſion, he uſed all his powers to raiſe a ſum conſiderable enough for his deſign; and, by a magnificent preſent, to [c] the king of Thrace, engaged him to abandon Pauſanias and his cauſe. Thus was he extricated from ſome of his immediate difficulties, and, particularly, from the moleſtation of one formidable competitor.

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 3.

Athenae. L. 4. p. 155.

BUT Argaeus and the Athenians gave him ſtill greater uneaſineſs: his intereſts demanded the ruin of the one; the others were to be managed with the utmoſt addreſs and policy. He was ſenſible that, although their diſpoſitions were by no means favourable to him, yet that their great motive for eſpouſing the cauſe of Argaeus, was the hopes of becoming maſters of Amphipolis, a ceſſion which that prince could

Diod. ſic. ut ſupra.

[c] WE learn from Thucydides, that, among the ordinary revenues of the kings of Thrace, thoſe preſents were accounted, which their richer ſubjects, neighbouring princes, &c. uſually made to him, as well as to his nobles: and, that Philip, on this occaſion, gratified his pride, as well as his love of gold: for that, in Thrace, it was eſteemed more honourable to receive than to give; contrary to the cuſtom of Perſia. Thucyd. L. 2. Sect. 97.

make

make no difficulty of promiſing, if, by their interpoſition, he might be advanced to the throne. By the ſame conceſſion, Philip might have at once gained their friendſhip: but he clearly ſaw the danger of inveſting thoſe, whom he conſidered as his enemies, with a place of ſuch importance to the peace and ſecurity of his kingdom. He therefore could not think of ſuffering the Athenians to poſſeſs it: on the other hand, he was to act with due caution and delicacy, ſo as, if poſſible, to give no umbrage to this people; and this could by no means be effected, if he ſtill continued to keep poſſeſſion of it himſelf. He therefore determined upon a meaſure, dictated by the extent of his genius and policy. He withdrew the Macedonian forces from Amphipolis; and affected to renounce all claim to that city, by a formal declaration, acknowledging the right of its inhabitants to abſolute liberty and independence, as a Grecian ſettlement, intitled, by the expreſs words and tenour of treaties lately concluded, to the enjoyment of their own laws and privileges, free from the controul of any foreign juriſdiction. By this means, whatever oppoſition ſhould be made to the pretenſions of Athens, was to appear as the act of the inhabitants themſelves. And this declaration of Philip had the appearance of ſuch diſintereſted generoſity, that the people of Amphipolis, in the firſt emotions of gratitude, decreed divine honours to him, as their guardian genius: expreſſed the warmeſt zeal for his ſupport againſt all attempts to diſturb his government at home; while, at the ſame time, they defended his frontier againſt all foreign attacks, that might be made on that ſide.

Polyaen. Stra. L. 4. C. 17.

Ariſtid. Orat. de Societ. Tom. 1. p. 480. Ed. Jebb.

MANTIAS, the Athenian admiral, was now at anchor before Methonè, the city ſo called on the Thermaïc bay, forty ſtadia diſtant from Pydna; and from thence detached a body of troops to reinforce the Macedonians, who had taken up arms for Argaeus; who now appeared at the head of his united army, and preſented himſelf before the city of AEgae. He addreſſed himſelf to the inhabitants in the manner uſual in ſuch diſputes; inveighed againſt the injuſtice of the preſent government; ſupported his own title by every argument which his cauſe could ſupply; and urged every motive of honour and intereſt, which

Diod. Sic. ut ſupra.

might induce them to acknowledge him as their ſovereign, and to fight under his ſtandard. But theſe people had too juſt notions of the merit and abilities of Philip, and of the weakneſs and inſufficiency of his rival, to ſuffer their allegiance to be ſhaken. They, with one conſent, determined to adhere firmly to the intereſts of the preſent reign, and ſhut their gates againſt Argaeus. Diſpirited with this diſgrace, he directed his march back towards Methonè; when Philip, who was now prepared to attack him, fell furiouſly on his rear, and cut it to pieces. The reſt of his army gained a neighbouring eminence, where they were quickly ſurrounded, and obliged to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war.

Demoſth. in Ariſtoc.

In this battle Argaeus fell, and thus freed Philip from all the dangers and commotions which might ariſe from his pretenſions. His Macedonians, Philip diſpoſed among his own troops, and freely admitted them to renew their oaths to him, with a confidence well calculated to attach them to his intereſt. All the Athenian priſoners he treated with the utmoſt diſtinction and reſpect. He commanded, that their baggage ſhould be inſtantly reſtored to them; he expreſſed the greateſt veneration for their ſtate; and the moſt cordial affection, and tender concern, for its citizens; and thus ſent them home, deeply affected with the politeneſs, and humane diſpoſitions, of the young king of Macedon.

Demoſth. ut ſupra.

The Athenian priſoners had ſcarcely arrived at their city, when ambaſſadors from Philip appeared in the aſſembly; where the late conduct of their maſter gained them the utmoſt favour and attention. In his name they propoſed a peace; and a renewal of that alliance, which had formerly ſubſiſted between Athens and king Amyntas. On his part, the faireſt profeſſions were made of regard and amity: and, as to Amphipolis, his deputies were inſtructed to ſpeak of it as a city to which Philip had no claim, and which was no longer dependent on the crown of Macedon, either to hold, or grant to others. His overtures were received with all attention by a people, who, although they derived conſiderable advantages from their conqueſts and colonies in Thrace and Macedon,

Polyaen. L. 4. C. 17.

Macedon, yet were greatly diſcouraged by the vaſt expence of ſending out and maintaining their fleets, in order to ſupport theſe acquiſitions; and were therefore, at preſent, well inclined to make a peace with Philip, on ſuch honourable terms as he now offered. Theſe, as they conſiſted intirely in words and promiſes, he made no difficulty of propoſing. And they, on their part, did not, as yet, think ſo highly of Philip's power, and were not ſo well acquainted with his policy, as to imagine that he could preſume to violate any treaty which they might conclude with him. They therefore contented themſelves with ſeeing Amphipolis independent on Macedon; perſuaded that they might, at ſome time, recover it by force of arms. Not the leaſt mention was now made of it; but the treaty, without any objection, or difficulty, accepted, concluded, and ratified, intirely to the ſatisfaction of Philip; who, in the depths of his artifice and policy, conſidered it only as a temporary expedient: fully determined, that no engagements, of this nature, ſhould raiſe any obſtructions to his future deſigns.

THESE actions engaged the firſt year of Philip's reign; and, having thus far provided for the ſecurity of his power and kingdom, he received an account of the death of Agis, king of the Paeonians. A ſimilar event had encouraged the Paeonians to diſtreſs and harraſs the kingdom of Macedon; and now Philip, inſtructed by their invaſion, determined to embrace the ſame occaſion of oppreſſing them. He entered their territories with the choice of all his forces, encouraged and invigorated by their late ſucceſſes. The enemy, who marched out to meet him, were utterly defeated, and the whole nation obliged to ſubmit implicitly to the conqueror, and to acknowledge an abſolute dependence on Macedon. Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 4.

PHILIP had now one enemy alone remaining, but this by far the moſt formidable; Bardyllis, king of the Illyrians. The victories which this prince had gained over the brothers and the father of Philip; the ſhameful tribute which they had paid him, and which he ſtill demanded; the acquiſitions which he had already gained in Macedon, Ibid.

and the danger with which his increaſing power ſtill threatened the kingdom; all engaged this prince to revenge the injuries done to his family; to aſſert the honour of his ſubjects, and to provide for his own defence and ſecurity. He therefore aſſembled his ſoldiers; and, by a ſpirited diſcourſe, inflamed their minds with ſentiments of glory; rendered them impatient to engage their old enemy, and to retrieve the honour of their arms; and, having thus prepared them for actions of valour, marched towards the confines of Illyria, at the head of ten thouſand foot and ſix hundred horſe. Bardyllis perceived the approaching ſtorm, but not without emotion; he would have been well pleaſed not to expoſe his reputation, purchaſed by a long life of military toils, to any hazard, againſt a prince in the active part of life, of extraordinary vigour and abilities, and who already appeared formidable by his late ſucceſſes. Ambaſſadors were therefore ſent from the Illyrian, with propoſals of peace, on condition that each party ſhould be acknowledged ſovereign of thoſe places which they then poſſeſſed. To theſe overtures Philip boldly replied, that an equitable and an honourable peace would be intirely conſonant to his inclinations; that he could not regard any peace, as either equitable or honourable, but ſuch a one as ſhould effectually confine the Illyrian within his antient limits. That he ſhould immediately relinquiſh all his conqueſts in Macedon, were the terms which it became the king of Macedon to propoſe; and theſe the only terms he was determined to accept. This ſpirited anſwer put an end to all farther negotiations. The Illyrian king ordered his troops to march; and, with a due intrepidity, ſought out the bold invaders.

Ibid. THE armies of the two nations were nearly equal, that of the Illyrians being compoſed of ten thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe. They were alſo equally animated, though by different motives. The Macedonians ſought to revenge their late diſgraces, and to regain the honour of their arms: the Illyrians came on in the pride of former victories, and were eager to ſupport their advantages, and maintain the glory they had already gained. As they approached, each army endeavoured to ſtrike terror into their aſſailants, by horrid ſhouts and outcries, according to the antient

antient cuſtom of theſe nations. The Illyrians advanced in one large column, of that kind which the Greeks called Plinthion, to fall with all their weight upon the enemy. The right wing and center of the Macedonians were compoſed of their choiceſt infantry, and, among theſe, the Phalanx lately formed. On the left, Philip ſtationed his cavalry, who were ordered to wheel about and attack the Illyrians in flank; while the prince, at the head of his favourite body, ſtood firmly in the front, and bravely ſuſtained their charge. Both ſides fought with equal valour, and victory remained long in ſuſpence. At length, the Macedonian cavalry began to make ſome impreſſion, both on the flank and the rear of the Illyrians; while all the boldeſt efforts of the Phalanx, and all the military ſkill of their royal general, were exerted to break their front. Victory began, at length, to favour; and, after a long and obſtinate conteſt, to declare for Philip: repeated charges, directed with due ſkill, and executed with becoming valour, obliged the Illyrian column to bend and fluctuate: the Macedonians preſſed their diſordered enemy on all ſides; on the front, the flank, and the rear; and, with great havock, broke and diſperſed the whole army. More than ſeven thouſand fell on the field of battle; and, among theſe, the gallant old king Bardyllis; whoſe mind and body ſtill retained ſuch vigour, that, at the age of ninety, he fought bravely on horſeback. This man had raiſed himſelf, by his valour, from a ſtate of the greateſt meanneſs and obſcurity. Having firſt gained a few followers, he ſupported himſelf by rapine and plunder; and, by remarkable equity and exactneſs in the diſtribution of the prey, attached his followers to his intereſt, and greatly increaſed their numbers. Hence he ſeems (in this ſavage nation, where power was chiefly founded on violence and perſonal bravery, the great mark of merit) to have been enabled to raiſe himſelf to the ſovereignty. In this ſtation he acted with becoming vigour; and now fell in a manner worthy of a warlike prince.

Fron. Strat. L. 2. C. 3.

Lucian in Macrobiis. Photius Biblio. p. 1579.

Cic. de Off. L. 2. Sect. 2.

THE purſuit was, for ſome time, continued with conſiderable ſlaughter; but, as the rout diſperſed and ſeparated the enemy, Philip, who well knew how far to purſue his victory, recalled his ſoldiers to the

the field of battle; where he cauſed the dead to be interred, and, as * Diodorus hath recorded, erected a trophy in honour of this important victory. It is certain, that this account is not agreeable to the eſtabliſhed maxim of his predeceſſors; and that Pauſanias, as hath been already obſerved, aſſerts, that neither Philip nor Alexander ever erected a trophy in honour of any of their many victories. Yet, in the medals which have been preſerved, both of the father and the ſon, we find a reverſe charged with one of theſe memorials of victory; which ſeems to favour the account of Diodorus, and to imply, that Philip did really make this innovation in the Macedonian cuſtoms; and rather choſe to imitate the manners and uſages of Greece. And if ſo, it is a circumſtance the more worthy of attention, as it ſeems to be an indication of the aſpiring temper of this prince. His firſt great ambition was to make his kingdom be conſidered as a true and genuine member of the illuſtrious community of Greece. This was an honour the Greeks were now by no means diſpoſed to grant him; and every circumſtance of diſtinction many of them were ſufficiently ready to point out. Hence might poſſibly have ariſen this affectation of conforming to the Grecian manners: which was by no means accidental, or lightly conceived by Philip; but the reſult of deep deſign, to place himſelf and his ſubjects in a more honourable view than that of barbarians, in which their enemies were willing to conſider them; and to aboliſh every, even the minuteſt, cuſtom, which might tend to preſerve the memory of a diſtinction ſo odious and mortifying.

* L. 16. Sect. 4.

See Demoſth. Phil. 3. Sect. 6. et alibi.

However this may be, the ambitious and daring ſpirit of Philip, enlivened and elevated by ſucceſs, now meditated ſtill greater and more extenſive deſigns. The late victory had compleatly freed his country from the incurſions of a dangerous enemy; and reduced Illyria to the condition of a province dependent on Macedon. His abilities, his ſucceſſes, his whole deportment, obliging and engaging, both by nature and by art, all conſpired to captivate the affections of his ſubjects, and to attach them with particular firmneſs to his ſervice. They now ſpoke of nothing but the greatneſs of their king; and, under his direction

Diod. Sic. ut ſupra.

and

and command, were prepared to undertake the moſt hazardous enterprizes. Thus animated, and thus ſupported, Philip now determined to go on in that courſe of bold and hazardous enterprizes, which he had hitherto purſued with ſo much good fortune; and, not contented with ſecuring the peaceable poſſeſſion of the throne, (which many princes, ſituated as he had been, would have thought ſufficient for their glory) reſolved to render his kingdom much more opulent and flouriſhing; much more powerful and reſpectable.

AMPHIPOLIS he conſidered as a city, the poſſeſſion of which was, in the firſt place, neceſſary to his future deſigns; and which both glory and intereſt equally prompted him to reunite to Macedon. But many difficulties there were to obſtruct an attempt of this nature, which required the moſt conſummate policy to ſurmount. The Athenians had by no means reſigned their pretenſions, but prepared to reduce the city by force of arms. The Amphipolitans, on their part, had now taſted the comforts of freedom; and determined, if poſſible, to maintain their independence: for this purpoſe, they attached themſelves to the Olynthian league, which had once more grown powerful by the ruin of the Spartans. The people, who formed this confederacy, appeared well-diſpoſed to defend them, both againſt the Athenians, with whom they were, at this time, engaged in a conteſt; and againſt Philip, whom they juſtly dreaded and ſuſpected. Iphicrates, the Athenian, was once more ſent againſt this city, whoſe abilities ſoon made him maſter of all the adjacent poſts. The town was blocked up; when a party of the citizens, in the Athenian intereſt, promiſed to deliver up one of the gates to him, and gave hoſtages for the ſecurity of their performance. Theſe hoſtages Iphicrates committed to the care of Charidemus, the commander of a body of hired troops, who then fought under him, and was himſelf obliged to return to Athens, whither the diſſatisfaction of his countrymen had recalled him. Charidemus, under pretence of reſenting the wrongs of Iphicrates, refuſed to ſerve under Timotheus, who had ſucceeded him, and returned the hoſtages to the Amphipolitans. The Athenians were thus defeated in their hopes of gaining the city; and Timotheus himſelf was ſoon after obliged to raiſe the ſiege, as he had

Demoſth. in Ariſtoc.

had not forces ſufficient to oppoſe the Olynthians and Thracians, with whom he was at one time engaged.

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 8.

THE Amphipolitans, thus ſecured from their preſent danger, ſeem to have grown to ſome degree of inſolence, and to have given Philip real, or pretended, cauſes of complaint. The Olynthians plainly perceived, that theſe muſt neceſſarily produce an open declaration againſt them on the part of Philip; and that a place, where many of their ſubjects had ſettled, was in imminent danger of falling under the dominion of a prince, whoſe power was already become formidable to his neighbours. What uſe he might be tempted to make of ſuch an acceſſion of ſtrength; how far their intereſt might be affected, and their welfare rendered precarious by it, was uncertain. They, therefore, determined to quiet all their ſuſpicions and jealouſies at once, and to provide effectually againſt all conſequences, by a timely union with Athens; and now ſent their deputies to that city, to propoſe an accommodation and alliance.

Demoſth. Olynth. 1. Sect. 3.

SUCH a conjunction could not but appear in the higheſt degree alarming to Philip; his future hopes intirely depended on defeating the deſign; and, for this purpoſe, that artifice and policy, which had always ſo great a ſhare in the ſucceſs of all his ſchemes, were now effectually exerted. His agents were inſtantly diſpatched to Athens: the popular leaders, and public miniſters, were gained; and the people flattered with the faireſt and moſt plauſible declarations. To give theſe an air of greater ſincerity, a negotiation was commenced, and a formal ſtipulation made, that the Athenians, in the firſt place, ſhould be put in poſſeſſion of Amphipolis; and that they, on their part, ſhould give up Pydna to Philip; which, though famous for its fidelity and attachment to Amyntas; an attachment carried even to adoration, as we learn from * Ariſtides, yet had revolted from Philip, and committed itſelf to the protection of Athens. Under the pretence of preventing the inhabitants of this city from taking the alarm, and ſeeking the defence of ſome other ſtate, the whole tranſaction was privately carried

Ibid.

* Orat. de Societ. Tom. 1. p. 480.

ried on in the ſenate of five hundred, without being referred, as uſual, to the aſſembly of the people: and, by this means, there was the greater room for evaſion and ſubterfuge, and better opportunity for delays and difficulties. The Athenians, fired with expectations of regaining Amphipolis, the great object of their wiſhes, ſuffered themſelves to be amuſed, and, with the moſt inſolent contempt, refuſed to receive any overtures from the Olynthian deputies; a treatment which juſtly irritated their ſtate, and determined it to give all poſſible oppoſition to the Athenian intereſt. Theopompus in Ulp. & Suida. Demoſt. ut ſupra.

THIS was the diſpoſition with which Philip wiſhed to inſpire the Olynthians. He inſtantly applied himſelf to them, while yet their reſentment was violent; he flattered, he courted, he promiſed them, and they readily hearkened to his propoſals. With an air of the utmoſt friendſhip and cordiality, he gave them up Anthemus, a city which ſeparated Olynthus from the ſea, and which had, for a long ſeries of years, acknowledged the juriſdiction of the kings of Macedon: and, thus gratified and obliged, the Olynthians made no difficulty of entering into ſtrict engagements with their benefactor. By theſe means did this conſummate maſter of intrigue diſpel that ſtorm, which, had it once burſt forth, muſt have deſtroyed his riſing greatneſs, and engaged a powerful and important people firmly to his intereſts, who had ever regarded him with envy and diſcontent, and were, but a moment before, prepared to unite with his moſt dangerous antagoniſts. Dem. Phil. 2. Sect. 4.

STRENGTHENED by this new alliance, he made no ſcruple of avowing thoſe hoſtile intentions, which he had, for ſome time, entertained againſt Amphipolis. He had art ſufficient to perſuade the Olynthians, that their intereſt, as well as that of Macedon, required that he ſhould reduce this city to his obedience. This people had alſo ſome wrongs to urge againſt the inhabitants. It was therefore determined to unite their reſentments; and Amphipolis was preſſed by a vigorous ſiege. The Amphipolitans, more affected by danger, when it had once fallen upon them, than attentive to the means of preventing it, had recourſe to Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 8.

Athens in this emergency, and ſent two of their citizens to deſire the protection of that ſtate. The Athenians had juſt now given an uncommon proof of attention to their intereſts. The iſland of Euboea had been, for ſome time, under their protection; and its reſpective cities were governed by perſons devoted to their ſervice. Diſorders, however, had ariſen; and a ſedition, fomented and ſupported by the Thebans whoſe forces had been admitted into ſome of the cities, threatened the whole iſland with a revolution. Meneſarchus, the governor of Chalcis, had been guilty of ſome outrages againſt the Athenians: Themiſon, who governed in Eretria, had alſo given them a particular cauſe of complaint. He had taken from them the city of Oropus, ſituated on the confines of Attica and Boeotia, and given it into the hands of the Thebans; who ſtill obſtinately refuſed to reſtore it to a people, who either could not, or were not diſpoſed to make uſe of any other means for recovering this city, but thoſe of remonſtrating, and pleading the juſtice of their pretenſions. Yet theſe chiefs now found themſelves obliged to implore the aſſiſtance of the Athenians, who, notwithſtanding all former complaints and quarrels, could not but ſee the neceſſity of ſupporting their intereſt in Euboea, which, by its ſituation, ſerved either to command, or to defend, the country of Attica; and, by its fertility, ſupplied it amply with proviſions. But, although the attempt of Thebes was ſufficiently alarming, yet doubts and delays were ariſing; when Timotheus, the great Athenian general, appeared in the aſſembly. "What, my countrymen," cried he, "the Thebans are in the iſland: "and are you deliberating? why are you not already at the port? why "are you not embarked? why is not the ſea covered with your navy?" So ſpirited an addreſs, determined them at once: in five days, they entered Euboea; in thirty, they obliged the Thebans to come to terms, and to evacuate the iſland; and, on their return, Hierax and Stratocles, the deputies of Amphipolis, appeared before them to implore their aid upon a like occaſion. They repreſented the danger of a junction between Philip and Olynthus in the ſtrongeſt light; and earneſtly preſſed them to ſend out their fleet, to take a city under their protection, which they had long deſired to poſſeſs; and, by that means, to prevent it from falling under the power of their common enemy.

Demoſt. Olyn. 3. Sect. 4.

AEſchin. in Ctef. Sect. 31.

Demoſt. de Cherſon. in fine.

AEſch. ut ſupra.

Dem. Olynth. 3. Sect. 4.

The

THE late inſtance of their vigour made Philip ſee plainly the neceſſity of having once more recourſe to artifice. He therefore addreſſed a letter to the Athenians, which he well knew how to draw up in the moſt ſpecious and inſinuating terms. In this he acknowledged their pretenſions to the city, which he now beſieged; he renewed the aſſurances of his friendſhip; he declared, that it was his real intention to ſurrender Amphipolis to them; and that, for this purpoſe, and with this deſign alone, he had now laid ſiege to it. The Athenians, who were intirely engaged by a general revolt of their allies, and dependent towns, (which produced the war, called the *ſocial war*) eaſily ſuffered themſelves to be amuſed by theſe repreſentations; and, pleaſed with the leaſt appearance of a pretence to juſtify them in not engaging in an enterprize, for which they were not ſufficiently at leiſure, abſolutely rejected the propoſitions of the Amphipolitan deputies; and refuſed to ſend ſuccours to a city, which they fondly imagined they ſhould receive without any trouble. Philip was thus left at liberty to preſs the city with double vigour; a breach was made in the walls; the Macedonians entered; and the citizens, finding all reſiſtance ineffectual, were obliged to ſurrender themſelves to the mercy of a conqueror, whom they had provoked by an obſtinate defence; though, by an unaccountable inconſiſtency of conduct, they ſtill continued to pay him divine honours.

Demoſt. in Ariſtocr.

Dem. Olynth. 3. Sect. 4.

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 8. Dem. Olyn. 3. Sect. 6.

PHILIP, now maſter of Amphipolis, contented himſelf with baniſhing thoſe who had oppoſed him with greateſt violence, and treated the reſt of the inhabitants with ſufficient lenity. His deſign was by no means to exterminate, but to command them. The ſituation and importance of their city, and the extent and conveniencies of its commerce, recommended them to his protection; and determined him to ſhew a juſt regard to the welfare and tranquillity of ſo valuable an acquiſition. Far from gratifying the expectations, which the ſlighteſt grounds had been ſufficient to make the Athenians entertain, he reunited Amphipolis to Macedon, and reſolved to brave all the reſentment of that people; yet, ſtill with due caution and policy, he judged it neceſſary to arm himſelf againſt any effects of that reſentment; and, for this purpoſe, de-

Diod. Sic. ut ſupra.

termined to cement the union which now ſubſiſted between him and the Olynthians.

Dem. Olynth. 1. Sect. 1. Olynth. 2. Sect. 4.

THEY were poſſeſſed of a conſiderable power, both by ſea and land. They had conceived high notions of their own importance, and had already diſcovered their jealouſy of Philip's increaſing power, which, though it had for the preſent ſubſided, yet might ſtill break out, on any future alarm. Favours and benefits, therefore, were the only ſure means of confirming them in his intereſt; and he ſoon found opportunities of gratifying them. The revolt of Pydna afforded him a fair occaſion of marching againſt that city, in order to reduce it to his obedience. The ſiege was formed; and the Pydneans, unſupported by their new ſovereigns, were ſoon obliged to ſurrender. * Libanius and † Ariſtides have both aſſerted, that, at the very time when theſe people were performing thoſe ſolemn rites, by which the terms of their capitulation were ratified, Philip ordered his ſoldiers to fall on them without mercy, and thus cruelly maſſacred a conſiderable number of the citizens. But ſuch an inſtance of barbarity would not, it may reaſonably be preſumed, have been omitted by Demoſthenes, who repreſented all the actions of this prince in the blackeſt light; nor is it at all conſiſtent with the tenor of his actions: for, although his humanity was, on many occaſions, made to yield to his policy and ambition, yet unneceſſary barbarity was neither conſiſtent with his temper, nor his intereſt. It ſeems more reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that he accepted of the ſubmiſſion of the inhabitants, without inflicting any extraordinary ſeverities, and without diſgracing his preſent to the Olynthians, to whom he now gave up Pydna, by putting them in poſſeſſion of a city, depopulated and polluted by the blood of helpleſs wretches, who had laid down their arms, and yielded themſelves up to mercy.

Olynth. 3. Sect. 4. & alibi.

* Liban. Vol. 1. p. 106.

† Ariſt. Orat. de Societ. Tom. 1. p. 480.

Ibid. Phil. 2. Sect. 4. Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 8.

TO gratify the Olynthians ſtill farther, he, in the next place, turned his arms againſt Potidaea. This city had been taken ſome years ſince by Timotheus, and was now in poſſeſſion of the Athenians; but, as it had

had been originally dependent on Olynthus, with profeſſions of the trueſt affection, he made a tender of his aſſiſtance, in order to reduce it to their obedience. His propoſal was readily accepted; and he now marched, at the head of a formidable force, againſt a city by no means capable of contending with the united powers of two ſuch confederates. The gates of Potidaea were ſoon obliged to be thrown open to receive the beſiegers. The Athenian garriſon, from a vain expectation of relief, retired into the citadel, and there continued the oppoſition, till, convinced of their abandoned and deſperate condition, they conſented to yield to ſuperior force, and ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war. In this ſiege, Philip affected only to be conſidered as ally to Olynthus, to be engaged intirely on their account, without any hopes of private advantage. The city, therefore, was inſtantly given up to the Olynthians: but the Athenian priſoners he took under his protection, as the citizens of a ſtate, for which he profeſſed the greateſt veneration and regard. With declarations the moſt flattering, and with every mark of honour and eſteem, he freely diſmiſſed thoſe Athenians, loaded with favours, and conducted, in ſecurity, to their city. Thus tempering his very hoſtilities by a deportment the moſt obliging and careſſing; ſo as ſtill to have room for palliating his conduct, and diſguiſing his moſt flagrant oppoſition, by the ſpecious plea of neceſſity.

Demoſt. Olynth. 1. Sect. 6.

Diod. Sic. ut ſupra.

FAME now began to ſpeak loudly of his actions; and all the adjacent ſtates beheld him with admiration and terror. A ſpirited and ſeaſonable aſſociation might ſtill have cruſhed his growing power; but his manners and qualifications were admirably calculated to fruſtrate ſuch deſigns: his engaging affability, and inſinuating addreſs, ſtole the affections of all who approached him: they who beheld him, could not conceive him dangerous or aſpiring: and, when they had once converſed with him, even the cleareſt evidence could ſcarcely efface their prejudices in his favour. His penetration pierced into their moſt ſecret ſentiments; his caution and policy concealed his own; while he ſeemed implicitly to reſign himſelf up to all thoſe who were admitted to his preſence,

Dem. & AEſch. de falſa Leg. paſſim.

preſence, with an appearance of undeſigning confidence, capable of impoſing on the moſt guarded, and beſt experienced in the ways of men. Hence it was, that the powers, concerned to oppoſe him, were perſuaded, that they enjoyed, or might eaſily acquire, his friendſhip: and, inſtead of concerting meaſures for the general defence, each thought themſelves ſufficiently ſecure, when his arms were turned away from them; and, by this fatal inſenſibility, ſuffered that power to increaſe, without any effectual interruption or controul, which was at length to involve them all in one general ruin.

Demoſthen. paſſim.

PHILIP, on his part, knew how to improve every opportunity, and every inſtance of imprudence in his rivals. He had now firmly ſecured the friendſhip of the Olynthians, by putting them in poſſeſſion of ſome places; which, had he kept himſelf, their garriſons muſt have conſiderably weakened his army. And, having thus provided for the ſecurity of his kingdom; reconciled a powerful neighbouring ſtate to his government, and engaged it in his ſervice by the ties of intereſt and gratitude, his active ſoul prompted him to take the advantage of thoſe favourable circumſtances, and to march out of his dominions in purſuit of farther conqueſts. The people of Thrace had long conſidered Macedon as a diſtrict rent from their dominions: they had frequently infeſted it, and ſometimes with ſucceſs; their late attempt to ſet Pauſanias on the throne Philip's art could improve into a fair cauſe, and juſtification, of hoſtilities. Againſt them, therefore, he now determined to march; and the character of their king gave him juſt grounds to hope for ſucceſs.

Thucyd. L. 2.

COTYS, who at this time governed the eaſtern Thrace, poſſeſſed the Cherſoneſus, and the coaſts of the Egean ſea, as far as the Euxine. He had at firſt diſcovered ſome wiſdom in the adminiſtration of affairs. He ſtrengthened himſelf by an alliance with Athens; and gave his daughter in marriage to Iphicrates; on which occaſion he diſcovered ſuch ſatisfaction, and thought himſelf ſo much honoured, that he even deſcended to wait at table on thoſe who were aſſembled at the nuptials.

Corn. Nep. in Iphic. Athenæ. L. 4. p. 131.

He

He had no fixed reſidence in his dominions; but, as they contained the moſt beautiful foreſts, and were watered by many rivers, whoſe banks were embroidered with variety of fragrant flowers, he ranged about with his attendants, and pitched his tents wherever the beauty of the place invited him. Theſe delightful retreats gave a wild and romantic turn to his mind, ſo that he at length conceived the fancy of being inamoured with Minerva. He quitted his court, and pierced into the receſſes of his groves, to enjoy, as he pretended, the converſation of this goddeſs. All preparations were made for the reception of his divine miſtreſs; and his guards ſent out to ſee whether ſhe was not attending to receive him: their anſwers were fatal to them, whether they ſoothed his folly, or declared the truth; in either caſe he revenged the diſappointment, by putting them inſtantly to death. He ordered one of his concubines to aſſume the attributes and ornaments of the Athenian Minerva. In a word, his mind was totally diſordered, which appeared no leſs in his public conduct. He engaged his ſon-in-law to wage war on his country; and, having gained a naval victory over the Athenians, by means of this general, he deprived them of all their territories in the Cherſoneſus, and attacked their colonies on the coaſt of Thrace. To ſupport this war, he demanded a loan from the people of Perinthus, which they refuſed. He then deſired, that they ſhould, at leaſt, grant him ſome troops to replace his garriſons, that he might be enabled to appear with all his forces in the field. The Perinthians flattered themſelves, that it would be in their power to keep thoſe places where they were to be ſtationed, as a ſecurity for his performing the terms of their ſtipulation; and therefore agreed to his demand. But this capricious prince treated their ſuccours as priſoners, and refuſed to diſmiſs them without a ranſom.

Athen. L. 12. p. 531.

Dem. in Ariſtoc.

Ariſtot. Oeconom. L. 2. p. 508. Ed. Lutet.

SUCH was the man againſt whom Philip marched. The particulars of his expedition are not recorded exactly by any hiſtorian now extant: but the Thracian king ſeems to have fled, with precipitation, at the bare rumour of ſo formidable an enemy; for, from a fragment of Theopompus,

* L. 12. p. 531. pompus, which * Athenaeus hath preſerved, we learn, that, on the third day of their march, the Macedonians poſſeſſed themſelves of Onocarſis, a delightful reſidence, ſituated in the midſt of a foreſt, to which Cotys had opened ſeveral avenues; and which was moſt frequently the ſeat of his enjoyments. The Thracian prince, thus driven from his favourite ſettlement, and unable to oppoſe an enemy who were now freely traverſing and waſting his dominions, vainly hoped to ſtop the progreſs of Philip by a letter. Its contents are not known, but, we muſt ſuppoſe, were in the higheſt degree extravagant. The bare mention of a letter from Cotys raiſed a loud exclamation of contempt and ridicule among the Macedonian courtiers. "Yes," replied Philip, "from "Cotys; doth that excite your mirth? you little think what demands "he makes."

Plut. in Apophth.

THE arms of this prince were as ineffectual as his negotiations. Some few parties of the Thracians were ſent out againſt Philip, whom he with eaſe diſperſed, and purſued his march to the ſhore. He incamped near Crenidae, a colony of the Thracians, equally diſtant from the mountains of Thrace and from the ſea. The beauty of the ſituation was ſufficiently ſtriking: a lake, into which there entered divers ſtreams and rivulets, tempered the dryneſs of the ſoil; which produced fruits of the fineſt and moſt delicious kind, and roſes of a peculiar hue and fragrancy. But Philip, however delighted with the charms of nature, was determined to this reſidence by a much more material conſideration. The grand object of his attention were thoſe mines of gold in the neighbouring mountains, of which he had been well informed, and from whence he promiſed himſelf conſiderable advantages. He drove out the Thracians from Crenidae, which they had juſt built, (without any regard to their alliance with Athens;) ſettled a colony of Macedonians there, and called the place, after his own name, Philippi, ſo famous afterwards, in the Roman hiſtory, for the defeat of Brutus and Caſſius. He then proceeded to examine the ſtate of thoſe celebrated mines: his ſoldiers deſcended, with their torches, into a vein, which had not been wrought upon for a conſiderable time.

Diod. Sic. ut ſupra.

Dem. in Lept. Diod. L. 16. Sect. 9.

Aſclepiodotus in Seneca. Nat. Quaeſt. L. 5. p. 763. Ed Lipſ.

Here

Here they traced the art and labour of the antient poſſeſſors. Canals had been contrived, with infinite pains, to drain off the water, which burſt forth into ſubterraneous lakes; and many circumſtances appeared to encourage and to facilitate his deſign, though the barbarous inhabitants had, for a long time, neglected this important fund of wealth. Numbers were inſtantly employed; and all the contrivances, which ingenuity could ſuggeſt, were made uſe of, in order to work thoſe mines to greater advantage than had hitherto been derived from them. The ſucceſs rewarded his labours; for he, by this means, eſtabliſhed an annual revenue of ten thouſand talents, without any burden or impoſition on his ſubjects. And, however ſeverely the philoſopher [D] Seneca may have ſpoken of this tranſaction, ſuch a reſource will not be thought unworthy of the attention of a wiſe prince. He now ſtruck that celebrated coin, which was called after his own name: which was diſperſed liberally to promote his aſpiring ſchemes, and ſoon became of general high eſtimation, as formed of the pureſt metal which theſe mines afforded. By this he was enabled to reinforce his army with a numerous body of mercenary ſoldiers, of whom many were found in all the neighbouring nations, ready to receive the pay of an opulent and renowned prince: and

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 8.

[D] Aſclepiodotus auctor eſt, dimiſſos quamplurimos a Philippo in metallum antiquum olim deſtitutum, ut explorarent, quae ubertas ejus eſſet, quis ſtatus; an aliquid futuris reliquiſſet vetus avaritia: deſcendiſſe illos cum multo lumine, & multos duraſſe dies: deinde longâ viâ fatigatos vidiſſe flumina ingentia, & conceptus aquarum inertium vaſtos pares noſtris, nec compreſſos quidem terrâ ſupereminente, ſed liberae laxitatis non ſine horrore viſos. Cum magnâ haec legi voluptate, intellexi enim ſaeculum noſtrum non novis vitiis, ſed jam antiquitus traditis laborare: nec noſtrâ aetate primum avaritiam venas terrarum lapidumque rimatam in tenebris male abſtrusa quaeſiſſe. Illi quoque majores noſtri, quos celebramus laudibus, quibus diſſimiles querimur nos eſſe, ſpe ducti montes ceciderunt, ut ſupra lucrum ſub ruina ſteterunt. Ante Philippum Macedonem reges fuere, qui pecuniam in altiſſimis uſque latebris ſequerentur; & relicto ſpiritu libero, in illos ſe demitterent ſpecus in quos nullum noctium, dierumque perveniret diſcrimen; & a tergo lucem relinquerent, &c.

SENECA in loco cit.

this coin he liberally diſtributed in all the ſtates whoſe councils or actions might effect his deſigns: where numbers of creatures were thus ſecured in an age of luxury and depravity, who conſidered themſelves as retained by a generous maſter, and obliged to be ever in readineſs to act, to ſpeak, to adviſe, to influence, juſt as his ſervice required, and his commands dictated. And having thus projected and prepared the means of facilitating his future deſigns; and having made all the neceſſary diſpoſitions for the eſtabliſhment of his new colony at Philippi, he proceeded to purſue his advantages over the king of Thrace, who, on the other hand, was as violently preſſed by the Athenians.

Demoſt. in Ariſtocr.

WHEN Timotheus found himſelf obliged to raiſe the ſiege of Amphipolis, ſome time before this city was reduced by Philip, that general fell on Thrace, and there made ſome conqueſts, which might have been improved ſtill further, had he been properly ſupported by Charidemus. But this commander withdrew his mercenaries, and paſſed over into Aſia, where he engaged in the ſervice of Artabazus, a revolted ſatrap. Here he ſoon found himſelf obliged to ſupport his forces, by plundering ſome towns dependent on that ſatrap, whom he came to ſerve. When the ſpoil was well nigh conſumed, and no farther reſource appeared, he pretended to return to the ſervice of the Athenians; and demanded, from their general Cephiſodotus, a fleet to convey him back to Europe, with aſſurances that he would reduce the Cherſoneſus to the ſubjection of the Athenians. This people, encouraged by theſe hopes, granted his requeſt; and Artabazus, by the interpoſition of Memnon and Mentor, his kinſmen, ſuffered him to embark.

Ibid.

CHARIDEMUS, inſtead of performing his promiſe, returned to the ſervice of Cotys, and reduced two cities that were under the Athenian juriſdiction; but, the extravagance of this prince increaſing with his ſucceſs, he was aſſaſſinated, in the midſt of his court, by

two

two brothers, Python and Heraclides, of the city of AEnus in Thrace; to whom the Athenians gave all the honours which they uſually decreed to the murderers of tyrants, although they had been intirely prompted by private revenge, as Cotys had, ſome time before, cauſed their father to be put to death.

CERSOBLEPTES, Beriſides, and Amadocus, were his joint ſucceſſors; which produced much confuſion, by the attempts of Cerſobleptes to diſpoſſeſs the other two. Charidemus eſpouſed him; Anthenodorus and Miltocythes, who had ſome petty ſovereignties in Thrace, ſupported the intereſt of the others. The Athenians, depending on the ſervices of Charidemus, ſent Cephiſodotus into Thrace, with inſtructions to aſſiſt the coheirs, and to attempt the recovery of the Cherſoneſus. But Charidemus diſappointed their expectations, attacked Cephiſodotus, and obliged him to ſign a treaty, whereby the Athenians acknowledged Cerſobleptes ſole king of Thrace.

AT Athens this treaty was diſavowed, and their general condemned to pay a large fine. Miltocythes, ſupported by the Athenians, aſſerted the right of Beriſides and Amadocus. But Charidemus cauſed him, and his ſon, to be ſeized; and, as he apprehended the clemency of Cerſobleptes, delivered them into the hands of the Cardians, the moſt avowed enemies which the Athenians had in thoſe parts: and this people put them to death, with circumſtances of the utmoſt cruelty. There now remained only Anthenodorus, who, depending on the aſſiſtance of Athens, continued his attachment to the two princes. Athens, however, ſent no other aſſiſtance than their general Chabrias, with a ſingle veſſel; who, as he had no forces, was obliged to accede to all the demands of Charidemus. Diſſatisfied at this tranſaction, and convinced of their error, the people determined to correct it. Chares was ſent to Thrace with a fleet of ſixty ſail; who obliged Cerſobleptes to ſign a more equitable treaty; and Thrace was divided equally between the three coheirs. Ibid.

THE king of Macedon was ſtrictly attentive to all theſe tranſactions; and, though he as yet deemed it inconſiſtent with good policy to uſe open force, in order to diſturb any ſyſtem which the people of Athens eſpouſed; yet it was ſufficiently apparent, that he ſtudied to derive advantages to himſelf from the diſorders of Thrace. The Cherſoneſus, the great mart of all the Thracian commerce, from whoſe ports was derived an annual revenue of no leſs than two hundred talents, was deſervedly the principal object of his regards. Here he determined to eſtabliſh an intereſt, by the ſecret methods of intrigue, until the terror of his arms might be more opportunely employed. To the people of Cardia, the principal city of this Peninſula, he ſeems to have applied early; and to have founded his deſigns on their averſion to the juriſdiction of the Athenians, who formerly poſſeſſed, and now claimed, the Cherſoneſus; though the war, in which they were engaged with the allies, prevented them from effectually ſupporting their title. Philip well knew how to take the due advantage of their embarraſſments. He was now powerful and formidable; his kingdom compleatly ſettled; his frontier ſecured and extended on one ſide to the ſea of Thrace, and, on the other, to the lake Lycnitis: his finances were large and well regulated; and all the advantages of commerce abundantly ſecured by the poſſeſſion of Amphipolis. Situated as it were, at an advantageous point of view, he ſurveyed the ſeveral ſtates of Greece; obſerved their different intereſts, tempers, and diſpoſitions, their errors and corruptions: and, with the utmoſt reaſon, exulted in the proſpect, that the deſigns of extenſive power, which his vaſt ambition dictated, were now ripening to execution.

Demoſth. in Ariſtocr.

BOOK I. SECTION III.

CONTENTS.

THE neceſſity of conſidering the genius and character of the principal ſtates of Greece.—The original cauſe, and gradual progreſs, of corruption in that nation.—The character and preſent condition of the Athenians.—Their degeneracy accounted for.—Effects of their paſſion for theatrical entertainments.—The influence of their manners on the theatre.—Their conduct in the public aſſembly.—Their orators.—Their preſent conduct in war.—Their private life.—Circumſtances and diſpoſitions of the Spartans, Argians, and Meſſenians.—Of the Thebans—the Phocians—and the Theſſalians.—Death of Alexander of Pherae.—Uſurpation of Tiſiphonus, Pitholaus, and Lycophron.—Philip invited into Theſſaly.—He defeats and diſpoſſeſſes the uſurpers.—Advantages of this expedition.—The arts by which Philip eſtabliſhed his intereſt in Theſſaly.—Philip eſpouſes Olympias.—The celebration of their nuptials.—Omens and prodigies which antient writers have recorded.—Opinion of Bayle, with reſpect to a letter of Olympias to her ſon.—The Illyrians, Paeonians, and Thracians,

join

join in a confederacy againſt Philip.—Their deſigns defeated.—The birth of Alexander the great.—Philip purſues his Thracian conqueſts.—Is checked by the Athenians.—The fatal effects of their errors and paſſions.—Chares, their general, irritates the king of Perſia.—Concluſion of the ſocial war.

BOOK

BOOK the FIRST.

SECTION III.

WE are now advancing to the period of this hiſtory, when Greece began to be the ſcene of many of Philip's enterprizes. The affairs of that nation have already appeared to be in part connected with his earlier actions: and from henceforward we ſhall find, that the events, which diſturbed the peace of its different ſtates, or called forth their armies, were many of them the effect of his machinations, and almoſt all determined by his valour or policy. We ſhall find his life one uniform ſcheme of watching their commotions, fomenting their diſorders, and eſtabliſhing his own power on their weakneſs and corruption. The whole body, collectively, hath been already preſented to the reader. And it may be deemed a neceſſary part of this work, here to conſider its ſeveral leading members, in order to trace the internal cauſes, the latent ſources, of thoſe events, which we ſhall find gradually operating to the full eſtabliſhment of the Macedonian empire, and the final ruin of a people, who have ever appeared highly worthy the attention of all ages; and, from whoſe fall, we may derive ſome of the moſt important inſtructions, which hiſtory holds forth to mankind.

See preliminary diſſertation.

THE different fluctuations of power, and the variety of fortune, which the principal ſtates, in their turns, experienced, had now inſpired

ſpired them with the dangerous paſſions of revenge, jealouſy, mutual diffidence, and mutual averſion; and raiſed that ſpirit of diſcord and contention for pre-eminence, which were the great baſis on which Philip founded his deſigns. The ſtates of Greece, ſaith * Juſtin, while each was ambitious of commanding all, loſt that darling object of their wiſhes: and, while they ruſhed on with blind fury to the deſtruction of each other, never perceived, till they were irrecoverably loſt, that the diſtreſſes of every particular member intimately affected the whole body.

* L. 8. C. 1.

THESE continual ſtruggles for power took their riſe from the time that the Perſian had been defeated, and were the chief cauſes of the depravation of manners which then began, and gradually increaſed, in Greece, down to its final ruin. The contending parties frequently found it convenient to apply to the Perſians for aſſiſtance; a nation whom they had hitherto thought it their glory to regard with abhorrence and contempt. But their ambition now made them ſervile and complying. In antient times, their wars were carried on with the ſimplicity and openneſs of a generous and honeſt people; but now intrigue, and cabal, and corruption, began to prevail among them, though by ſlow degrees. Bribery crept in, even where the conſtitution demanded and injoined an utter contempt and diſregard for riches: and Perſian agents were ſeen in every ſtate, practiſing with miniſters, and influencing the public councils.

BUT, as all corruption is gradual, the Athenians (particularly) could not at once forget their original principles, but ſtill expreſſed, on ſome occaſions, thoſe ſublime ideas of virtue and integrity, which had been derived from their anceſtors. When the king of Perſia had ſent his agent to bribe the Peloponneſians to take up arms againſt them, inſtead of revenge and reſentment, they expreſſed the moſt generous indignation at this baſe attempt upon the integrity of Greece: and thundered out a ſevere ſentence of proſcription againſt the

Dem. Phil. 3. Sect. 9.

the man who had preſumed to bring gold into Peloponneſus. But ſuch appearances were never laſting, being generally aſſumed to conceal leſs honourable motives, or were, at beſt, but the temporary effects of ſenſibility and delicacy, which were ſoon forgotten with the occaſion, among a people, where reſolution and conſtancy were wanting, and where that uniformity and conſiſtency of conduct were utterly unknown, which only can render men really good and great, whatever principles they may have imbibed, or whatever character they may aſſume.

ATHENS was now confeſſedly the greateſt and moſt eminent of the Grecian ſtates. The honours which ſhe had acquired in the famous Perſian war, inſpired her citizens with the moſt exalted ideas of virtue and glory. The ſucceſs of their repeated conteſts for liberty and pre-eminence, gave them the higheſt notions of their ſtrength and abilities: and all the tranſactions of their country, frequently celebrated by their writers, and diſplayed in all the pomp of eloquence by their orators, inſpired them with a peculiar national vanity, which continued in its full ſtrength, even in their loweſt ſtate of degeneracy. Various and inconſtant in their tempers and paſſions, they were eaſily provoked, ſaith * Plutarch, and as eaſily returned to ſentiments of benevolence and compaſſion. Admirers of wit, and encouragers of gaiety and pleaſantry: but unfortunately to ſuch exceſs, that a jeſt too often determined them in their moſt important deliberations, and ridicule became their teſt of truth. They poſſeſſed, in a great degree and even affected, a quickneſs of conception and penetration; but this was unhappily accompanied with an impatience of attention, and an averſion to deliberate and well weighed counſels.

* in Præcep. Reip. ger.

WHEN the Thebans triumphed over the power of Sparta, had their general ſurvived his victories, ſo dangerous a rival might have kept the Athenians duly attentive to their public intereſts: but hiſtory aſcribes their ruin to that fatal ſecurity with which the death of

Juſtin. L. 6. C. 9.

Epaminondas inſpired them. Confirmed in their power, as they thought, and freed from all danger and competition by this event, they now indulged their love of eaſe and ſelf-enjoyment, without any meaſure or controul.

THEIR affluence had been ſucceeded by luxury; and luxury they adorned and recommended by all the arts and refinements of taſte and elegance. Muſic and poetry, public entertainments, and ſpectacles, had ever been the objects of their warmeſt affection; but were now made the buſineſs and occupation of their lives. The loweſt of the people were, in a good degree, judges of the polite and fine arts. Men who excelled in thoſe, were invited and encouraged by their taſte, and rewarded magnificently by their opulence. A public feſtival was, in theſe days, celebrated with more expence, engaged more numbers, and was the object of greater attention, than was granted to the raiſing an army, or to the equipment of a fleet. To the theatre particularly they had ever been moſt paſſionately devoted: and ſome of their meaneſt citizens, when in diſtreſs and captivity, had been inabled to purchaſe relief and liberty, by charming their maſters with the verſes of their admired tragic writers. But now the ſupport of the theatre was become ſo much the concern of the ſtate, that their more ſerious and momentous affairs were ſacrificed to it, by an aſtoniſhing eſtabliſhment, which will here require to be explained.

Dem. Phil. 1. Sect. 13.

Plut. in Nicia.

IN the early ages, the theatre knew not that magnificence, which riches and luxury afterwards introduced. Slight and unadorned edifices were occaſionally raiſed, the people admitted freely to the entertainments, and the right of places and precedence intirely undetermined. The people aſſembled in a tumultuary manner, and the firſt occupier thought himſelf intitled to oppoſe all attempts to diſpoſſeſs him of his ſeat. Hence diſorder and contentions ſometimes aroſe: to prevent which, the magiſtrates ordained, that a ſmall price

ſhould

ſhould be paid for places, to reimburſe the expence of erecting the theatre. Though the tax was low, the poorer citizens complained; and Pericles, an able and artful politician, fatally conceived a ſcheme of ingratiating himſelf with them, by removing this pretended grievance. It had been agreed, in a time of tranquillity, that one thouſand talents ſhould be annually depoſited in the treaſury, there to remain inviolable, as a public reſource, in caſe of any invaſion of Attica. This was, for a while, obſerved with the attention uſually paid to all new regulations. But Pericles propoſed, that this ſum ſhould be diſtributed among the poorer citizens, to defray the expences of their theatrical entertainments; with a reſervation, that, in in time of war, it ſhould be applied to the military ſervice, agreeably to the original intention. Both the propoſition and the reſtriction were accepted. But, as relaxations of all kinds degenerate ſooner or later into licence, the people became ſo intoxicated at length with the gay ſcenes, with which riches and politeneſs entertained them, that no public emergencies could induce them to reſign theſe diſtributions; and we ſhall ſoon ſee them forbidding any man, on pain of death, to move for reſtoring what was now called the theatrical money, to the military, or any other public ſervice.

Plut. in Peric. Thucyd. L. 2.

THE theatre, for whoſe ſupport they provided thus amply, was infected by the general depravation; and, in its turn, contributed to diffuſe and increaſe the infection. In the early ages, their drama was eminently remarkable for chaſtity of ſentiment. Immorality, even in the mouth of a vicious character, was known to have excited a loud and general indignation in an Athenian audience. But now their ears were accuſtomed to obſcenity and impiety (though theſe, it muſt be allowed, were never made the great buſineſs of the repreſentation; nor were theſe the qualities, which rendered a character the favourite of the audience.) Formerly, they found alluſions in their admired poets, which were, with pleaſure, applied to expreſs their ſenſe of the valour and virtue of their countrymen; now no

character, however exalted or honourable, could eſcape the wantonneſs and intemperance of their ſatyr. And this unhappy ſpirit of ridicule, with which they were poſſeſſed, depraved their taſte, and corrupted their hearts. When the wiſeſt and beſt of their citizens was to be made the victim of their folly and caprice, he was firſt made contemptible and ridiculous upon the ſtage.

Ariſtoph. Nub.

As public virtue is, in an eſpecial manner, the baſis of a democratical government, when this was impaired, their very conſtitution muſt have contributed to hurry on their ruin. The final determination of all public affairs was in the popular aſſembly; and this aſſembly was now made up of ſeveral diſtinct factions, which almoſt always purſued their own particular views and intereſts; as to be excuſed from perſonal ſervice in war; from contributing their ſhare in the public expences; or the like. The public leaders, and ſpeakers, perceived and flattered this weakneſs. They were the ſprings which moved the whole community; the adminiſtration was, in a great meaſure, committed to them; and they had, [A] ſome time ſince, learned the art of applying it to enriching and aggrandizing themſelves and their families. Many of them were already the penſioners of Philip; and, while they earned his pay, at the ſame time ſecured their own power, and acquired the favour of the people, by flattering their ſupineneſs, and recommending pacific meaſures, under various plauſible pretences. Sometimes the enemy was too weak, and inconſiderable, to be an object of terror to the great ſovereigns and arbiters of Greece: ſometimes he was too powerful and formidable; it was raſh and impolitic to provoke his reſentment; a war was burthenſome and expenſive; the ballance of power a romantic conſideration:

Dem. in Philippicis paſſim.

[A] ARISTOPHANES, in many of his plays, is particularly ſevere on the corruption, and ſervile adulation, of the Athenian orators. An antient poet, from whom Athenaeus hath preſerved ſome fragments, in reckoning up the ſeveral wares and commodities, which were ſold at Athens, cloſes his catalogue, with Κλεψυδραι, Νομοι, Γραφαι. The deciſions of judicial cauſes, laws, and decrees.

ATHEN. L. 14. p. 640.

and

and the true intereſt of the ſtate, to attend to her domeſtic affairs, and to ſecure and improve the advantages of commerce. If ſome bold attempt, upon their dominions, rouſed them from their inſenſibility, then their national pride and vanity dictated the moſt magnificent and pompous decrees and reſolutions: armies were to be raiſed, and navies ſent abroad: but, in theſe magnificent decrees, their courage all evaporated. Affected delays aroſe; their love of eaſe returned; they ſent out ſome mercenary troops (for to theſe were their intereſts now entruſted) commanded by a general, choſen by cabal and intrigue. He ſails out, dreaded and ſuſpected by their allies, whom he oppreſſes and pillages; deſpiſed by the enemy, whom he takes care to avoid; and, when he at laſt appears before the place he is appointed to relieve, it is in the hands of the beſiegers. Thus, like unſkilful boxers (to uſe the ſimilitude of their own *orator) they think of defending themſelves, when they have already received the blow. And this defence generally proved weak and inſufficient, even if exerted ſeaſonably. Their forces then return; their general is brought to a trial; and either condemned raſhly for not performing what, with a wretched collection of mercenaries, unaffected by any ſentiments of honour, or regard for the public cauſe, and unprovided with pay or proviſions, he could not perform; or elſe he ſcreens his cowardice and bad conduct, under the protection of a powerful faction, and ſo eſcapes from public juſtice. It is true, that, even in this ſtate of their degeneracy, ſome acts of valour were performed not unworthy of their early and uncorrupted age: nor did they want able ſtateſmen, or valiant, judicious, and faithful generals: but the firſt had the vices and prejudices of their countrymen to encounter, as well as the oppoſition and eloquence of corrupted leaders: and their greateſt commanders were either laid aſide by the power of faction, or their abilities were rendered ineffectual by the general indolence and miſconduct of the ſtate; or, laſtly, they were condemned raſhly and unjuſtly, and diſqualified from ſerving the public, at the time when their ſervices were particularly demanded.

* Dem. Phil. 1. Sect. 14.

IT may not be thought unworthy of attention, to examine what was the manner of private life in Athens, at the eve of its downfal, when every part of its government betrayed ſuch total corruption and depravity: and of this * Athenaeus hath particularly informed us. A love for public ſpectacles was the firſt thing which the youth was taught. There every object, which could inflame their paſſions, was preſented to their view: they hung with an effeminate pleaſure on the muſical airs, with which women were employed to enervate and captivate them: they waſted their important hours, which ſhould have been devoted to diſcipline and inſtruction, in wanton dalliance with the performers; and laviſhed their fortune, and their vigour, in an infamous commerce with theſe, and other women of abandoned characters. The ſchools of their philoſophers were in vain open for their inſtruction; and, poſſibly, theſe might have been held in ſome contempt, as fitted only for the formal and recluſe, and beneath the notice of the man of buſineſs, deſtined to the exalted and active ſcenes of life. Thus, the younger men entered into what is now called the world, totally ignorant, and conſiderably corrupted: already accuſtomed to regard all ſelfiſh gratifications, as their chief happineſs; and prepared to acquire the means of theſe gratifications, by the moſt ſordid, or the moſt iniquitous practices. Their love of money, or their incapacity for more rational entertainment, engaged them in gaming; which, when frequently indulged, is well known to grow into an infatuating habit, which taſte and reflection cannot always ſubdue. Magnificent and coſtly feaſts were now alſo become honourable diſtinctions at Athens. The ſordid gratification of their palate became the ſtudy, and exerciſed the invention, of its inhabitants. Thus was their wealth laviſhly and ignobly waſted, while the public exigencies were ſparingly and reluctantly ſupplied. * Athenaeus hath even recorded one almoſt incredible inſtance of their depravity. They had lately, as we learn from this author, conferred the freedom of their city (the higheſt compliment uſually paid to kings and potentates) on two men, whoſe only merit was, that their father had been eminent

* L. 12. p. 534.

Athen. ut ſupra.

* L. 3. p. 119.

eminent in the art of cookery, and was famous for having introduced new ſauces.

SUCH was the people with whom the king of Macedon was principally engaged. Their inſolence and oppreſſion had, at this time, involved them in an important conteſt with their allies and dependent cities, whom they had driven into rebellion. They began their operations, againſt thoſe revolters, by the ſiege of Chios; where Chabrias, one of their commanders, remarkable for vigour, humanity, and integrity, unhappily attempted to puſh up to the city with a ſingle veſſel; and, in a tranſport of romantic valour, leaped on ſhore; diſdained to retire, though deſerted by his ſoldiers; was ſurrounded, and killed. Every loſs of this nature, at a time ſo critical, was of the utmoſt importance to this people. Yet thoſe generals, whom war ſpared, their own caprice, and blind prejudices, frequently deſtroyed. Nep. in Chab.

OF the other ſtates of Greece, Sparta ſtill was conſidered as the moſt eminent; though its power had received the deadly wound by the ſucceſſes of Epaminondas. Ageſilaus, who had raiſed this ſtate to the ſummit of glory, lived to be witneſs of its fall. Archidamus, his ſon, never failed to watch all occaſions of recovering ſome ſhew of that power which Sparta had formerly poſſeſſed. The ſucceſſes of Epaminondas had been particularly favourable to many of the inhabitants and people of Peloponneſus. His truly humane diſpoſitions, and his juſt and extenſive policy, both determined him to reſtore thoſe to their liberty and independence, who had been harraſſed and oppreſſed by Sparta; and to ſupport the intereſts of thoſe neighbouring ſtates, who had experienced the ſeverity of her dominion. Hence were the people of Argos (who remembered, with pleaſure, the generalſhip of Agamemnon, and entertained high notions of their own dignity) encouraged to avow that enmity which they had ever harboured againſt the Spartans. The Arcadians, by the advice and Xenoph. Hiſt. Grae. Diod. Sic. L. 15.

and with the aſſiſtance of the Theban general, according to * Pauſanias, conſulted for their ſecurity by collecting all their force into one common city, which they built, and called Megalopolis, or the great city. The Meſſenians, after a diſperſion of many ages, were alſo reſtored by Epaminondas, and rebuilt and fortified the city, from which their anceſtors had been driven by the Spartans. Thus was Sparta ſurrounded by many ſecret or declared enemies, who had felt, and therefore dreaded, her oppreſſion; ever watchful to maintain their preſent liberty, and ever jealous of their antient maſters; who, on their part, regarded them as revolted ſubjects, and ſhewed ſufficient inclination to reduce them to their former obedience. Hence aroſe a ſpirit of diſcontent and diſſenſion among the inhabitants of Peloponneſus, which it was Philip's intereſt to foment, and from which he afterwards derived conſiderable advantage.

* In Arcad.

Diod. ut ſupra.

Olivier L. 3. p. 114.

SUSPICION, ſtupidity, and bravery, formed the character of the Thebans. Theſe qualities, united, frequently produced the moſt ſingular reſolutions in that people: but, while Epaminondas was at their head, no defects appeared in their minds: this great man rendered them ſovereigns of Boeotia, and the arbiters of Greece. But with him their glory was extinguiſhed. They retained only a brutal fierceneſs, and an inveterate hatred of their neighbours. The only general they had, after Epaminondas, was Pammenes, who, in his youth, had been attached to Philip by the ſtricteſt and tendereſt friendſhip.

Ibid.

THE Phocians were naturally obſtinate; and did not want valour. They were oftentimes unjuſt, and ſometimes generous. Their minds were open; their genius ſufficiently cultivated and elevated. Their miſconduct involved them in calamities, which were attributed to their impiety, and, therefore, leſs pitied; yet, in theſe calamities, they diſcovered a remarkable firmneſs and greatneſs of ſoul. The moſt diſtinguiſhed part of their character, was an unſurmountable antipathy

antipathy to the [B] Thebans, Locrians, and Theſſalians, their neareſt neighbours.

THE Theſſalians were ſuſceptible of all impreſſions, and incapable of preſerving any; equally forgetful of the good and evil which they received: ever ready to ſubmit to tyrants, and to implore the ſuccour of their neighbours againſt them. They now obeyed Tiſiphonus, Lycophron, and Pitholaus, who had removed Alexander of Pherae, only to have an opportunity of continuing his injuſtices. Olivier ut ſupra.

THIS Alexander was the moſt deteſtable tyrant that Greece ever knew. He had maſſacred, in cold blood, his father-in-law, his uncle, and a number of his ſubjects. Nor was he ever known to have diſcovered the leaſt feelings of humanity, but at the repreſentation of the Andromache of Euripides; from which he retired with ſhame and confuſion, for being betrayed into tears, at the ſight of imaginary misfortunes, after all the horrid cruelties which he himſelf had committed. Plutarch. in Pelop.

THEBE, the wife of this Alexander, quite tired out by his barbarity, and ſpirited up by the interviews which ſhe had with Ibid.

[B] Some particular cauſes of enmity ſeem to have lately ariſen between Thebes and Phocis, and to have effaced the memory of that alliance which ſubſiſted between them in the late war with Lacedemon. Juſtin (in L. 8. C. 1.) hints at ſome outrages and devaſtations committed by the Phocians in the territories of Boeotia; of which the Thebans complained in the council of Amphictyons, and which therefore ſeem to have been committed before any hoſtilities were declared, though that hiſtorian appears to be of a contrary opinion. And we learn from Athenaeus, (L. 13. p. 560) that Duris, an antient hiſtorian, recorded one particular act of violence in the Phocians, ſome time ſince committed againſt Thebes. Theano, a Theban lady, was ſeized, and forcibly borne away from her huſband, by ſome lawleſs inhabitants of Phocis: nor could the remonſtrance made to that ſtate prevail to have her reſtored. Such actions had, in antient times, produced the bloodieſt conteſts: and the hiſtorian above mentioned makes this particular outrage the real cauſe of the ſacred war.

Pelopidas, at the time when he had been ſeized and confined by Alexander, at laſt reſolved upon his deſtruction. The execution was difficult: the tyrant's palace was always filled with his guards: and even in theſe he did not wholly confide. He lay in a high and retired chamber, to which he mounted by a ladder. This he drew up after him; and the paſſage was guarded by a furious maſtiff, whom nobody dared to approach, but Alexander, his wife, and the ſlave who fed him.

Plut. in Pelop. THEBE concealed her brothers Tiſiphonus, Lycophron, and Pitholaus, in the palace. And, at night, having come to the tyrant's apartment, ordered the ſlave, who had the care of the maſtiff, to remove it, as it diſturbed the king's reſt. She then went down the ladder, which ſhe had taken care to cover all over with wool to prevent the leaſt noiſe; brought up her brothers, poſted them at the door, and ſhewed them the ſword of Alexander, which was the ſignal agreed on. Juſt at the point of execution, the youths began to heſitate; but Thebe threatened that ſhe would awaken the tyrant; they reſumed courage; one of them ſeized him by the feet, another by his hair, and the third buried a dagger in his heart.

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 14. TISIPHONUS, Pitholaus, and Lycophron, were now regarded as the deliverers of their country. But they did not long appear ſolicitous to maintain this honour. Tempted by the ſplendor of a ſtation, which their father Jaſon had poſſeſſed, they aſſumed the power, and, in a great meaſure, imitated the conduct of Alexander. They hired a large body of foreign troops to ſupport their uſurpation; and puniſhed, or baniſhed, all thoſe who attempted to oppoſe them: until the nobility of Theſſaly, with the Aleuadae, deſcendents from Hercules, at their head, finding themſelves oppreſſed by three tyrants inſtead of one, declared openly againſt them:

them: and implored the assistance of Philip, now confessedly the greatest of all the neighbouring powers. Olymp. 105. Y. 4.

NOTHING could have possibly been more flattering than this invitation. The honour of assisting the Aleuadae, who were descended from the same race with him; and of imitating the renowned Pelopidas, in giving liberty to Thessaly; the long wished for opportunity of interfering honourably in the affairs of Greece; of affecting a natural connexion with that nation, and appearing interested in the peace and liberty of its states; all conspired to determine Philip at once to suspend the progress of his Thracian conquests, and to march against the tyrants. Delighted with the prospect of displaying his power in the most honourable manner, and having first seized Larissa, according to * Justin, he advanced, with all his force, towards Pherae, situated between Magnesia and the Pelasgiotae, at a little distance from mount Pelion, which separates these provinces from Macedon. The tyrants, who had collected their army to oppose this invasion, met the Macedonians, and determined to try their fortune in the field. Here the abilities of Philip, and the superior zeal and vigour of his soldiers, soon determined the fortune of the battle. The army of the tyrants was totally defeated; and they themselves, pressed by a victorious enemy, and deserted by their adherents, were soon obliged to acknowledge the superiority of the conqueror, and to submit implicitly to his decisions; who now compelled them to resign their usurped authority, and to leave their country in peace and freedom: while all Greece resounded with the praises of the great protector and defender of liberty; the avenger of tyranny; and generous patron of the oppressed.

* L. 7. C. 6.

Diod. Sic. ut supra.

BUT renown and popular applause were not the only advantages which Philip derived from this expedition. The nobility of Thessaly imagined, that they never could sufficiently express their acknow-

Dem. Phil. 1. Sect. 10. Tourreil. Not. in Phil. 1. Olynth. 3. Sect. 9.

ledgments to their noble and humane deliverer; and, in the firſt heat and violence of a zealous gratitude, concluded a treaty with him, by which he was impowered to command all the conveniencies of their ports and ſhipping. Their cavalry was remarkably the beſt and moſt celebrated in Greece: and theſe were now obliged to attend him in all his wars. Such an acquiſition only was wanted to render his forces compleat: and he is ſaid, by the * abbreviator of Trogus, to have been prompted to this expedition by the hopes of obtaining it. In effect, Philip had too much penetration, not to foreſee all the good conſequences of his undertaking; and too much vigilance and policy, not to ſecure them. His conduct in Theſſaly, as it is deſcribed by * Polyaenus, was the exact epitome of his whole ſyſtem, and general courſe of his addreſs and artifice. He watched the contentions in the ſeveral cities, with a ſtrict and attentive regard; encouraged or allayed, fomented or decided, thoſe quarrels which different opinions and attachments had produced among a diſtracted people, juſt as his own views and intereſts directed. He was ſo compleat a maſter of diſſimulation; he appeared ſo gentle, ſo humane, ſo affable and obliging, ſo amiable, even to the conquered, that the Theſſalians reſigned themſelves to him with a total confidence. Thus was he inabled to ſet himſelf up in the place of thoſe he had ſubdued, not by open force, but by gentle and unſuſpected, and not leſs effectual, methods.

*Juſtin. L. 7. C. 6.

* Strat. L. 4. C. 19.

Tourreil. Not. in Olynth. 1.

PHILIP was now returned to his own kingdom in all the pride of conqueſt; honoured, admired, and applauded; when Olympias, the young princeſs, whoſe charms had engaged his affections at Samothrace, was conducted, with all due magnificence, to his court, and their eſpouſals were publicly celebrated. Neoptolemus, king of Epirus, the father of this princeſs, had lately died, and was ſucceeded by his brother Arymbas, (or Arybbas, as he is called by Pauſanias and Juſtin.) The better to ſecure the peaceable poſſeſſion of his throne, he determined to unite, in his perſon, all the rights of his

Juſtin. ut ſupra.

his family, and married Troas, one of his nieces; and, to purchaſe the favour and alliance of a prince, whoſe reputation was become great and extenſive, he now gratified Philip's paſſion for her ſiſter Olympias.

THE queen of Macedon had beauty, ſpirit, and elevation. She appears to have at firſt loved her huſband with ſufficient tenderneſs; till the repeated inſtances of his unfaithfulneſs raiſed other ſentiments in her mind. Theſe could not but ſufficiently affect her, although her reſolution inabled her to conceal the impreſſion for a while. She was at one time told of a beautiful Theſſalian lady, called Philinnè, with whom Philip was ſaid to have been deſperately inamoured. In compliment to the queen, her courtiers affected to aſcribe this to ſome charm or philtre, which forced the affections of the king from their proper object. Olympias deſired to ſee her: and, finding that her beauty and graces far exceeded report, "Yes!" "ſaid ſhe, "I now perceive what are the inchantments this fair "Theſſalian employs." Oliv. L. 3. p. 124.

THE nuptials of Philip and Olympias were celebrated with the utmoſt ſplendor. The ſuperſtitious obſerved, that a dramatic performance was exhibited, on this occaſion, called the Cyclops; and that ſoon after Philip loſt an eye. This loſs was even ſaid to have been occaſioned by a jealous curioſity of prying into the conduct of his queen, who is accuſed thus early of unfaithfulneſs, with many fabulous and extravagant circumſtances, calculated to make the birth of Alexander appear the more extraordinary. The antient writers, indeed, imagined, that every thing, relating to this hero, ſhould have an extraordinary and important appearance; and have taken care to furniſh a ſeries of dreams, prodigies, and predictions, all expreſſive of his future fortune, from the moment of Philip's nuptials, down to the birth of Alexander. Olympias is ſaid to have dreamed, the night before the conſummation of her marriage, that a thunderbolt fell upon her body, which kindled up a conflagration, whoſe flames diſperſed Oliv. p. 125. Solin. Plut. in Alexand.

diſperſed and raged to a conſiderable extent, and were then extinguiſhed. Philip alſo had his dream a little after, in which he fancied himſelf employed in ſealing up the womb of his queen with a ſignet, whoſe impreſſion was a lion. Some interpreted this, ſaith * Plutarch, as a warning to the king to watch over the behaviour of his wife: but Ariſtander, his favourite interpreter of divinations, reflecting that it was not uſual to ſeal up any thing that was empty, aſſured him that this dream denoted, that the queen had now conceived a ſon, who ſhould hereafter prove bold and courageous as a lion.

* in Alex.

FLATTERY, and indulgence to the weakneſs of Alexander, who, when intoxicated with his ſucceſſes, conceived the vanity of being thought the ſon of Jupiter, ſeem to have given riſe to the fiction of an enormous ſerpent diſcovered by Philip in the act of intercourſe with his queen. The ſight of a ſerpent in her bed, ſome of the antients do not allow to have been ſo very extraordinary, in a country where they were tame and harmleſs; and as Olympias, who was remarkably devoted to the celebration of the enthuſiaſtic rites of Orpheus and Bacchus, is ſaid to have danced in theſe ceremonies with great tame ſerpents twining round her, ſometimes interwoven with the ivy of the ſacred ſpears, or with the chaplets of her attendants, in order to inſpire ſpectators with the greater awe and horror. Yet, from henceforward, ſaith Plutarch, his affection ſenſibly abated; and, whether he feared her as a ſorcereſs, or imagined that ſhe held a commerce with ſome god, and was afraid of offending a ſuperior rival, his correſpondence with her became leſs frequent: and, having ſent to conſult the Delphian oracle on this alarming occaſion, he received for anſwer, that he was to pay peculiar honours to Jupiter Ammon, and muſt expect to loſe that eye, which had preſumptuouſly intruded on the ſecret communication of a divinity with his wife. According to * Juſtin, Olympias herſelf firſt ſuggeſted the account of the ſerpent; and is ſaid by Eratoſthenes, an antient hiſtorian,

See Bayle in Art. *Olympias.*

Plutarch. in Alexand.

* L. 9. C. 9.

hiſtorian, to have informed her ſon, as he was preparing for his expedition into Aſia, of the ſecret of his birth. But this information ſeems to have been no more than clearing up the ſuſpicions of his legitimacy; and aſſuring him, that he was really the ſon of Philip, whoſe actions might, with all propriety, have been urged as an incitement to his ſon to approve himſelf worthy of ſo great a father. This ſentiment ſeems to be confirmed by the well known anſwer of Olympias to her ſon's letter, in which he ſtiled himſelf the ſon of Jupiter. For, when the queen complained, that Alexander *made miſchief* (if I may be allowed the expreſſion) between her and Juno, I cannot conceive it in any other light, but that of raillery on his fantaſtical vanity. [c]

Plutarch. in Alex.

Aul. Gellius L. 13. C. 4.

THE preſent nuptials ſeemed to have intirely engaged the court of Macedon, which now became a ſcene of general pleaſure and feſtivity, in honour of the royal lovers. The ſecret and avowed enemies of Philip thought this a favourable opportunity to attempt the recovery of that power, and thoſe dominions, which his arms had won from them; and, by one ſudden and united effort, to cruſh his riſing greatneſs. The kings of Illyria, of Paeonia, and of Thrace, joined in a ſtrict confederacy, and meditated an invaſion of Macedon with all their powers. Their ſcheme was artfully conceived, conducted

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 22.

[c] So Gellius underſtood it.—*Olympiadem* FESTIVISSIME *reſcripſiſſe legimus*—— *Amabo mi fili quieſcas, neque deferas me, neque criminere adverſus Junonem.* L. 13. C. 4. But, though Bayle allows that this has an air of raillery, yet he does not admit, that it warrants us to ſuppoſe, that Olympias denied any connexions with Jupiter, or intended to diſcredit any ſuch reports; but only would perſuade her ſon not to boaſt publicly of his birth. The terms, ſaith he, which Plutarch makes uſe of, ſignify no more, than that ſhe recommends it to her ſon to be ſilent. (See Bayle Dict. Hiſt. in Art. *Olympias.*) The words to which he refers, and which Plutarch aſcribes to her, are theſe: Οὐ παυσῇ με διαβαλλων Αλεξανδρος προς την Ἡραν; which the Latin interpreter renders *non deſinet Alexander in crimen me apud Junonem vocare?* But βιαβαλλειν, διαβολη, and ΔΙΑΒΟΛΟΣ, are Greek words generally agreed to relate, not ſo properly, or, at leaſt, not ſo uſually, to accuſations founded on truth: but to expreſs ſomething of malice, or falſhood, in the action or perſon, not barely of indiſcretion.

with

with all ſecrecy, and had the faireſt proſpect of ſucceſs. But, in the midſt of all his gaiety, Philip's attention was not a moment diverted from his more important concerns. Among all the neighbouring nations he had his ſpies and emiſſaries, ſtudious to merit his liberal pay by their vigilance, who never failed to inform him faithfully, and minutely, of every motion and tranſaction, by which he might be affected. While theſe new allies, therefore, were yet employed in making their preparations, Philip ordered Parmenio, the general in whom he moſt confided, to march into Illyria, while he himſelf ſurprized the Paeonians, and reduced them to ſuch a ſtate of ſubjection, as appears to have rendered them incapable of giving him any farther oppoſition: (for, from this time, hiſtory makes no mention of any attempt to recover their independence.) From thence he marched into Thrace, to confound the ſchemes of his enemies, and to chaſtiſe their deſigns againſt his peace. Here, while engaged in ſpreading the terror of his arms, he received the pleaſing news of a victory, gained by Parmenio over the Illyrians. His couriers, at the ſame time, arrived to inform him, that the chariots, which he had ſent to the Olympic games, had there obtained the prize. Proud of this event, the moſt authentic proof of his being acknowledged a true and legitimate ſon of Greece, he determined to preſerve the memorial of it, by impreſſing thoſe victorious chariots on his coins. But, ſcarcely had theſe joyful advices been received, when another, of ſtill greater moment, was now brought to Philip, that his queen was delivered of a ſon at Pella. A prince, born in the midſt of ſuch joy and ſucceſs, his diviners aſſured him, muſt neceſſarily prove invincible; and the king, deeply affected by theſe inſtances of good fortune, breathed out his prayer in rapture, that the gods ſhould ſend him ſome misfortune to temper all his accumulated happineſs.

Plutarch. in Alex.

Plutarch. Apophth.

THE moſt accurate chronologers fix the birth of Alexander to the firſt year of the hundred and ſixth Olympiad, in the month called

Plin. L. 36. C. 14. Euſeb. Cappel.

by

by the Macedonians Loüs, which, at this time, anſwered not to the Attic month Hecatombaeon, as Plutarch aſſerts, but to Boedromion, the third of the Attic year, as appears from a letter of king Philip, preſerved in the * oration of Demoſthenes on the crown. Nor can we agree with Plutarch in fixing it to the time of the reduction of Potidaea, without contradicting, not only † Demoſthenes, but ‡ Diodorus, who is moſt accurate in his chronology; and expreſſly determines the taking of that city to the third year of the hundred and fifth Olympiad. Antiquity hath been careful to furniſh his birth with a number of preſages and omens of his greatneſs. Thunderings, and lightnings, and earthquakes, were ſaid to have announced this extraordinary event; and two eagles, by perching on the palace in which his mother lay, to have foretold his future empire over Europe and Aſia. But his birth was really attended by one incident, which may, with ſome appearance of propriety, be called a preſage of his future actions. On that very day, in which he firſt ſaw the light, Eroſtratus (for hiſtorians name him, notwithſtanding the decree of the Epheſians to forbid it) ſet fire to the temple of Diana at Epheſus, from the ſole motive of immortalizing his name. And this accident ſeemed ſo expreſſive of the character of Alexander, that, poſſibly, the imagination of hiſtorians invented the relation which Plutarch gives us, that the prieſts and diviners at Epheſus, looked on the ruin of their temple as the forerunner of ſome other terrible calamity; and ran frantic through the city, crying out, "This day hath brought forth ſomething, which will prove de-" ſtructive to all Aſia."

* Sect. 51.

† in Orat. ſept.
‡ Lib. 16. Sect. 8.

Mela 2, 3. Serv. in Virg. Georg. 4. 278.

Plutarch. in Alexand.

THE famous letter, which Philip now wrote to Ariſtotle, muſt not be omitted in this place. The king had always affected an extraordinary reverence for this philoſopher; and condeſcended even to attend with deference to his precepts of morality, and maxims of government. On the preſent joyful occaſion, he expreſſed his ſenſe of the ſage's merit, and of the importance of making the earlieſt and

Ariſtot. Epiſt. in Fragment. AElian. L. 8. C. 15.

moſt effectual proviſion for the future inſtruction of his infant ſon, by addreſſing the following letter to Ariſtotle:

Ariſt. ut ſupra. "King Philip, to Ariſtotle. Health!"

"YOU are to know, that a ſon hath been born to us. We "thank the gods, not ſo much for having beſtowed him "on us, as for beſtowing him at a time when Ariſtotle lives. We "aſſure ourſelves, that you will form him a prince worthy to be "our ſucceſſor, and a king worthy of Macedon. Farewel!"

SUCH inſtances of his reſpectful attention to men of learning have made hiſtorians ſpeak in the higheſt terms of his greatneſs of mind, and juſtneſs of ſentiment. Nor could they have failed to raiſe his reputation in Greece, where philoſophy was held in ſuch veneration, and accounted one of thoſe honourable diſtinctions, which marked out the ſuperiority of that nation over the barbarian world. Nor can it ſeem improbable to thoſe who conſider the character of this prince, that a politic regard to his reputation might have had as great a ſhare in theſe condeſcenſions, as his real ſenſe of the value and dignity of thoſe men, who devoted themſelves to the ſtudy and propagation of knowledge.

THE birth of Alexander was an event which might naturally have been expected to cement the union between Macedon and Epirus: and yet it ſeems probable, from a paſſage in the third * Olynthiac oration of Demoſthenes, where the orator traces the progreſs of Philip's conqueſts, that, about this time, he committed ſome hoſtilities againſt Arymbas, either to puniſh ſome ſecret practices, into which this prince's jealouſy of Philip might have betrayed him, in favour of the late attempts of Illyria and Paeonia; or to gratify Alexander, the brother of Olympias, by diſmembering the kingdom of Epirus, in order to inveſt him with ſome of its dominions.

* Sect. 6.

Hiſtory ſpeaks but obſcurely of his conduct with reſpect to this prince, and the affairs of Epirus; and ſometimes with apparent inconſiſtency, which hath occaſioned a difference in the repreſentations of modern critics and compilers. But to diſcuſs theſe particularly might lead us too far from the principal ſubject: nor is it neceſſary to the underſtanding the general tenor of this hiſtory.

Juſtin. L. 8. C. 6. L. 17. C. 3. Tourreil Not. in Olyn. 3. Rollin Hiſt. de Philippe.

To Thrace we now return, where Philip was at leiſure to purſue his advantages; to attend to the conteſts and diſtractions of the native inhabitants, and to the motions of the Athenians, whoſe antient valour had here gained ſome ſettlements, which, by their miſconduct, were now either loſt, or rendered precarious; and who made ſuch efforts to regain them, as their corruptions or embarraſſments could admit of; and watched and thwarted the attempts of Philip with an impotent jealouſy. This prince, who knew the importance of gaining an extenſive power and intereſt in this country, the ſource of wealth and commerce, the magazine from whence Greece was ſupplied with many of the neceſſaries and conveniencies of life, advanced as far as Maronea, where he was joined by Pammenes the Theban, with a conſiderable reinforcement, ſent to favour the attempts of the enemy of Athens. He held a private correſpondence with Charidemus, and might have compleated the conqueſt of this country, had he not been oppoſed by Amadocus, aſſiſted by the Athenians, with whom good policy did not as yet permit him to come to an avowed rupture. Diſſenſions and conteſts were ariſing among the Grecians: many of whom any open and violent attack on a principal ſtate might have quieted and united. An affected regard to his treaty, a patience even of ſome hoſtilities and inſults, might give an appearance of ſelf-defence, or juſtifiable revenge to any hoſtilities, which he might hereafter find it convenient to commit, while his enemies were loaded with the odium of being the firſt and unprovoked aggreſſors. A fatal mixture of ſtrong national vanity and degeneracy, which prevailed at Athens, was every day

Demoſthen. in Ariſtocr.

rendering that ſtate leſs formidable and powerful, and encouraged their enemy to wait till their capricious and violent paſſions had totally waſted their ſtrength.

THESE had already operated in a manner which muſt have been highly pleaſing to Philip, by depriving them of the ſervice of two illuſtrious generals, Iphicrates and Timotheus. When Chabrias fell, (as hath been related) in the ſocial war, the confederates laid ſiege to Samos, with all their force, which amounted to one hundred ſhips. The Athenian navy, commanded by Chares, the undeſerving favourite of the popular aſſembly, conſiſted but of ſixty. As it was therefore neceſſary to relieve a place, which had ever been firmly attached to them, and, as they were alſo alarmed by Philip's progreſs, another fleet of equal force was fitted out, and intruſted to the command of Meneſtheus, the ſon of Iphicrates, and ſon-in-law to Timotheus, with inſtructions that he ſhould conduct himſelf intirely by the advice of theſe two great men, who imbarked with him. Upon the junction of the two fleets, it was agreed to make a diverſion, by laying ſiege to Byzantium, one of the principal cities in the confederacy. The allies abandoned the ſiege of Samos, and the two fleets were upon the point of an engagement, when a ſudden ſtorm aroſe. Chares confidently propoſed to begin the attack: but Timotheus and Iphicrates, more cautious and experienced, ſaw the diſadvantage, and declined the engagement. For this they were accuſed by Chares of cowardice, and neglect of duty. Their countrymen, impatient of every diſappointment which did violence to their prejudices and exalted notions of their own power and importance, recalled theſe commanders, and brought them to a trial. Timotheus relied intirely on his integrity: but Iphicrates thought himſelf obliged to uſe ſome artifice for his preſervation. He diſperſed certain young officers through the aſſembly, who were at his devotion, armed privately with ſwords, which, as if by accident, they took occaſions to diſcover. The judges were intimidated, and, inſtead of condemning

Nep. in Timoth.

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 21. Nep. in Iphic. & Timoth.

condemning to death, as was originally intended, impoſed a fine on them, which both the one and the other was utterly unable to pay. And thus theſe two commanders, of the moſt diſtinguiſhed merit and abilities, were driven diſgracefully from their country, to languiſh out their lives in an inactive exile, at a time when Athens required all their ſervices.

NOR was it leſs fatal to the intereſts of the Athenians, or leſs pleaſing or promiſing to their enemy, that Chares now became the principal commander of their fleets. He was a man poſſeſſed of all the exteriors of merit, without real and intrinſic abilities. His perſon was robuſt and vigorous; his addreſs haughty and aſſuming; his preſumption not only impoſed on his fellow-citizens, but concealed his incapacity even from himſelf. His inſatiable avarice rendered him intolerable to the allies, and dependents of Athens, whom he plundered with a cruelty and rapaciouſneſs more becoming an enemy than a protector. They dreaded his inhumanity, and deſpiſed the weakneſs of a general, who came attended by ſingers, dancers, harlots, and other like infamous attendants on luxury; and who recommended himſelf to the favour of his officers, by indulging in an abſolute contempt of all diſcipline and regularity befitting a military life. But his fellow-citizens could not diveſt themſelves of their prejudices in favour of a man, who aſſerted poſitively, and promiſed boldly; and who had his orators and popular leaders conſtantly in pay, to defend or palliate every inſtance of his miſconduct. By intrigue and cabal he had been raiſed; on theſe he depended for his ſupport; nor was inclined or inabled to execute any enterprize of honour or importance. Such was the conſequence of the indolence and the ſcandalous profuſion of the public money at Athens, that the fleet was intirely forgotten, and the commander reduced to the utmoſt difficulty for the ſupport of his ſoldiers. At leaſt ſuch was the pretence by which Chares concealed his avarice, and neglect of his commiſſion, in deſerting the war, which had been intruſted to

Oliv. L. 3. p. 109.

Athenae. L. 12. p. 534.

Demoſ. Phil. 1. Sect. 9. Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 22.

31031

to him, and hiring himſelf, and his forces, to Artabazus, a revolted ſatrap of Ionia, who had occaſion for immediate aſſiſtance againſt a large body of Perſians ſent to reduce him to obedience. He relieved him from his danger, and returned with magnificent preſents, and all manner of proviſions and neceſſaries for his fleet.

THE Athenians, who ſaw their navy thus provided, without any burden to themſelves, or any neceſſity of retrenching thoſe expences which were laviſhly beſtowed upon their pleaſures, liſtened willingly to thoſe who defended the conduct of Chares, and urged the neceſſities which were ſaid to have drove him to this meaſure; and, without any great difficulty, were perſuaded to approve of his expedition into Aſia. But they were ſoon made to think of this affair in a different manner. Ambaſſadors arrived with formidable remonſtrances from the king of Perſia; who declared, that, in revenge of this their outrage, he had three hundred ſhips ready to be ſent out to the aſſiſtance of the allied cities. Intimidated by theſe menaces, the Athenians inſtantly concluded a peace with the confederates, who were declared intirely independent, and exempted from all ſubſidies, and from furniſhing their contingents in the wars of Athens. Thus the terror of the Perſian power had more effect in the Athenian aſſembly, than the dictates of equity and moderation, which their ingenuous and honeſt citizen, [D] Iſocrates, had urged, with all his.

Diod. Sic. ut ſupra.

[D] The diſcourſe which he addreſſed to his fellow-citizens for this purpoſe is ſtill extant. In it we find him reproaching them, with great freedom, for abandoning themſelves to the inſinuations of thoſe orators who flatter their paſſions, while they treat thoſe with contempt, who give them the moſt ſalutary counſels. He particularly applies himſelf to correct their violent paſſion for the augmentation of their power and dominion over the people of Greece, which had been the ſource of all their misfortunes. He recalls to their remembrance thoſe happy days, ſo glorious for Athens, in which their anceſtors, from a noble and generous diſintereſtedneſs, ſacrificed every thing to the ſupport of the common liberty, and the preſervation of Greece; and compares them with the preſent times, wherein the ambition of Sparta,

his candid eloquence, to perſuade them to this meaſure: and thus the ſocial war, which had continued for three years to harraſs the Athenians, and had been one cauſe of the weak and ineffectual interruption which they had given to Philip's earlier deſigns, was now concluded.

Sparta, and afterwards that of Athens, had, ſucceſſively, plunged thoſe ſtates in the greateſt misfortunes. He repreſents to them, that the real and laſting greatneſs of a ſtate, doth not conſiſt in augmenting its dominions, and extending its conqueſts, at the expence of humanity and juſtice; but in the wiſe government of the people, a juſt attention to their happineſs, and to the protection of their allies; in being beloved and eſteemed by their neighbours, and feared by their enemies.—The whole piece expreſſes a mind poſſeſſed with the warmeſt ſentiments of benevolence, and a moſt moderate and equitable regard to the common rights of mankind; together with a juſt contempt of falſe greatneſs, the fatal object of the heroes and ravagers of the world. He concludes, that Athens, if it would preſerve its happineſs and tranquillity, ought not to affect the empire of the ſea, for the ſake of lording it over all other ſtates; but ſhould conclude a peace, whereby every city and people ſhould be left to the full enjoyment of their liberty; and declare themſelves irreconcileable enemies to thoſe, who ſhould preſume to diſturb this ſyſtem.

END of the FIRST BOOK.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE AND REIGN OF *PHILIP* KING of MACEDON.

BOOK THE SECOND.

BOOK II. SECTION I.

CONTENTS.

THE ſacred war.—Philomelus made general of the Phocian army.—Sollicits the aſſiſtance of Sparta.—Raiſes an army of mercenaries.—Poſſeſſes himſelf of Delphi and the temple.—Is oppoſed by the Thebans and Locrians.—Hoſtilities commenced.—Philomelus endeavours to remove the odious appearance of impiety, which diſgraced his cauſe.—Sends his deputies to the ſeveral Grecian powers.—His repreſentations.—Their effects at Athens,—at Lacedaemon.—Philip attentive to theſe commotions.—Actions in the ſecond year of the war.—The death of Philomelus.—The Athenians alarmed by the motions of the king of Perſia.—They conſult about preparations for war.—Invite Philip to unite with them.—Demoſthenes appears in the Athenian aſſembly.—Character of this orator.—His oration on the Claſſes.—*Effects of the preſent agitation at Athens.—The affairs of Thrace.—Cerſobleptes cedes the Cherſoneſus to the Athenians.—The ſiege of Seſtos.—Cardia reſerved.—The effects of this reſervation.—Philip beſieges Methonè.—Loſes an eye.—Methonè taken and demoliſhed.—Philip's liberality to his ſoldiers.—Remarkable inſtance of ingratitude puniſhed by Philip.*

THE LIFE and REIGN OF PHILIP King of MACEDON.

BOOK the SECOND.

SECTION I.

THE Athenians were now recovering from the alarm occaſioned by the menaces of the king of Perſia, and, being relieved from the burden of the late war with the confederates, were principally attentive to the motions and deſigns of Philip; when the violence of mutual jealouſy and animoſity burſt forth ſuddenly in Greece; and the ſeveral ſtates conſpired to favour the deſigns of the great enemy of their liberty, and to precipitate their own ruin, by arming againſt each other in the famous SACRED WAR. Olymp. 106. Y. 2.

THE Theban intereſt had been, for ſome time, predominant in the great Amphictyonic council: and that venerable aſſembly, formed originally to ſupport the general intereſt of the whole Hellenic body,

body, now ſhared ſo largely in the corruption and degeneracy of the time, that it was totally guided and directed by ſome one ruling power, and ſervilely ecchoed the dictates of the revenge or ambition of that ſtate, which could moſt effectually influence and corrupt its members. The authority which the Thebans acquired in this aſſembly, in conſequence of their late ſucceſſes, they ſoon determined to exert againſt thoſe whom they ſecretly or avowedly hated: and Phocis and Lacedaemon were the deſtined victims of their pride and oppreſſion. The firſt of theſe ſtates had been accuſed of occupying and cultivating ſome lands ſituated on the banks of the Cephiſus, to the eaſt of mount Parnaſſus, which the religion of antient times had conſecrated to Apollo, and, of conſequence, conſigned to perpetual deſolation. A large fine was impoſed on them by the Amphictyons, the guardians of religion and the rights of the god. At the ſame time, the Thebans, not contented with the revenge, which their arms had executed in Sparta, prevailed upon the council to take cognizance of the conduct of Phoebidas, and to condemn the Lacedaemonians in a fine of fifty talents, for their breach of public faith, and violation of the general peace of Greece, in ſeizing the citadel of Thebes. The two ſtates, affected by theſe ſentences, were by no means ready to pay the due deference to ſuch ſevere deciſions; and poſſibly the Amphictyons themſelves were not very zealous to inforce the execution of their decrees; till, again ſollicited by the Thebans, the council, at length, reſolved, that the Phocians ſhould inſtantly comply, and pay their fine, on pain of being ſtripped of all the fruits of their ſacrilege: and that the Lacedaemonians alſo ſhould, without delay, ſubmit to the authority of the general council, and make the appointed attonement for their crime; or, in caſe of a refuſal, be regarded and treated as rebellious againſt the ſovereign power of the Amphictyons, and as the enemies of Greece.

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 23.

Diod. Sic. ut ſupra.

THE Phocians, who were purſued with the greateſt zeal, as the moſt odious and criminal party, were thus on the point of having all the

the advantages, which the labour and induſtry of years had with difficulty procured, at once wreſted from them; and many of themſelves and families expoſed to want and diſtreſs; driven from the lands and habitations they had long occupied, and deprived of the means of ſubſiſtence. Murmurs and complaints aroſe naturally among a people of ſpirit, to expreſs their indignation at this extreme ſeverity. Nor did they want turbulent and deſigning men, to inflame their diſcontents, and aggravate their grievances. Philomelus, one of the moſt conſiderable members of their community, was a man poſſeſſed of all the qualifications neceſſary to recommend him to the popular favour. He had that inſinuating eloquence, which at once ſeizes the attention, and engages the affections. Under the appearance of a tender regard for the welfare of his fellow-citizens, he concealed a turbulent and violent ambition, which his daring ſoul prompted him to gratify at the expence of dangers and toils, and in defiance of juſtice, and of all thoſe rights, which the general opinion and principles of mankind had ſanctified. This man now aſſembled the Phocians, and, in an artful harangue, exerted all his addreſs to lead them to his purpoſes.

He began with declaring, that, gallant and courageous as they were, he could not in the leaſt ſuſpect that they would ſubmit to the unjuſt ſentence of the Amphictyons; and, by paying the fine required, brand themſelves, and their country, with an ignominious ſtain, which no time ever could efface: but that, if their ſpirit was really loſt, if they were determined to ſubmit to the arbitrary deciſions of their enemies, ſtill the ſum demanded far exceeded their abilities. He expatiated on the injuſtice and cruelty of the Amphictyonic decree, which had impoſed a fine ſo enormous, on account of a ſmall portion of land, which their neceſſities had forced them to occupy. If they could be ſo patient as to ſuffer this land to be taken from them, and united to the antient patrimony of the god, beſides the diſgrace of a ſubmiſſion ſo abject and daſtardly, the loſs of Diod. Sic. ut ſupra.

of their liberty, the utter deſtruction of their properties, and their lives, he declared muſt prove the inevitable conſequence. All the fatal effects of the cruelty of their enemies he knew how to repreſent in the moſt lively colours, and to inflame the imaginations of his hearers with affecting pictures of the future diſtreſs of his dear fellow-citizens. One way yet remained to obviate all theſe melancholy conſequences. If they would intruſt him with the command of their army; if they would reſign themſelves abſolutely to his direction, he made no doubt of proving ſufficient to extricate them from the preſent difficulties, and to aſſert their antient dignity and privileges. To them, and to them alone, had been intruſted the temple and the oracle of Delphi in antient times; their anceſtors were acknowledged as abſolute proprietors of the whole city, and all its territories. Hear, ſaid he, the teſtimony of Homer, the venerable and authentic recorder of the antient glory of Greece, and of all the rights of its ſeveral inhabitants:

[A] The PHOCIANS next in forty barks repair;
Epiſtrophus and Schedius head the war;
From thoſe rich regions, where Cephiſus leads,
Her ſilver current thro' the flow'ry meads:
From Panopëa, Chryſa the divine,
Where Anemoria's ſtately turrets ſhine;
Where *PYTHO, Daulis, Cypariſſus ſtood.— POPE.

* The antient name of Delphi.

Let us then boldly draw the ſword, and aſſert the honours of our fathers, and the rights of their poſterity.

THESE artful repreſentations had the deſired effect: the Phocians created Philomelus their general, with full powers to conduct them as he thought proper: and he proceeded to concert the neceſſary

[A] Αὐλαῖ ΦΩΚΕΩΝ Σχεδίος καὶ Ἐπιστρόφος ἦρχον——
Οἱ Κυπαρισσὸν ἔχον ΠΥΘΩΝΑ τε πετρήεσσαν &c. ILIAD. B. I. 516.

means

means of anſwering the expectations of his countrymen. He began with making a journey to Sparta, where he had a private conference with king Archidamus. He repreſented to this prince, that the intereſt of Sparta was no leſs concerned than that of Phocis, in reſcinding the late decrees of the Amphictyons. He diſcovered his ſcheme of ſeizing Delphi, with aſſurances, that his firſt care ſhould be to efface all the memorials of the diſgrace of their two ſtates; and deſired the aſſiſtance of the Spartans, in a cauſe, in which they, and the Phocians, were equally concerned. Archidamus was pleaſed with a deſign formed againſt the enemies of Sparta, and ſenſible of the advantages which that ſtate might derive from its ſucceſs; yet, being duly affected by the odiouſneſs and danger of it, and too cautious to commence, or to join in this hazardous war, till the effects of the firſt bold experiment had appeared, and the other leading ſtates had diſcovered their diſpoſitions, declared to Philomelus, that he fully approved of his plan; and that, although it was not at preſent convenient openly to avow his attachment to the Phocians, yet that he might depend on ſome private reinforcements, beſides ſupplies of money. To evince the ſincerity of theſe declarations, he accompanied them with a preſent of fifteen talents, to which Philomelus added the ſame ſum of his own; and thus was inabled to raiſe a large body of mercenary troops, who were encouraged to crowd to his ſtandard by the liberality with which he paid them. Diod. Sic. ut ſupra.

THE army he had thus collected he proceeded to model; and, in imitation of other great generals and maſters of the art of war, incorporated a thouſand choſen Phocians into one diſtinct body, whom he called Πελταϛαι, his targeteers; and, having thus provided for the execution of his deſigns, he appeared at the head of his forces, and directed his march to Delphi. Certain inhabitants of the neighbouring diſtrict, called Thracidae, attempted, in vain, to oppoſe his entrance into the city. They were defeated, and cut to pieces, and their poſſeſſions given up to the will of a rapacious ſoldiery. Diod. L. 16. Sect. 24.

The Delphians trembled in expectation of the like fate; but Philomelus quieted their apprehenſions, by aſſuring them, that he entertained no hoſtile intentions againſt their city; no ſacrilegious deſigns againſt their temple: he came but to aſſert the juſt rights of his country to the guardianſhip thereof, and ſhould ever preſerve a due reverence to the god, and an exact attention to the welfare of his votaries. And thus this enterpriſing chief gained poſſeſſion of the city, and aſſumed the cuſtody of the temple, with all its immenſe riches. [B]

THE Amphictyons, on their part, could not behold this outrageous oppoſition to their authority, which they affected to conſider as a violence to all rights divine and human, without the utmoſt emotion. By a formal decree, they pronounced theſe profane Phocians enemies to heaven and to Greece; and invited all thoſe who acknowledged their ſovereign authority, and who retained a regard for religion, to draw the ſword againſt ſacrilege, and ſo to diſcharge thoſe ſacred obligations, which they owed to their country, and to heaven.

[B] THE marbles of Paros fix the commencement of the Phocian war to the archonſhip of Cephiſodotus, the third year of the hundred and fifth Olympiad: which was probably the date of the decree of the Amphictyons, which produced it. We know, beſides, from AEſchines, Demoſthenes, and Pauſanias, that it laſted ten years. The laſt mentioned author places the invaſion of the temple under the archonſhip of Agathocles, the fourth year of the hundred and fifth Olympiad. Thus then we may reconcile thoſe different authorities with Diodorus.

The decree of the Amphictyons, under Cephiſodotus.
The ſpeech of Philomelus, and the inſurrection of the Phocians, under Agathocles.
The journey of Philomelus to Sparta, in the archonſhip of Elphines. Olymp. 106. Y. 1.
The ſeizing of Delphi, under Calliſtratus. Olymp. 106. Y. 2.

OLIVIER.

THE

THE Locrians, who inhabited the neighbourhood of Delphi, were the firſt to expreſs their zeal, by riſing ſuddenly in arms to attack Philomelus. But this chief found no difficulty in defeating a tumultuary body, that fought with more valour than diſcipline. Encouraged by this victory, which ſeemed a preſage of future ſucceſs, he returned in triumph into the city; tore down the records of the Amphictyonic decree from the pillars to which they were affixed; deſtroyed the brazen tablets on which the ſentences againſt Sparta and Phocis were inſcribed; and diſperſed his declaration through Greece, that he had poſſeſſed himſelf of the temple, not with a deſign of violating the rights of Apollo, but only to reſcind the unjuſt and oppreſſive decrees of the Amphictyons; and to aſſert the antient prerogative of the Phocians, which his countrymen juſtly conſidered as the moſt valuable inheritance their anceſtors had tranſmitted to them. Diod. Sic. ut ſupra.

THE Boeotians, with the Thebans at their head, influenced by private animoſity, as * Pauſanias expreſſly obſerves, much more than by the nobler motive of religion, ſoon imitated the example of the Locrians, and raiſed conſiderable levies for the relief of the temple, and to avenge the majeſty of the offended deity. Philomelus, informed of theſe motions, ſurrounds the temple with a ſtrong fortification, ſo as to render it a kind of citadel to the town; collects new forces from all the adjacent diſtricts; augments the pay of his mercenary troops; incamps before Delphi with five thouſand choſen men; and thus becomes no leſs formidable to Thebes, than Thebes could poſſibly appear to Phocis. His enemies had not yet appeared; he therefore determined to intimidate them by an inſtance of vigour; and, having left a ſufficient body to guard the avenues to the city, marched down againſt the Locrians, and ravaged their territories. This people were ſoon obliged to arm in defence of their lands, and found the Phocian general beſieging a fortreſs on the banks of one of their rivers. The ſtrength of its ſituation had checked the progreſs * in Phoc. Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 25.

of his arms; and he now found himſelf obliged to abandon the ſiege, and to march againſt his aſſailants. An engagement immediately enſued, in which twenty of the Phocians fell. The conteſt for their bodies, according to the cuſtom of the antient Greeks, was violent and obſtinate: but the Locrians at length prevailed, and obliged Philomelus to ſend an herald to demand them. The enemy anſwered, with ſeverity, that, by the laws of Greece, ſacrilegious perſons were denied the rights of interment. Philomelus, provoked at their refuſal, and ſtill more irritated and alarmed at the harſh reaſon on which they founded it, once more led out his forces, renewed the engagement, and, remaining maſter of the field of battle, obliged the Locrians to exchange the dead. Thus, with a large acceſſion both of wealth and reputation, he returned to Delphi.

He knew of what conſequence it muſt neceſſarily be to remove the odious appearance of impiety by which his cauſe was diſgraced; and therefore determined, if poſſible, to obtain ſome oracle, which he might interpret as a ſanction to his attempts. For this purpoſe he applied to the Pythian prieſteſs; and commanded her inſtantly to aſcend her ſacred tripod, and to declare the will of the god, and the event of the preſent war. The prieſteſs, either dreading her danger, or from a regard to the ceremonials of her religion, repreſented to him, that the god could not be conſulted but [c] at certain ſtated times, and after all the preparatory rights and ſacrifices regularly and exactly performed. Philomelus, influenced only by political

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 27.

[c] It may not be diſpleaſing to the reader, to have ſome account of thoſe times and preparatory rites laid before him. For which purpoſe I take the liberty of making uſe of the accurate and copious collection from antient authors, by monſieur Hardouin, in his diſſertation on the oracle of Delphi, publiſhed in the memoirs of the academy of Belles Lettres. Tom. 3.

In the earlier times of the oracle, the Pythian prieſteſs was inſpired but once in a year, in the month which the inhabitants of Delphi called Βυσιος, which was the firſt month in the ſpring, called Βυσιος for Πυσιος formed from the word πυθεσθαι, to *inquire* or *interrogate*. Afterwards, Apollo was prevailed on to inſpire the prieſteſs once

political regards, inſiſted on his demand, and declared his reſolution of forcing her to do her office. The prieſteſs cried out, in indignation at his violence, that he commanded there, and might act as he pleaſed. This anſwer he pretended to regard as the effect of enthuſiaſm, and the genuine dictates of Apollo. It was inſtantly publiſhed through his army; it was ingraved on a brazen tablet, and expoſed to public view, that all men might know that the god had granted him permiſſion to act as he thought proper; and, having convened his people, he declared and interpreted this pretended oracle, and earneſtly recommended to them to adhere firmly to a cauſe, which Apollo himſelf had ſanctified by his approbation.

To the affairs of war, he again began to apply with due vigour; but, at the ſame time, took care to provide his people with a prodigy, in Ibid.

once in every month. But the preciſe day was by no means an article of an indifferent nature. Some days were ſtiled ἀποφραδες, nefaſti, *unlucky days*, on which it was abſolutely forbidden to conſult the oracle. We do not know, preciſely, whether the day of conſultation in every month was fixed and determined, or whether the prieſts had the liberty of chuſing it. We only know, that the Pythian prieſteſs never mounted her tripod but on one day in the month, and that the other days were employed in preparing every thing neceſſary for this ceremony. Sacrifices made a principal part of this preparation: without the due performance of theſe, the god was deaf, and the prieſteſs mute. The utmoſt care was taken, that the victims ſhould be found, pure, without ſpot or blemiſh. When they received the effuſions of wine, or water, they were to tremble, and feel an univerſal palpitation in all parts of their body, without which propitious ſigns, the prieſteſs could not preſume to do her office. She herſelf was alſo obliged to a particular preparation. She began with an abſtinence of three days, which greatly increaſed the diſorder of her mind. On the day of conſultation, ſhe bathed in the fountain of Caſtalia, and drank a certain quantity of its water, to which Apollo had communicated a portion of his enthuſiaſtic virtue. She then chewed ſome leaves of laurel that grew near this fountain. This laurel was the ſymbol of divination; and no ſmall aſſiſtance to enthuſiaſm. The prieſteſs being thus prepared, Apollo did not fail to give notice of his approach. A laurel, which grew before the portal of the temple, by its motion, announced the god. The temple itſelf was ſhaken; at leaſt, the prieſteſs felt the preſence of the deity: and then her attendants conducted her, with all due ſolemnity, to the ſanctuary, and placed her on the ſacred tripod.

in order to animate them ſtill farther. An eagle was ſeen to hover round the temple, then to enter in, and to purſue ſome doves that were bred there, with ſuch violence, that ſome of them he killed at the altar. Diviners were found to pronounce this to be an omen, which promiſed the ſovereign power of Delphi to Philomelus and his Phocians. The event was capable of a different application; yet the preſent interpretation, purchaſed no doubt by corruption and intrigue, was eagerly received, and induſtriouſly propagated, to ſerve the preſent purpoſes of the Phocian general; who, while he thus wrought on the ignorance and ſuperſtition of his followers, was, at the ſame time, attentive to the more important means of aſſuring his ſucceſs. He choſe out thoſe of his followers, who ſeemed beſt qualified for negotiation, ſome of whom he diſpatched to Athens, others to Lacedaemon, and others even to Thebes. In like manner he applied to the other conſiderable ſtates of Greece; and gave them all the moſt ſolemn aſſurances of the rectitude of his intentions. He repeated his declarations, that the ſole motive of poſſeſſing himſelf of Delphi was to aſſert the right of Phocis to the patronage of the temple; that he abhorred the thought of ſacrilege, and was determined to preſerve the treaſures of Apollo inviolably; that he was ready to render an account to Greece of all the gold and ſilver, all the rich and magnificent offerings, their weight, number, and condition, with an exactneſs which ſhould demonſtrate the juſtice of his cauſe, and the ſincerity of his intentions; and concluded with intreating, that they ſhould diveſt themſelves of thoſe unwarrantable prejudices conceived againſt him; acknowledge the juſtice of his procedure, and unite their arms with Phocis; or, at leaſt, continue neuter in a war, by which the public intereſts of Greece, either civil, or religious, were by no means affected.

THE chief attention of the Athenians was at preſent to the actions and deſigns of Philip, who was now engaged in Thrace, where he was ever labouring to gain ſome new acquiſitions, either by force or intrigue.

intrigue. Their arms were wholly employed in ſome indirect and weak efforts to oppoſe or harraſs him; and were no longer profeſſedly engaged in any important quarrel. They remembered, with gratitude, that Phocis had expreſſed a regard for Athens in its ſtate of depreſſion at the concluſion of the Peloponneſian war; they looked with indignation at the arrogance with which their late ſucceſſes had inſpired the Thebans; they harboured a warm reſentment of every inſtance of oppoſition or enmity that had appeared in Thebes through the courſe of the Grecian conteſts; they hated and determined to oppoſe any people who preſumed to appear as their competitors for ſovereign power; and, in ſuch diſpoſitions, received the ambaſſadors of Philomelus with the utmoſt favour; and, by a formal decree, entered into a ſtrict mutual engagement and alliance, offenſive and defenſive, with the Phocians, whom they affected to conſider as men drove to extremities by the tyranny and oppreſſion of their enemies.

Demoſthenes de falſa Leg. Sect. 22. cum Schol.

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 26.

THE Lacedaemonians alſo had particular reaſons for liſtening to the overtures, and eſpouſing the cauſe, of Philomelus. The Amphictyons, as hath been already obſerved, had condemned them in a fine of five hundred talents to be paid to Thebes. As this ſum was not paid at the appointed time, the penalty was doubled by a ſubſequent decree of the great council, and no leſs than one thouſand talents was impoſed on the Lacedaemonians: a ſum, which, exorbitant as it was, they muſt neceſſarily pay, or be expoſed to all the rigour of the general laws of Greece. To recur to the ſame pretence which the Phocians had uſed, and to cry out loudly againſt the injuſtice of the decree, ſeemed the only means of eluding the blow. But remonſtrances, however violently urged, could have no effect, unleſs ſeconded by arms, and ſupported by an appearance of warlike power. And then, to take up arms in the character of men condemned by the council of Greece, would be to expoſe themſelves to all the weight of popular odium and indignation. If, on the contrary, they appeared only as aſſiſtants to the Phocians, they might obtain their grand point in a manner apparently more honourable.

Ibid.

All

All the odiouſneſs of rebellion would fall on thoſe who had been the firſt to take up arms; while the Lacedaemonians would be ſuppoſed to act only from pity to their friends, who were drove to the very brink of ruin.

* Lib. 16. Sect. 26.

THESE are the motives to which * Diodorus aſcribes the preſent conduct of Lacedaemon. And, from the character of Archidamus, a ſubtle, penetrating, and deſigning prince, ſtrictly attentive to every event from which he might derive advantage to his country, and indefatigable in projecting the means of recovering its antient ſplendor, we may probably conclude, that, in engaging to aſſiſt the Phocians, he was influenced by another particular view of intereſt. The Lacedaemonians, as there will be hereafter occaſion to obſerve, had themſelves an antient claim to the poſſeſſion and patronage of the Delphian temple; he therefore readily favoured an attempt to wreſt it from the late poſſeſſors. The Phocians, by diſputing their right, deprived it of the reverence paid to a long undiſturbed poſſeſſion; and when they were ſo far weakened, as to be no longer able to ſupport their pretenſions, he might then, with more eaſe, and leſs odium, aſſert thoſe of his own country.

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 27, 29.

OTHER ſtates of leſs moment were alſo found, who, from their connexions, paſſions, or intereſts, favoured the cauſe of Phocis. But, at Thebes the ambaſſadors of Philomelus were received with indignation; and warned to expect nothing but hoſtilities and juſt reſentment. The Thebans freely declared, that they were arming againſt the Phocians to avenge the majeſty of the deity, whom they had offended by their ſacrilegious enterprize. The Locrians, Theſſalians, Perrhibaeans, Dorians, Dolopians, Athamantians, Achaeans, Phthiotes, Magnetes, AEnians, and ſome others, influenced either by their attachments to Boeotia, their antient animoſities to Phocis, or the popular motives of religion, and veneration to the temple, all united againſt Philomelus and his adherents. And thus this quarrel,

at

at firſt ſeemingly inconſiderable, became gradually to appear important and alarming: and divided all Greece with the greater animoſity, as their paſſions and intereſts had the ſpecious ſhew of religion to diſguiſe them, and to ſanctify their moſt bloody conſequences.

IT doth not appear, that Philip was as yet invited, by either party, to ſhare in this diſpute: but a prince of his conſummate policy could not have regarded it with indifference: and, although he had no proſpect of immediate advantage from it, yet, by his conduct, he ſeems to have duly weighed its remote conſequences, and, from the beginning of this fatal conteſt, to have juſtly conſidered it as the foundation of his future greatneſs. He looked on with ſecret ſatisfaction, while theſe people ruſhed to war with an inconſiderate fury, which rendered them blind to their real danger; and waited till they ſhould exhauſt and weaken each other, ſo as to inable him to attack them all with greater advantage.

THE firſt year of the ſacred war had now elapſed, (for it muſt be thought an eſſential part of the preſent hiſtory to trace the progreſs of this important conteſt) when Philomelus began to find himſelf engaged in a truly dangerous and momentous enterprize. He perceived the dreadful ſtorm which was preparing to burſt upon him from different quarters, and ſaw the neceſſity of guarding effectually againſt it. He drew together a large body of new mercenaries, to which he added a number of ſuch Phocians as were capable of ſervice, but as yet had not been incorporated in his army; and as it was abſolutely neceſſary to procure a large ſum of money for the ſupport of theſe forces, and as policy forbad him to commit any outrage on the riches of the temple, he conceived a leſs odious method of raiſing the neceſſary ſupplies; which was to tax all the inhabitants of Delphi, who had been inriched by the devotion of Greece, and by the continual reſort of various nations to the celebrated oracle. By

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 28.

theſe means, he was inabled to take the field with a formidable power, and to preſent himſelf in readineſs to oppoſe all the enemies of Phocis. The Locrians, who were ſtill the firſt to expreſs their zeal againſt him, now again met him in arms, and came to an engagement near to thoſe rocky precipices, called by the Grecians, Phaedriades. The battle was fought, on each ſide, with ſufficient valour; but, in ſpite of their braveſt efforts, the Locrians were defeated, purſued with conſiderable ſlaughter, many of them made priſoners, and many drove down headlong from the rocks. The event of this engagement ſerved to inflame the ſpirit of the Phocians, but threw the Locrians into the deepeſt conſternation. They inſtantly diſpatched their deputies to Thebes, to repreſent their deplorable condition, and to urge that ſtate to haſten to their aſſiſtance, and that of the god.

And now the Phocians were threatened with the immediate appearance of the Thebans, and of the other ſtates, which paid deference to the decrees of the Amphictyonic body. Philomelus could not yet think himſelf ſufficiently armed againſt ſo formidable an aſſociation, and therefore determined to reinforce his army with ſtill greater numbers. To this it was previouſly neceſſary to find new ſupplies of money. As all his former reſources were exhauſted, as neither Athens nor Lacedaemon had as yet ſent him the ſtipulated ſuccours, he was at laſt obliged, however invidious and unpopular it might appear, to lay his ſacrilegious hands on the treaſures and rich offerings of the temple; and, having taken as much from this large fund as he judged neceſſary, he was inabled to augment the pay of his mercenaries by one half of the former ſum. By theſe means, he inſtantly found himſelf ſurrounded by great numbers from all parts of Greece, of deſperate fortunes and abandoned characters; immoral and profligate contemners of the national religion, and influenced only by the hopes of ſharing a rich ſpoil. They were all ſupplied and gratified; and thus Philomelus was inabled to march into

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 30.

into the Locrian territory, at the head of above ten thouſand horſe and foot; a large army for a Phocian general, and much beyond what might have been expected in his circumſtances. The Locrians, now reinforced by ſome of the Boeotians, came out to meet him. The cavalry on each ſide engaged, and the Phocians were victorious. The Theſſalians, with the auxiliary forces, which their neighbouring ſtates had raiſed, having made up a body of ſix thouſand men, next march down into Locris, and meet the enemy at the foot of an hill called Argolas: but here the Phocians are once more victorious. A formidable body of thirteen thouſand Boeotians now arrive, and join the confederates; while Philomelus is reinforced by fifteen hundred Achaeans ſent from Peloponneſus. This chief, though now conſiderably inferior in numbers, yet diſdained the thoughts of a retreat. Both armies were collected on the ſame plain, and incamped in view of each other.

FREQUENT excurſions were neceſſarily made from each army, Sect. 31.
on account of foraging; and, on one of theſe occaſions, it happened, that a number of mercenary forces, in the ſervice of Philomelus, had the misfortune to be ſurrounded, and taken priſoners, by a ſuperior body of Boeotians. Theſe wretches were brought in triumph to the camp; proclamation was made with all ſolemnity, by an herald, that, by the ſentence of the great council of Amphictyons, theſe men were condemned to die, for having ſerved in the army of ſacrilegious violaters of the rights of Apollo; and this ſentence was inſtantly executed without mercy. The ſoldiers, in the pay of Phocis, were fired with fury and indignation at the cruel and diſgraceful fate of their comrades: they ſeized the firſt opportunity of ſurprizing a party of the enemy: they led them to their general's tent: they called loudly for revenge: nor could Philomelus oppoſe their urgent remonſtrances: the priſoners were delivered up to their fury, and put to death with every circumſtance of cruelty that had been practiſed in the enemy's camp.

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 31.

AT length both armies decamped at once, and began to march the ſame way, which the conveniency of forage ſeems to have pointed out. After ſome motions, in a cloſe and woody country, which concealed the approach of each from the other, until they were juſt in view, their vanguards firſt met unexpectedly, and began to ſkirmiſh. The action ſoon became general and violent; and the Phocians, after ſome reſiſtance, were forced to yield to ſuperior numbers. The country, in which they fought, filled with rocks, and precipices, and pathleſs woods, impeded their retreat, and expoſed them to all the fury of the victorious enemy, who made great ſlaughter both of the Phocians and the mercenaries. Philomelus exerted all his valour and abilities to correct this diſorder, but without effect. Unable to ſtop the flight of his ſoldiers, covered over with wounds, pierced with anguiſh and deſpair, he, at length, yielded to the torrent, and ſoon found himſelf puſhed to the brow of a frightful precipice, which cut off all farther flight. The enemy were preſſing cloſe upon him; he knew the treatment he was to expect, were he to fall alive into their hands; his deſperate reſolution was, in the ſame moment, formed and executed; and, from the precipice on which he ſtood, he boldly leaped down, and paid the puniſhment due to his turbulent ambition. The command of the army, by this means, devolved to Onomarchus, his brother and colleague, who, with great difficulty, collected, by degrees, the ſcattered remains of the defeated army, and retired to Phocis. The Thebans, and other confederates, having cloſed the campaign ſo fortunately, returned to their own

Sect. 32.

territories, expatiating on the fate of Philomelus, as the manifeſt indication of divine wrath; and being, by this ſucceſs, confirmed in their reſolutions to purſue the enemies of heaven and of Greece, they declared their firm purpoſe of aſſerting this righteous cauſe, and of puniſhing all thoſe ſacrilegious wretches, who might be taken in the courſe of the war, in the ſame manner as their chief had ſuffered, the manner which Apollo himſelf, by this execution of his vengeance, ſeemed to point out to them.

THE

THE Athenians, as we have already ſeen, were engaged by a formal treaty to ſend aſſiſtance to theſe unhappy Phocians. But their indolence had as yet prevented them from performing their engagement, and they had now the mortification to find their acknowledged friends and allies defeated, and almoſt totally deſtroyed, by means of their deſertion. While they thus neglected a conteſt, which raged in the heart of Greece, and now began to threaten moſt important conſequences, their vanity prompted them to extend their views to Aſia, and to affect an attention to the motions and deſigns of the great king. The thoughts of their antient glory were too flattering ever to ſubſide, even amidſt all their corruptions; the antient cauſes of enmity, between them and Perſia, were ſtill remembered, and, on many occaſions, oſtentatiouſly recounted. The late conduct of their general Chares, in aſſiſting a rebellious noble, had raiſed a juſt and warm reſentment at the Perſian court; and their notions of their own importance made them readier to ſuſpect, that the vaſt armaments, which were now preparing by Artaxerxes Ochus, threatened them, and that ſome important blow was meditated againſt their dominions. The orators of Athens ſeemed ſtudious to flatter the weakneſs and vanity of the people on this occaſion, and exerted all their eloquence to engage them in a vigorous oppoſition to the antient enemy of Greece. All the actions of their great anceſtors were recalled to their remembrance; the names of Miltiades, Themiſtocles, Cimon, and the other illuſtrious enemies of Perſia, reſounded through the aſſembly; all the force and artifice of language was employed to adorn their actions; and their poſterity were pathetically invited to imitate theſe renowned patterns of virtue, and to riſe up in arms againſt the Barbarian. It is not impoſſible but that the agents and partizans of the king of Macedon might have regarded this as a favourable occaſion to advance their maſter's intereſt; and that by joining violently in the outcry againſt the Perſian, by fomenting the ſuſpicions of his deſigns, and by flattering the national pride of the Athenians, they

Demoſth. Orat. de Claſſ.

they endeavoured to divert their attention from the actions of Philip, whom they ſeem to have repreſented as a powerful prince, ready to lay aſide all private animoſities, and to unite with them againſt the common enemy. The artifice of theſe ſecret friends of Macedon, or their own terrors, ſo far wrought upon the Athenians, that they reſolved to ſend a deputation to all the Greeks to invite them to ſuſpend their private quarrels, and to unite againſt the deſigns of Perſia; and they themſelves ſo far forgot all private animoſities; and poſſibly were ſo far influenced by the artifice of corrupted hirelings, that they reſolved, on this occaſion, to acknowledge Macedon as a member of the Hellenic body, and to invite Philip to join in the general confederacy. Olivier * thinks it probable, that Iſocrates was the perſon who anſwered for the conduct of Philip, and induced his countrymen to this reſolution. This old, recluſe, and virtuous rhetorician was eaſily flattered by the attention which Philip paid to him, as well as other men of learning; and, convinced, himſelf, of the ſincerity of his declarations, might naturally have laboured to convince his fellow-citizens, and to remove their prejudices, by ecchoing thoſe plauſible pretences with which Philip diſguiſed all his hoſtilities, and which might have had their full effect upon an honeſt mind, unacquainted with the artifices of public life. Add to this, that Philoſtratus tells us (as the French writer obſerves) that at one time Iſocrates reconciled Philip to the Athenians; which could not poſſibly have happened but in the preſent conjuncture: as in the grand treaty, executed by the ten orators, Iſocrates had no ſhare: and the peace which ſucceeded the battle of Chaeronea was not made till after his death. However this may be, no overtures could poſſibly be made to Philip more agreeable to his policy and ambition, nor more likely to engage his whole attention; and poſſibly the ſecret practices of this prince, or the vanity of Athens, might have had more material conſequences in this conjuncture, had not Demoſthenes now appeared, for the firſt time, in a debate about the public

Liter. Philip.

* Lib. 4. p. 175.

public intereſt, and exerted his addreſs and energy to moderate the exceſſive and ill-directed zeal of the Athenians.

THIS illuſtrious orator and ſtateſman, whom we ſhall hereafter find acting ſo conſiderable a part in the courſe of this hiſtory, was born in the laſt year of the ninety-ninth Olympiad, according to Dionyſius, who, in his epiſtle to Ammaeus, hath accurately diſtinguiſhed the different periods of his life, and the times in which his ſeveral orations were delivered. He was the ſon, not of a mean and obſcure mechanic, as the Roman ſatyriſt hath repreſented him, but of an eminent Athenian citizen, who raiſed a conſiderable fortune by the manufacture of arms. At the age of ſeven years he loſt his father; and, to add to this misfortune, the guardians to whom he was intruſted, waſted and embezzled a conſiderable part of his inheritance. Thus oppreſſed by fraud, and diſcouraged by a weak and effeminate habit of body, he yet diſcovered an early ambition to diſtinguiſh himſelf as a popular ſpeaker. The applauſe beſtowed on a public orator, who had defended his country's right to the city of Oropus, in an elaborate harangue, inflamed his youthful mind with an eager deſire of meriting the like honour. Iſocrates and Iſaeus were then the two moſt eminent profeſſors of eloquence at Athens. The ſoft and florid manner of the former did by no means ſuit the genius of Demoſthenes. Iſaeus was more vigorous and energic, and his ſtyle better ſuited to public buſineſs. To him, therefore, he applied; and, under his direction, purſued thoſe ſtudies, which might accompliſh him for the character to which he aſpired. His firſt eſſay was made againſt his guardian, by whom he had been ſo injuriouſly treated. But the goodneſs of his cauſe was here of more ſervice than the abilities of the young orator; for his early attempts were unpromiſing, and ſoon convinced him of the neceſſity of a graceful and manly pronunciation. His cloſe and ſevere application, and the extraordinary diligence with which he laboured to conquer his defects and natural infirmities, are too well known, and have been too frequently

Juvenal. Satyr. 10.

Plut. in Demoſth.

frequently the ſubject of hiſtorians and critics, antient and modern, to need a particular recital. His character, as a ſtateſman, will be beſt collected from the following hiſtory; as an orator, the reader, perhaps, is not to be informed of his qualifications. I take the liberty, however, of tranſcribing a brief account from a former work;

Preface to the Tranſlation of Demoſthenes's Philippic Orations.

" ENERGY and majeſty were his peculiar excellencies. " From the gravity of Thucydides, the pomp and dignity of Plato, " the eaſe and elegance, the neatneſs and ſimplicity of the Attic " writers, he formed a ſtile and manner admirably fitted to his " own temper and genius, as well as that of his hearers. His " own ſeverity determined him to the more forcible methods of " aſtoniſhing and terrifying, rather than to the gentle and inſinu- " ating arts of perſuaſion; nor did the circumſtances and diſpo- " ſitions of his country-men admit of any but violent impreſſions. " As many of thoſe to whom he addreſſed himſelf were men of " low rank and occupations, his images and expreſſions are ſome- " times familiar. As others of them were themſelves eminent in " ſpeaking, and could readily ſee through all the common artifices " of oratory, theſe he affects to deſpiſe; appears only ſollicitous to " be underſtood; yet, as it were, without deſign, raiſes the utmoſt " admiration and delight: ſuch delight as ariſes from the clearneſs " of evidence, and the fulneſs of conviction. And, as all, even " the lower part of his hearers, were acquainted with the beauties " of poetry, and the force of harmony, he could not admit of " any thing rude or negligent; but, with the ſtricteſt attention, la- " boured thoſe compoſitions, which appear ſo natural and unadorned; " they have their ornaments; but theſe are auſtere and manly, and " ſuch as are conſiſtent with freedom and ſincerity. A full and " regular ſeries of diffuſive reaſoning would have been intolerable in " an Athenian aſſembly. He even contents himſelf with an imper- " fect hint; a ſentence, a word, even his ſilence is ſometimes preg-

nant

" nant with meaning. And this quickneſs and vehemence flattered " a people, who valued themſelves upon their acuteneſs and penetra- " tion. The impetuous torrent, that in a moment bears down all " before it; the repeated flaſhes of lightning, which ſpread univerſal " terror, and which the ſtrongeſt eye dares not encounter; are the " images by which the nature of his eloquence hath been expreſſed."

He was now twenty-eight years old, when the Athenians aſſembled to conſider of the meaſures to be taken in conſequence of this alarm from Perſia, and particularly of the manner of raiſing an armament proper to defend them againſt the ſuppoſed danger, and of the funds required for preparing and maintaining it. Luccefini, in his notes on the oration which Demoſthenes now delivered, propoſes a difficulty, that, by the eſtabliſhed laws of Solon, no man was allowed to ſpeak in public, who had not attained the age of thirty; which law, as it appears from the oration of AEſchines againſt Timarchus, was ſtill in force: but this law, as the ſame learned commentator hath abundantly proved, only regarded thoſe ten public orators who were annually choſen and paid to ſpeak in the affairs of ſtate: who, as they were frequently to addreſs the ſenate, muſt neceſſarily be of the ſenatorial age. All the other citizens were freely allowed to declare their ſentiments in the aſſembly, and to propoſe any thing which they deemed of advantage to the ſtate; with a due deference, however, to ſeniority; though the law, which gave to the elders a prior right of ſpeaking, was now abrogated, according to another interpreter of this great Athenian orator. Tourreil. Not. in Phil. 1.

This privilege, therefore, Demoſthenes now aſſumed, but not before he had heard the full ſpirit of national vanity break forth in the aſſembly, in magnificent harangues on the antient glory of Athens, and the neceſſity of curbing the pride of the Barbarian, and of calling upon the Greeks to unite againſt their common enemy. He ſeems to have formed juſter notions of the preſent ſtate of his Olymp. 106. Y. 3.

country, of its connexions, intereſts, and corruptions. As yet, however, it became his age to ſpeak with due caution, and to curb that ſeverity with which he after combated the errors of his countrymen; he begins with tempering their heat and extravagant zeal, without abſolutely ſhocking their prejudices.

Oratio de Claſſ. init.

"THE men, who thus dwell upon the praiſes of our anceſtors, "ſeem to me, ye men of Athens, to have choſen a ſubject fitted "rather to pleaſe and gratify the aſſembly, than to do the due "honours to thoſe men on whom they laviſh their applauſe. As "they attempt to ſpeak of actions which no words can worthily "deſcribe, the illuſtrious ſubject adorns their ſpeech, and gives them "the praiſe of eloquence; while their hearers are made to think "of the virtues of theſe heroes with much leſs elevation than theſe "virtues of themſelves inſpire. To me time itſelf ſeems to be the "nobleſt witneſs to their glory. A ſeries of ſo many years hath "now paſſed over: and yet no men have yet appeared, whoſe "actions could ſurpaſs thoſe conſummate patterns of perfection. It "ſhall be my part, therefore, ſolely to endeavour to point out the "means which may inable you moſt effectually to prepare for war. "For, in fact, were all our ſpeakers to proceed in a pompous diſ-"play of their abilities, ſuch parade and oſtentation could not "poſſibly be of the leaſt advantage to the public. But if any man "whatever will appear, and can explain, to your full ſatisfaction, "what kind of armament, how great, and how ſupported, may "ſerve the preſent exigencies of the ſtate, then all thoſe alarms "muſt inſtantly be diſpelled."

FROM the circumſtances of Greece, the conteſts which now reigned, the diſpoſition of the principal ſtates, the dangers which were nearer, more certain, and more alarming than thoſe which were apprehended from Perſia, he proceeds gradually to inſpire them with ſentiments of greater moderation, to recall them from all romantic

romantic purſuits, and to confine them to defenſive meaſures, to the care and attention due to their military preparations, that ſo they might appear amply provided againſt any attack whatever. The method he propoſes for raiſing their armament, diſcovers an extraordinary attention to the conſtitution of his country, and ſhews that it was not only by forming his voice, his ſtile, and his pronunciation, that Demoſthenes prepared himſelf for public buſineſs. His ſcheme, if particularly diſcuſſed, might lead us too far away from the principal ſubject. It ſeems equitably and happily conceived, calculated for expedition, and to obviate all difficulties and murmurings. Though poſſibly the great deſign of the orator was not ſo much to point out the means of guarding againſt the ſuppoſed danger, as to divert his countrymen, by a delicate addreſs and artifice, from any affair, which had no other foundation than in the over-heated imaginations of ſome orators, who were poſſibly intereſted in fomenting and increaſing the preſent emotions of the aſſembly.

IT was one great corruption in the ſtate of Athens, that the richer members of the community employed all their influence (in the general decay of public ſpirit) to ſhift off from themſelves all the burdenſome and expenſive duties of an Athenian citizen. It was their province to equip and to maintain the ſhips of war: and, by the diſpoſition which prevailed at preſent, the richeſt citizen was only obliged to contribute a ſixteenth part to the fitting out of one veſſel. So that the poor alone felt the public burdens, and many irregularities and deficiencies were found in their marine. In the place of this, Demoſthenes propoſed a new regulation, whereby every citizen, poſſeſſed of ten talents, was obliged, at his own ſole expence, to equip one ſhip of war: they who poſſeſſed leſs, were to unite their fortunes, ſo as to make up this ſum, and to contribute in proportion to their wealth; and they, whoſe fortunes exceeded ten talents, were alſo obliged to contribute an additional ſum, rated according to their abilities; and, if poſſeſſed of twenty, were to fit

Demoſth. de Corona Sect. 30.

out two; if of thirty, three ſhips; which number, together with one tender, was the greateſt that any citizen was obliged to provide by the new regulation. This propoſal, equitable as it was, yet gave occaſion to a proſecution: but the accuſer had ſcarcely that number of voices in his favour, which could ſcreen him from the conſequences of a malicious accuſation.—The people ſaw clearly the advantages of the ſcheme which Demoſthenes propoſed; and, without any difficulty, adopted and confirmed it.

THEIR late debate only ſerved to demonſtrate what high notions they had formed of the merit and power of Philip: their magnificent ſchemes quickly vaniſhed, when it began to appear, that the deſigns of Ochus were all directed againſt Egypt; and the precarious condition of many of their dependent cities rouſed them from their dream of glory, to an humble and mortifying ſenſe of their weakneſs and danger. The poſſeſſions which they were labouring to maintain, or to recover, in Thrace, were every day threatened by ſome new attempt made by the vigilant and active king of Macedon, who was continually engaged in weakening their intereſt there, while his hoſtilities were apparently aimed againſt thoſe petty ſovereigns who divided that country, and who, by their mutual contentions for power, gave him a fair opportunity of carrying his arms into their territories, under pretence of ſuccouring the oppreſſed and weaker party. Ceroſobleptes, who commanded in the Thracian Cherſoneſus, ſoon perceived that he could not long defend that important diſtrict againſt the claim of Athens, and the arms of Philip: in order, therefore, to gain the friendſhip of the Athenians, he now determined to make a formal reſignation of the Cherſoneſus to this people: hoping, by this method, to attach them to his intereſt, and, by their aſſiſtance, to eſtabliſh himſelf in the reſt of the kingdom, on the ruin of Beriſades and Amadocus, the other two coheirs. This ceſſion was in the higheſt degree pleaſing to the Athenians: Ceroſobleptes was declared a citizen of Athens; the ſame honour was conferred

Demoſth. in Ariſtocr. Olymp. 106. Y. 104.

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 34.

Dem. in Ariſtocr.

Epiſt. Phil.

ferred on Charidemus, who was then engaged in his ſervice, and aſſumed the greateſt ſhare of the merit of this conceſſion to himſelf; and flattered the people with hopes of ſtill farther advantages. In the ardour of their acknowledgments, the Athenians paſſed a decree, injoining all the allies and ſubjects of Athens to deliver up, alive or dead, any perſon who ſhould make an attempt on the life of Charidemus; which produced that oration againſt Ariſtocrates, the author of this decree, to which we are indebted for many particulars relating to the affairs of Thrace. Demoſth. in Ariſtocr.

CHARES, who was now coaſting along the Helleſpont, was directed to receive thoſe places in the Cherſoneſus, which were thus yielded to the Athenians. He proceeded to execute his commiſſion, but found a vigorous oppoſition at Seſtos, one of the principal of theſe cities. He was obliged to beſiege it with all his force, and, having taken it by aſſault, treated the inhabitants with a ſeverity capable of intimidating all the other ſettlements from any farther oppoſition. All thoſe, who were of age to bear arms, were put to the ſword without mercy; the reſt reduced to ſlavery, and an Athenian colony immediately ſettled at Seſtos. Diod. Sic. ut ſupra.

BUT there was one circumſtance which, in a great meaſure, defeated all the advantages which the Athenians might derive from the poſſeſſion of the Cherſoneſus. Cardia, the moſt conſiderable city of this peninſula, had ever appeared averſe to the Athenian government: it was ſituated on the iſthmus, and, of conſequence, commanded the entrance from Thrace, and was inabled to preclude the inner ſettlements from all the advantages of commerce. Its ſituation afforded room for ſome diſpute, whether it was to be conſidered as a part of the Cherſoneſus, or of the Thracian continent. It had been excepted in ſeveral treaties, by which the right of Athens to the Cherſoneſus was acknowledged; and now Cerſobleptes expreſſly reſerved Cardia to himſelf. The Athenians, on their part, though unable Demoſth. in Ariſtocr. Diod. ut ſupra.

unable to ſupport their pretenſions to Cardia, yet ſtill aſſerted them; and thus a field was opened for perpetual diſputes, and Philip had a fair occaſion of diſtreſſing the Athenians, by uniting with the Cardians, and ſupporting their independence; a deſign which he was afterwards inabled effectually to execute.

In the mean time, this prince, ever reſtleſs and aſpiring, ever attentive to the ſchemes which his ambition dictated, and ever provided with ſome pretence to juſtify his hoſtilities againſt thoſe who were obnoxious to him, turned his thoughts to Methonè, as a city which his intereſts required him to reduce. Antient geographers mention ſeveral cities of this name: the principal of which were Methonè in Peloponneſus, ſituated between Epidaurus and Troezenè; another of the ſame name in Theſſaly, built on the coaſt of Magneſia; and a third, called the Thracian Methonè, ſituated on the Thermaïc bay, at the diſtance of * forty ſtadia from Pydna. This laſt city it was, to which Philip now laid ſiege, (as the authority of † Strabo, as well as that of Euſtathius, in his notes on the ſecond book of the Iliad, directs us to determine.) By its ſituation it was capable of ſerving as a kind of citadel to favour the excurſions of the enemies of Macedon into the heart of his dominions, whether of Cerſobleptes, againſt whom he made no ſcruple to avow his enmity; or of the Olynthians, on whoſe ruin he now ſeems to have reſolved, and who, on their part, had good reaſons to ſuſpect and dread his riſing power. Nor was this city leſs convenient to the Athenians, or leſs favourable to any attempts which they might make to invade his kingdom. Thither were their forces tranſported, as we have already ſeen, in the expedition in favour of Argaeus: and, in earlier times, as we learn from * Thucydides, they had experienced the convenience of this port, in making their deſcents on Macedon. He could not think of leaving ſuch a city open to his ſecret or declared enemies; and therefore determined to deſtroy it. The Methonèans, to whom his deſign could not be long a ſecret, prepared

* About four miles.

† in Excerpt. L. 7.

Oliv. L. 5. p. 189.

* L. 6.

prepared and exerted themſelves as men who fought for their very being; and, for a while, ſuſtained the ſiege with an obſtinate valour. One of the cities, called Methonè, had been employed in its fortifications from the time of the Trojan war: which the Greeks imputed to an imprecation pronounced by Agamemnon, who, when the inhabitants alledged this their engagement as an excuſe for not uniting their arms with him, prayed that theſe walls, which thus prevented them from joining in the common cauſe of Greece, might never be finiſhed. Theopompus, as quoted by * Strabo, underſtands this of the city which Philip now beſieged: and, if ſo, the Methonèans had ſtrength, as well as valour, to oppoſe Philip: while the Athenians, on their part, alarmed at this new inſtance of his reſtleſs ambition, were preparing to ſend powerful ſuccours to the beſieged.

Strabo L. 8. P. 375.

* in loco citat.

Phil. 1. Sect. 13.

DURING the operations of this ſiege, as Philip was employed in viewing the works, and directing the approaches, an arrow, ſhot from the town, wounded him dangerouſly in the eye, and caſt the beſiegers into the utmoſt confuſion. But they were ſoon re-animated by the vigour and reſolution of their prince, who gave orders, with the utmoſt calmneſs and intrepidity, for continuing the ſiege, and committed himſelf to the care of Critobulus, a chirurgeon, whoſe ſkill, in ſo important a cure, hiſtory has thought worthy to be recorded: and who, though he could not ſave his eye, yet contrived, by his dexterity, to take away all the blemiſh which might have been expected from ſuch an accident. When the arrow was extracted, this inſcription is ſaid to have appeared on it, ASTER TO PHILIP'S RIGHT EYE; a circumſtance, on which ſome relations have been founded, that are unauthorized, and unſupported, by the more authentic writers. It is ſaid, (as the reader, who is at all converſant in modern compilements, perhaps need not be informed) that one Aſter of Amphipolis, or of Olynthus, according to others, recommended himſelf to the ſervice of Philip, by aſſuring him, that his ſkill in ſhooting was ſo accurate, that, with his bow, he could ſtrike down

Suidas in Καρανος.

Plin. L. 7. C. 37.

Suidas. Solin. C. 14, 15.

Tourreil. Not. in Philip. 1.

down birds in their full flight: to which Philip anſwered with contempt, "It is well! I ſhall make uſe of thee when I wage war "with ſtarlings:" and that After, ſtung with this neglect, threw himſelf into Methonè, whence he ſhot the arrow with the inſcription abovementioned. It is alſo added, that Philip ſent back the arrow, when extracted from his eye, with another inſcription, importing, that, if once maſter of the town, he ſhould hang up After; and that this threat was afterwards executed. Theſe laſt circumſtances intirely depend on the authority of Suidas and Ulpian; and are thought to be ſufficiently overturned by the honourable teſtimony which * Juſtin gives to the general clemency of Philip on this occaſion: but if the particulars, which monſieur Tourreil relates, be really authentic, (his authority, indeed, I confeſs, I have not been able to diſcover) it muſt be ſubmitted to thoſe who are acquainted with the laws of war, how far an extraordinary ſeverity may be juſtified againſt a man, who took ſo ſevere a method of approving his ſkill, and, at the ſame time, revenging the king's neglect. It is certain, that, whatever were the circumſtances really attending this wound, they muſt have reflected ſome degree of diſhonour upon Philip; as * Lucian, in his method of writing hiſtory, mentions, as an inſtance of the freedom with which hiſtorians ſhould write, that ſuch particulars as Philip's wound in the eye, or Alexander's killing Clitus, ſhould, by no means, be paſſed over. And; if his wound was the conſequence of a raſh and wanton neglect of a ſoldier's extraordinary abilities, his enemies muſt have triumphed, and he himſelf been aſhamed of his miſtake and his misfortune. Such a ſuppoſition may account for that ſenſibility which Philip is ſaid to have felt ever after, to ſuch a degree, that the bare repetition of the word EYE was painful and offenſive to him. As to any wounds received nobly in the courſe of war, it cannot be ſuppoſed, that a prince of his exalted ſentiments, and thirſt for glory, could have conſidered them in any other light, but as the memorials of his valour. But if the recollection of them ſuggeſted the idea of his miſtaken conduct, and unwarrantable inatten-

* Lib. 7. in fine.

* p. 365. Edit. Lut.

Demetrius Phal. de Elocut. C. 3.

tion

tion to his intereſt; then it muſt neceſſarily have covered him with confuſion. Indeed as to the word CYCLOPS, by which his enemies frequently pointed him out; the offence, which he is ſaid to have conceived at it, may as well be ſuppoſed to have ariſen from its conveying the idea of a cruel and barbarous monſter, incapable of the ſentiments of humanity.

THE wound of their prince, which had at firſt thrown the Macedonians into confuſion, now ſerved only to animate them, when they found the danger over, and that Philip was ſtill inabled to direct the ſiege with unabated vigour. The inhabitants of Methonè, on their part, continued to make an obſtinate defence. The Macedonians were ordered to prepare for a general aſſault; and, animated by the preſence of their royal general, encouraged by his promiſes, and inflamed by the example of his reſolution, they preſſed forward with ſufficient eagerneſs, and boldly mounted the walls. The oppoſition of the beſieged could not prevent conſiderable numbers from gaining the battlements; when, to cut off all retreat, Philip inſtantly ordered the ſcaling ladders to be removed; thus leaving his men to the deſperate alternative, either of dying, or purſuing their advantage. The Methonèans ſoon found all reſiſtance vain; laid down their arms, and ſubmitted to the mercy of the victor; who, if we may believe * Juſtin, treated them, on this occaſion, not only with moderation, but kindneſs. † Diodorus informs us more explicitly, that the conditions which he granted them were theſe: that the inhabitants ſhould be ſuffered to march out unmoleſted, with one ſuit of apparel only; and that the city, with all the reſt of its poſſeſſions, ſhould be delivered up without reſerve. And, in theſe times, when ſlavery was generally the unhappy lot of the conquered, and their enemy was deemed abſolute proprietor of their perſons, as well as their poſſeſſions, ſuch terms muſt have deſervedly been eſteemed moderate and favourable.

Polyaen. Strateg. L. 4.

* L. 7. in fin.

† L. 16. Sect. 34.

Demoſ. Phil. 1. Sect. 13. Diod. ut ſupra.

THUS was Philip in poſſeſſion of Methonè, while the Athenian ſuccours were ſailing to its relief. The city was razed to the ground; and the lands divided among his ſoldiers: and thus were his enemies deprived of a ſtation which they might have occupied with advantage, and a colony planted there intirely in the intereſt of Macedon, ready to watch their deſigns, and to give the alarm on the leaſt appearance of commotion, bound particularly to Philip by all the ties which could engage men; by the opinion of his power, his abilities, and his merit; and by the benefits which he well knew how to beſtow upon them, with the appearance of the moſt cordial and undeſigning affection and liberality.

Oliv. L. 5. p. 195.

THE French author of his life here ſeems ſtrongly affected by his hero's laudable diſpoſition, equally influenced by the pleaſure of beſtowing, and that of animating the virtue of his ſoldiers, by the rewards which his bounty dealt to them. In one inſtance he obſerves this happy temper engaged him in an act of injuſtice, which gave him much uneaſineſs, but which he found means of repairing. The reader may, perhaps, not be diſpleaſed at having the narration ſuſpended by the introduction of this anecdote, which Seneca hath preſerved.

Seneca de Benef. C. 37.

A CERTAIN ſoldier, in the Macedonian army, had, in many inſtances, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by extraordinary acts of valour, and had received many marks of Philip's favour and approbation. On ſome occaſion he imbarked on board a veſſel, which was wrecked by a violent ſtorm, and he himſelf caſt on the ſhore, helpleſs and naked, and ſcarcely with the appearance of life. A Macedonian, whoſe lands were contiguous to the ſea, came opportunely to be witneſs of his diſtreſs, and, with all humane and charitable tenderneſs, flew to the relief of the unhappy ſtranger. He bore him to his houſe, laid him in his own bed, revived, cheriſhed, comforted, and, for forty days, ſupplied him freely with all the neceſſaries and conveniencies

niencies which his languiſhing condition could require. The ſoldier, thus happily reſcued from death, was inceſſant in the warmeſt expreſſions of gratitude to his benefactor, aſſured him of his intereſt with the king, and of his power and reſolution of obtaining for him, from the royal bounty, the noble returns which ſuch extraordinary benevolence had merited. He was now compleatly recovered, and his kind hoſt ſupplied him with money to purſue his journey. In ſome time after, he preſented himſelf before the king, he recounted his misfortunes, magnified his ſervices; and this inhuman wretch, who had looked with an eye of envy on the poſſeſſions of the man who had preſerved his life, was now ſo abandoned to all ſenſe of gratitude, as to requeſt that the king would beſtow upon him the houſe and lands where he had been ſo tenderly and kindly entertained. Unhappily Philip, without examination, inconſiderately and precipitately granted his infamous requeſt; and this ſoldier now returned to his preſerver, and repaid his goodneſs, by driving him from his little ſettlement, and taking immediate poſſeſſion of all the fruits of his honeſt induſtry. The poor man, ſtung with this inſtance of unparalled ingratitude and inſenſibility, boldly determined, inſtead of ſubmitting to his wrongs, to ſeek relief; and, in a letter addreſſed to Philip, repreſented his own and the ſoldier's conduct in a lively and affecting manner. The king was inſtantly fired with indignation; he ordered that juſtice ſhould be done without delay; that the poſſeſſions ſhould be immediately reſtored to the man whoſe charitable offices had been thus horridly repaid; and, having ſeized his ſoldier, cauſed theſe words to be branded on his forehead, THE UNGRATEFUL GUEST: a character infamous in every age, and among all nations; but particularly among the Greeks, who, from the earlieſt times, were moſt ſcrupulouſly obſervant of the laws of hoſpitality.

BOOK II. SECTION II.

CONTENTS.

HISTORY of the ſacred war continued.—Onomarchus created general of the Phocians.—His aſſiduity and addreſs.—He prepares vigorouſly for action.—Takes Thronium, Amphiſſa, and Orchomenus.—Is defeated before Chaeronea.—Philip, at length, engaged as a party in the ſacred war.—The diſorders in Theſſaly.—Philip marches againſt the tyrants who had attempted to reſume the ſovereign power, and defeats them.—Onomarchus prepares to ſupport them.—Philip receives a ſignal defeat.—Onomarchus ravages Boeotia.—His ſecret practices with Lycophron,—diſcovered by Philip,—who marches once more againſt Lycophron and the Phocians.—Gains a compleat victory.—The death of Onomarchus.—Philip's meaſures to ſecure the attachment of the Theſſalians.—His reputation.—The jealouſy of the Athenians.—An union between their ſtate and Olynthus.—Commotions in Thrace.—Philip beſieges Heraeum.—Confuſion at Athens.—Sickneſs of Philip calms the apprehenſions of the Athenian people.—Philip's firſt hoſtilities in the Olynthian territories.—Phaylus ſucceeds Onomarchus in the command of

the

the Phocian army.—Applies to Athens and Sparta.—Inſidious project of Archidamus, for reconciling the different intereſts of the Grecian ſtates.—Diſorders in Peloponneſus;—which promiſe advantages to Philip.—Actions of Phaylus.—Philip determines to purſue his ſucceſs in Greece.—Marches towards Thermopylae.—The Athenians terrified at his attempt.—Seize the paſſes.—Philip retires.—His ſubſequent conduct, as related by Juſtin.—The late behaviour of the Athenians variouſly received and repreſented.—Their joy at Philip's retreat.—They continue to guard the ſtreights.—The firſt Philippic oration of Demoſthenes.

BOOK

BOOK the SECOND

SECTION II.

THE defeat of Philomelus, as hath already been obſerved, cloſed the ſecond year of the ſacred war; when the confederates, who had united to defend the authority of the Amphictyonic council, retired into their own territories; and the Phocians were led back to Delphi by Onomarchus, delivered for a time from the horrors of a war, in which they had already ſo ſeverely ſuffered. This interval of reſt they firſt began to employ in convening a general aſſembly of their allies and auxiliaries, to conſult about the war, and the meaſures to be purſued in their preſent diſtreſsful circumſtances. In this aſſembly, the opinions were conſiderably divided, according to the different paſſions or intereſts which influenced that great variety of members who compoſed it. Many, deeply affected by the proſpect of their danger, and the odiouſneſs of their cauſe, judged that an accommodation ſhould be purchaſed on any terms, and declared violently for peace. Others, who dreaded the reſentment of the enemy, or who had engaged in this unpopular quarrel, merely from expectation of large pay and rich plunder, and whoſe abandoned manners rendered them inſenſible of diſgrace and infamy, declared as violently for the continuance of a war, on which alone their rapacious hopes and proſpect of ſecurity were founded; and inforced

Olymp. 106. Y. 4.

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 32.

inforced their opinions by every plauſible argument which might have weight in a popular aſſembly. After ſome paſſionate debates, each party was for a while ſilent; while the leaders turned their eyes around, to look for ſome man of conſequence, whoſe opinion might determine the fate of this important deliberation.

IN this ſuſpence they did not long continue. Onomarchus, who was fully prepared for the part he had now to act, roſe up, and inſtantly engaged the attention of the whole body. This chief, who had a peculiar intereſt in the continuance of the war, addreſſed himſelf to the aſſembly in an artful and premeditated harangue, calculated to diſſipate their fears, and to inliven their expectations. With a conſummate addreſs he inforced every plauſible argument for war, every motive of intereſt and of honour, which might induce the Phocians, and their allies, to purſue the plan which their late general had formed. His harangue was ſpecious and inſinuating; and numbers were found in the aſſembly to eccho his ſentiments. All opinions of moderation, all repreſentations of difficulty and danger, were drowned in the violence of acclamations and tumultuous applauſe; and, without farther conſultation, it was reſolved to purſue the moſt vigorous meaſures for ſupporting the war: and Onomarchus was inveſted with full powers, as commander in chief of the Phocian army.

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 32.

NO ſooner was he thus raiſed to the dignity which had been the object of his wiſhes, but he began to exert himſelf in ſuch a manner, as to confirm the expectations his people had conceived from him. He applied himſelf, with the utmoſt diligence and vigour, to the re-eſtabliſhment of his army, which the late engagement had conſiderably weakened. Every part of Greece was ranſacked for mercenaries, whom he inticed to his ſtandard by his munificence and flattering aſſurances. By theſe, (whom he incorporated with thoſe companies in which the greateſt havock had been made) he not

not only reſtored, but augmented, his army: and once more inabled the Phocians to threaten their inveterate enemies with a formidable oppoſition. And, while thus employed in making every neceſſary proviſion for war, he alſo took care, in imitation of his predeceſſor, to work on the ſuperſtition and ignorance of his people, and to find out dreams and portents, in order to inſpire them with hopes of ſucceſs. While his mind was poſſeſſed with magnificent ſchemes and deſigns, he dreamed, or pretended to have dreamed, that he was employed in raiſing a coloſſal ſtatue, which the Amphictyons had dedicated to Apollo; and that it appeared to grow greater under his hands. This * Diodorus ſeriouſly interprets as a declaration, that this general ſhould be the means of making thoſe wretched Phocians doubly repay the outrages committed againſt the deity and his temple. But Onomarchus was furniſhed with diviners, who explained it in a quite different manner, as an indication of that great acceſſion of glory and honour, which his army was to acquire under their new commander.

* L. 16. Sect. 33.

His vigour and aſſiduity gave weight to this interpretation. To repair every damage ſuſtained in the laſt battle, he applied himſelf to provide weapons for the numbers he had now levied. All his armourers were employed inceſſantly; and vaſt quantities of arms, offenſive and defenſive, were provided with all expedition. The gold and ſilver, which the rapine of his predeceſſor, or his own induſtry or violence, had amaſſed, was quickly coined; and his agents diſperſed through the neighbouring ſtates that were in alliance with Phocis, where they diſtributed his money to the magiſtrates and citizens of eminence, to attach them the more firmly to his intereſt, and to bear down all oppoſition in their popular aſſemblies. Nor were even his enemies intirely proof againſt the powerful temptations by which he ſecretly aſſailed their fidelity. Numbers of them were found, who eagerly received his bribes, and were prevailed on to revolt to the Phocians, or, at leaſt, to obſerve a neutrality: ſuch

Ibid.

was the power of gold, and ſuch the univerſal degeneracy and corruption which now prevailed through Greece. And while he thus laboured to increaſe the number of his friends, and to weaken his enemies, by theſe his ſecret practices, he, at the ſame time, eſtabliſhed his intereſt at home, by the moſt arbitrary and deſpotic meaſures. Murmurings and diſcontents, which the calamities of war naturally excited, and that ſenſe of the odiouſneſs of their cauſe, which ſtill remained among the more moderate and virtuous part of his countrymen, could not but increaſe, were inſtantly ſtifled by the moſt tyrannical ſeverities. If any preſumed to expreſs the leaſt diſſatisfaction at his conduct, they were loaded with chains, deſpoiled of their poſſeſſions, and put to death with every circumſtance of cruelty: a procedure which not only ſerved to weaken and intimidate the party which oppoſed him, but inabled him to promote his deſigns, by the additional wealth acquired from theſe confiſcations.

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 33.

AND now, having made all the neceſſary preparations, Onomarchus marched out, at the head of his forces, and made an irruption into the territories of the Locrians, called Epicnemidii. Here he began with attacking Thronium, a city on their confines; and, having taken it by aſſault, expoſed it to the rapaciouſneſs of his ſoldiers, and made ſlaves of the inhabitants. From thence he proceeded to Amphiſſa, a town of the Locrians, ſurnamed Ozolae. The Amphiſſeans, intimidated by the ſeverities inflicted on the people of Thronium, did not attempt the leaſt oppoſition: but inſtantly ſubmitted to ſuch terms as the conqueror was pleaſed to dictate; and, probably, by a large ſum of money, reſcued their city from the inſatiable fury of his army. Hence he poured down on the territories of Doris; where, having taken ſome cities, and deſolated the lands, he traverſed his own country, and, by a forced march, pierced into Boeotia. Here he ſeized the famous city of Orchomenus: and, having ſpread the terror of his arms, ruſhed forward with a precipitate

tate fury, and prepared to lay ſiege to Chaeronea; when the Thebans, who were now ready to ſtem the torrent, marched out to meet the Phocians, by this time conſiderably weakened by their repeated conqueſts and the garriſons they had ſtationed in the ſeveral conquered towns. A general engagement enſued, in which Onomarchus was defeated, and drove back to Phocis.

HITHERTO we have ſeen this conteſt carried on independent of Macedon, and Philip viewing, with a ſeeming unconcern, the havock, the variety of fortune, the victories and calamities of the contending powers. But, at length, the time was come, when his honour and policy required that he ſhould take ſome ſhare in this quarrel. Lycophron, whom Philip had obliged to reſign his uſurped authority in Theſſaly, had not yet loſt all hopes of re-eſtabliſhing his power; but ſecretly formed and ſtrengthened his party, waiting for ſome favourable opportunity to avow his intentions. To him, among other conſiderable perſonages, Onomarchus had applied, and, partly by the intereſt which Lycophron maintained among the Theſſalians, partly by the natural inconſtancy of that people, his intrigues and bribery proved ſo ſucceſsful, that Theſſaly ſeparated from the confederates, and profeſſed to obſerve a neutrality in the ſacred war. The Phocian chief, juſtly conſidered himſelf principally indebted to Lycophron for this important ſervice, and that his intereſt muſt be greatly advanced by the reſtauration of this tyrant. By his means, and in his name, he even hoped to gain the abſolute command of Theſſaly, and to become the real ſovereign, while Lycophron, who was to govern by his ſupport, could govern only for his purpoſes. Seven thouſand of his forces, therefore, were diſpatched to Pherae, under the command of his brother Phayllus, to ſupport the tyrant; who, encouraged by this powerful alliance, eſtabliſhed himſelf in that city, and openly aſſerted his pretenſions to the ſovereign power.

Diod. L. 16. Sect. 33.

Sect. 35.

THE deſertion of Theſſaly was regarded by the Thebans with an affected contempt. That people, determined to convince the world that they could not poſſibly be diſtreſſed by ſuch inſtability, detached five thouſand men into Aſia, under the conduct of their general Pammenes, to aſſiſt Artabazus, (who ſtill continued his rebellion; but, when Chares was obliged to quit his ſervice, found himſelf reduced to conſiderable difficulties.) Here Pammenes gained repeated victories; and, by his conduct, gave peculiar pleaſure to the Thebans, who, ever ſince the famous Perſian war, in which they had united their arms with the Barbarian, eagerly wiſhed for any glorious opportunity of retrieving their honour, by ſome gallant exploits againſt the antient enemy of Greece.

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 34.

Dem. Orat. de Claſſ.

BUT the king of Macedon could not look with indifference on this conduct of the Theſſalians, which ſeemed to argue the declenſion of his influence in their ſtate; nor could his honour permit him to ſuffer the total ſubverſion of thoſe glorious regulations, thoſe proviſions for the peace and liberty of Theſſaly, which his arms had lately made. The ſollicitations with which his friends and adherents, in that country, now urged him to take up arms in their defence, were not wanted to prevail upon him. He inſtantly marched into Theſſaly. (I follow the opinion of a learned * commentator in ſuppoſing, that) on this occaſion it was, he formed the ſiege of Pagaſae, which Demoſthenes ſo frequently mentions. The Athenians were informed of this tranſaction; they reſolved to ſend ſuccours to the town; and, as uſual, executed this reſolution, when the addreſs and valour of the Macedonian had already rendered him maſter of it. Lycophron, and his auxiliaries, prepared to meet the enemy, but ſoon proved unequal to Philip and his valiant army. Onomarchus, ſenſible of their danger, marched out with ſpeed to join them, but could not arrive till they had received a total defeat, and were chaced out of Theſſaly.

* Lucceſini Not. in Phil. 1.

Philipp. 1. Sect. 13.

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 35.

AND

AND now Philip, having reinforced his army with thoſe Theſſalians who ſtill continued well-affected to him, prepared to meet Onomarchus, who was advancing with all his powers. The Phocians were ſuperior in numbers: but the Macedonian Phalanx was, by this time, renowned through all Greece. Onomarchus dreaded its attack, and juſtly conceived that his ſucceſs wholly depended on breaking this formidable body. The two armies met, and, at the very firſt charge, the Phocians gave way, and were purſued to ſome high mountains contiguous to the field of battle. The Macedonians preſſed on, confident of victory; but ſoon had horrid proof, that the retreat of their enemy was no more than an artifice, which the ſagacious foreſight of their general had ſuggeſted and contrived. The Phocians now began the attack in earneſt, and make effectual uſe of thoſe weapons, which had been provided for the execution of their deſign. Stones, and fragments of rocks, of an enormous ſize, were rolled down upon their aſſailants, whoſe ſanguine hopes were quickly loſt in amazement and confuſion; whole files were, in an inſtant, cruſhed to pieces, with every circumſtance of horror. The Phalanx, whoſe cloſe order ſerved but to increaſe the havock, was broken, and, in that ſtate, unable to ſuſtain the aſſaults of their enemy, who now marched down in good order from the mountains, and fell, with all their fury, upon an army already vanquiſhed. The valour and activity of Philip here proved, for the firſt time, ineffectual: the Macedonians were forced from the field of battle, which was become a horrid ſcene of ruin and carnage. Their prince, however, after many fruitleſs efforts, at length brought off his forces to an even ground, out of the reach of the enemy, where he, with difficulty, reſtored their order, and revived their courage. But as the Phocians had been at firſt ſuperior in numbers, and as great havock had been made in his army, he found it moſt adviſeable to march back to Macedon; obſerving, on this occaſion, that his ſoldiers

Polyaen. Strat. L. 2. C. 28.

Polyean. Strat. L. 2. C. 28.

diers did not fly from the enemy, but, like rams, retired, in order to make their ſhock the more forcible and furious. [A]

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 35.

Strabo L. 9. p. 411.

Olivier L. 5. p. 203.

Diod. Sic. ut ſupra.

LYCOPHRON was thus inabled to return triumphant into Theſſaly; while Onomarchus, elevated by his victory over a prince who had hitherto been regarded as invincible, marched into Boeotia, where he gained another victory, and then proceeded to attack the city of Coronea. This city was built on an eminence near mount Helicon. On the eaſt, it was defended by the lake Copaïs, which prevented it from being intirely inveſted, and ſerved to convey a conſtant ſupply of proviſions, by water, from the other cities of Boeotia. The river Curalius, as it winded round to fall into the lake, formed a natural foſsè on the ſouth: but, on the north, the city was intirely open, as the Thebans, in order to preſerve their ſuperiority in Boeotia, and to ſecure the dependence of this city, had filled up the trench, and demoliſhed the fortifications on that ſide. A city, thus diſmantled, was by no means capable of oppoſing a numerous and victorious army. Onomarchus entered without any conſiderable oppoſition, and inſulted and terrified the Thebans, by the devaſtations which he committed, without controul, in the very heart of their dominions. Thus chaſtiſed for their vanity in weakening their ſtrength by the Aſiatic expedition, this people looked on Philip as their moſt effectual reſource, and expected, with impatience, the moment when he ſhould be enabled to make a diverſion in their favour. He had been diligently engaged in re-eſtabliſhing and ſtrengthening his forces, and now appeared once more in Theſſaly at the head of a formidable army, and advanced boldly upon the tyrant.

[A] ACCORDING to Diodorus, (L. 16. Sect. 35.) Philip renewed the engagement, and was again defeated; which reduced him to the greateſt danger and difficulty. A conſiderable part of his army deſerted; and the reſt were, by the utmoſt efforts of his addreſs and policy, ſcarcely prevailed on to adhere to him. By chuſing to follow the account of Polyaenus, I apprehend the greater honour is paid to Philip's conduct and abilities as a general.

LY-

LYCOPHRON, fully ſenſible of his own weakneſs and inſufficiency, made the moſt preſſing inſtances to Onomarchus, to march immediately to his relief. He laviſhed the moſt flattering promiſes on this crafty and ambitious chief; he aſſured him, that the Phocians ſhould abſolutely command Theſſaly, and all its forces; and that he, and thoſe dominions which he was labouring to maintain, ſhould be ever at the devotion of their protectors and deliverers. Pleaſed with the proſpect of ſo important an acceſſion of power, Onomarchus did not heſitate a moment to comply with the tyrant's deſires. He was now at the head of an army capable of undertaking the moſt hazardous enterprizes; he imagined himſelf already ſovereign commander of all Theſſaly, and marched boldly to reinforce his ally with twenty thouſand foot and five hundred horſe. The forces which Philip had brought from Macedon, he was ſenſible, were, by no means, able to encounter ſo formidable and numerous an army: to the Theſſalians, therefore, he was obliged to addreſs himſelf, whoſe cauſe he affected to aſſert, and for whoſe liberty he profeſſed himſelf wholly ſollicitous. He induſtriouſly and artfully repreſented to them, that the junction of Lycophron and Onomarchus muſt prove fatal to their freedom and happineſs; that their tyrant, not content with harraſſing and oppreſſing them himſelf, had now ſold them to a foreign power for a vain ſhew, and empty title of ſovereignty; that even of that he muſt be quickly ſtripped, and Theſſaly totally loſt in a mean dependence upon Phocis. In the ſacrilegious quarrels of this people, the braveſt among the Theſſalians muſt be forced to ſhed their blood ignobly; to ſee their poſſeſſions torn from them, and all their fertile plains ranſacked and ravaged to ſatiate the avarice and rapine of a chief, impiouſly rebellious againſt heaven and Greece. All theſe, and ſuch-like remonſtrances, he knew how to inforce with conſummate artifice; and ſo inflamed the minds of the generality of the Theſſalians, that they breathed nothing but fury againſt Lycophron and Onomarchus; they acknowledged the king of Macedon their leader, their protector, and deliverer; and crowded to his ſtandard with

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 35.

Ibid.

with a warm and cordial zeal. By theſe means, Philip ſoon found himſelf at the head of twenty thouſand foot, and three thouſand of the beſt cavalry in Greece.

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 35.

THE two contending armies now advanced againſt each other, equally eager to engage, and equally poſſeſſed with hopes of victory. Glory and ambition were motives ſufficiently animating to Philip; and his ſoldiers alſo he well knew how to animate. His cauſe was fair and popular: he fought againſt tyranny and oppreſſion, againſt ſacrilege and profanation, in defence of liberty, of Greece, but particularly in defence of Apollo. He ordered all his men to crown their heads with laurel, a tree ſacred to that god; and his enſigns he adorned with the emblems and attributes of his divinity. And thus the Macedonians and Theſſalians marched on with an enthuſiaſtic valour, as if commiſſioned by heaven to inflict its vengeance on ſacrilege and profanation. The Phocians, whom the appearance of the enemy had ſtruck with a conſciouſneſs of their guilt, were charged with all imaginable fury; yet fought like men animated by deſpair, and ſenſible of the neceſſity of defending their iniquity. The infantry, on each ſide, equal in numbers, and equally obſtinate, kept the victory for ſome time doubtful; till the Theſſalian cavalry advanced, and determined the fortune of the battle. The Phocians, unable to ſuſtain their force and valour, were broken, defeated, and purſued with conſiderable ſlaughter. Horror and diſmay hurried great numbers of them towards the ſea, which was contiguous to the field of battle; and, among theſe, their general Onomarchus. Here they beheld, at ſome diſtance, a fleet which ſeemed to advance towards the ſhore, and which they juſtly concluded to be the ſuccours which Athens had ſent to them under the command of Chares; and which arrived only to be witneſſes of their ruin. Inſtead of attempting to ſtem the torrent of the victorious enemy, and to make ſome ſtand till this fleet might advance ſo far as to afford them, at leaſt, the opportunity of an orderly retreat, their terror and impatience

Juſtin. L. 8. C. 2.

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 36.

tience plunged them headlong into the ſea, in hopes, by ſwimming, to find their ſecurity in the ſhips. Here numbers of them faint with the loſs of blood, and confounded by their fears, ſunk under their wounds and fatigue, or were forced down by the tumult. Onomarchus himſelf ſhared this unhappy fate; or, as * Pauſanias hath aſſerted, fell a victim to the revenge and indignation of his own ſoldiers; who imputed their ruin to his ignorance and cowardice, and forced him down into the deep, covered over with wounds. More than ſix thouſand Phocians periſhed in this precipitate flight, and on the field of battle: three thouſand were made priſoners, and reſerved for all the ſeverity which the general laws of Greece denounced againſt ſacrilege. To expreſs the warmer zeal for religion, Philip ordered his ſoldiers to ſearch for the body of that impious chief, whoſe profane arms heaven had thus puniſhed; and cauſed it to be hung on a gibbet, as a dreadful memorial of iniquity and divine vengeance. The other bodies of the ſlain he gave to the waves and winds, as of wretches unworthy of interment, and the common rights of mankind. He was alſo authorized, by the laws of Greece, to inflict the ſame rigour on thoſe who had fallen alive into his hands: but whether he cauſed them likewiſe to be thrown into the ſea, ſeems not intirely clear from the expreſſion of Diodorus; though a French compiler of this hiſtory ſuppoſes, that the dead only were thus treated, and that it is probable he contented himſelf with reducing his priſoners to the condition of ſlaves, the mildeſt puniſhment denounced againſt ſacrilege: but whether ſuch mercy was conſiſtent with Philip's preſent political views of ſetting up for a prince of the moſt conſummate piety, and a zealous avenger of the god's injured honour, may, on the other hand, be juſtly made a queſtion. So that the fate of theſe unhappy captives muſt for ever remain in obſcurity.

* in Phoc.

Philo. Jud. in Euſeb. Præp. L. 8. p. 392.

Vallois, in Acad. Bell. Lett. Vol. 12.

THIS victory convinced Lycophron of the neceſſity of once more reſigning his pretenſions to the government of Theſſaly; and obliged him

Olynth. 3. Sect. 6.

him to retire from Pherae. That city, together with Pagaſae, his late conqueſt, and Magneſia, another town of conſiderable note in Theſſaly, Philip reſerved to himſelf, the better to ſecure the dependence of the inconſtant Theſſalians; who were, at preſent, unwilling and unable to diſpute the deciſions of their deliverer, and, without difficulty, ſubmitted to thoſe regulations which he made under pretence of reſtoring their tranquillity, but, in reality, to keep them firmly attached to Macedon. Thither he now directed his courſe, crowned with glory and victory; the ſubject of univerſal praiſe through Greece, where, from this time, he began to be regarded as a prince really great and powerful. Stateſmen admired the depths of his policy, and generals acknowledged the ſuperiority of his military conduct and abilities; while the lower orders of men, who were incapable of penetrating into his real deſigns, and were affected only by thoſe fair appearances with which he veiled them, revered and applauded him as a religious prince, the ſcourge of ſacrilege, and defender of Apollo.

AT Athens, his great actions ſeem to have been received with envy and jealouſy. A people enervated by indolence and luxury, devoted to ſelf-enjoyment, and, at the ſame time, elevated with pride and national vanity, were no longer able to ſupport their antient reputation, yet could not give up the flattering remembrance of it: they perceived the gradual advances of a new and unſuſpected rival to conſummate greatneſs and ſovereignty; but perceived them with an impotent indignation. Convinced of the abſolute neceſſity to check the progreſs of his arms, yet fatally averſe to thoſe vigorous meaſures which ſo important a deſign required, they amuſed themſelves with ſchemes of raiſing up ſome other enemy to Philip, who might divert him from thoſe excurſions which threatened Greece in general, and particularly the Athenians. The confederated ſtates of Olynthus ſeemed to be the only power fitted for this purpoſe. It was urged vehemently, that the Olynthians, if poſſible, were to be engaged

Demoſth. Olynth. 2. Sect. 4.

gaged in a quarrel with Macedon, as the only means of confining the views of this enterprizing prince to his own neighbourhood; and, while they were thus ſollicitous to throw the buſineſs of their own defence on others, they applauded the deſign, as the reſult of deep and extenſive policy, though really dictated by their love of eaſe. The Olynthians, on their part, encouraged them in theſe their ſchemes of depreſſing their rival, by the uneaſineſs and ſuſpicions of Philip, which they now diſcovered. The late reduction of Methonè, which implied a peculiar diffidence of them, ſeems to have alarmed them with a lively ſenſe of the danger to be apprehended from their aſpiring neighbour. They envied, they dreaded, they ſuſpected him, in ſpite of all the favours he had, ſome time ſince, conferred upon them; they deemed it abſolutely neceſſary to guard againſt the deſigns of a prince inceſſantly employed in enlarging his power, and extending his dominions. They regarded the ſtate of Athens as the only ballance againſt Macedon; and, about this time, applied to the Athenians, to propoſe an accommodation of all antient differences, and to enter into ſuch terms of friendſhip, as might be the baſis of a future ſtrict connexion, and of an alliance defenſive and offenſive. Overtures, ſo conſonant to their own ſentiments, were readily embraced by that people, whoſe aſſemblies, the only ſcenes in which their vigour was diſplayed, ſeem to have been conſtantly engaged in deliberations about the conduct of Philip, the tendency of his deſigns, and the means of guarding againſt them. But, while the Athenians were conſulting, the Macedonian purſued his conqueſts; and, by new inſtances of his active ſpirit, caſt them into new diſmay and conſternation.

Demoſth. in Ariſtocr.

FRESH commotions, which aroſe in Thrace, determined this prince, ever indefatigable in the purſuit of his deſigns, once more to march into that country. Here Beriſades, one of the coheirs of Cotys, was dead; and Cerſobleptes, without regard to thoſe engagements which he had entered into with Athens, and which ſecured

Ibid.

the intereſts of the other brothers, and probably ſupported and ſecretly encouraged by the king of Macedon, attacked the ſons of Beriſades, and his brother Amadocus, and ſeemed determined, if poſſible, to gain the intire ſovereignty of Thrace. The ſeveral members of this family, who had oftentimes experienced the vanity of a dependence on Athens, now began to find it expedient to court the friendſhip of Philip. To him their differences were ſubmitted: and, in the diſpoſitions which he now made, his own intereſt only was conſidered. Amadocus, and the family of Beriſades, ſeem to have been driven by him from their dominions, (for antient authors ſpeak but obſcurely of theſe tranſactions) and Cerſobleptes, who had, by this time, gained the friendſhip of Philip, eſtabliſhed on their ruin. Teres, another petty prince, who claimed a part of this country, but of whom we have no particular accounts, ſeems alſo to have had his power eſtabliſhed and enlarged by Philip, who thus diſtributed dominions as he pleaſed, and, by his nod, determined the fate of contending potentates.

Demoſth. Olynth. 3. Sect. 6.
Juſtin. L. 8. C. 3.
Dem. Olyn. 3. Sect. 6.
Dem. in Ariſt.
Phil. Liter. Lucceſini in Olynth. 1.

WHILE he was thus engaged, his attention, fixed eternally on the purſuit of new conqueſts, directed him to an attempt, which diſcovered the depth of his penetration, and the extent of his views. Heraeum was a fortified place, built by the Samians in Thrace, overagainſt Chalcedon, and ſo called from the name of Juno, who was worſhipped in that country with peculiar honours. The place was of no great conſequence in itſelf; its harbour was dangerous and deceitful; but it ſerved as a kind of citadel to Byzantium, an eminent Thracian city, and of the utmoſt conſequence to the Athenian intereſt, as it was one great mart from which the barren land of Attica was ſupplied with the neceſſary means of ſubſiſtence for its inhabitants. With a view, no doubt, of facilitating the conqueſt of ſo important a city, Philip now laid ſiege to Heraeum. The Athenians, though too inattentive and ſupine to guard againſt their danger, yet had penetration to conceive it in its full extent, and to ſee through the

Stephan. in voce Ηραια. Herod. L. 4. Harpocrat.
Lucceſini in Olynth. 3.
Dem. Olyn. 2. Sect. 3.

the whole ſcheme of their enemy. The news, therefore, of this attack, raiſed a commotion, hitherto unknown, in the aſſembly at Athens. Some of the orators exerted all their powers in repreſenting the danger which threatened the ſtate, and in inveighing againſt the injuſtice and ambition of Philip: others, in defending or palliating the conduct of a prince, who had attached them to his intereſt by the power of gold. After ſome time ſpent in the warmth of mutual oppoſition, a decree was formally made, that forty ſhips of war ſhould be inſtantly ſent to ſea; that all the citizens of Athens, within the age of five and forty years (though uſually exempted at forty from military ſervice) ſhould now imbark on board this fleet, as in a time of urgent diſtreſs and difficulty; and that ſixty talents ſhould be raiſed to ſupport this formidable armament.

BUT new advices were now received to ſuſpend the effect of theſe reſolutions, and to lull this infatuated people into their former ſtate of inſenſibility. The fatigue of conſtant action, joined to the effects of the wound which Philip had received at Methonè, threw him into a dangerous fit of ſickneſs, which alarmed the Macedonians, and interrupted their military operations. The news of this event was ſoon received with the utmoſt joy at Athens, and, as is uſual in ſuch caſes, was propagated with circumſtances far exceeding the truth; ſo that the people were now flattered with aſſurances, that the king of Macedon was dead. They reſigned themſelves, with the utmoſt credulity, to the pleaſing hopes of being thus eaſily delivered from their dangerous enemy: their late decrees for war, and vigorous meaſures, lay totally neglected and forgotten; months paſſed away in indolence and pleaſures: their entertainments, and religious ceremonies, were deemed objects worthier attention, than their defence and ſecurity: nor did they ever once think of executing their late reſolutions, till a full year elapſed; and, even then, all their projected preparations were reduced to ten veſſels, under the command of Charidemus, (who was, at this time, engaged in their ſervice) without

Dem. Olyn. 2. Sect. 3.

ſoldiers

ſoldiers ſufficient to man them, and with an inconſiderable ſum of money to ſupport them.

BUT, while the Athenians were gradually ſinking into this dangerous ſtate of ſecurity, Philip's happy temperament, and robuſt habit of body, freed him from his preſent diſeaſe, and inabled him to proceed in the execution of his deſigns. It doth not clearly appear, whether his attempt againſt Heraeum was ſucceſsful, or whether his ſickneſs ſaved that Place. But, from a paſſage in * the third Olynthiac oration of Demoſthenes, compared with one in the † firſt Philippic, it appears, that, immediately upon his recovery, he made an inroad into the territories of the Olynthians; poſſibly in revenge of their late practices at Athens; and might have purſued his hoſtilities ſtill farther, had not the diſorders and commotions in Greece diverted his attention, and, for a while, ſuſpended the final ruin of Olynthus.

* Sect. 6.
† Sect. 7.

THE remains of the Phocian army, which had eſcaped the fury of the victorious Macedonians in the late engagement, retired into Phocis, ſtill obſtinate and undiſmayed; and, ſtill reſolving to purſue the war, choſe Phayllus, the laſt ſurviving brother of Onomarchus, for his ſucceſſor. This chief was actuated by the ſame fatal paſſions as his predeceſſors, equally ambitious, equally vigorous, and equally a contemner of the national religion. Inſtructed by their conduct, he determined to purſue the ſame meaſures: he employed the large fund of wealth which he poſſeſſed, in collecting great numbers of new mercenaries, and in augmenting thoſe ſubſidies which the Phocians had been obliged to pay to ſeveral people; and went in perſon to ſollicit their ſpeedy and effectual aſſiſtance. At Athens he received aſſurances of powerful ſupport. At Sparta, in antient times ſo renowned for a contempt of money, his gold now found an eaſy acceſs. To Denicha, the wife of king Archidamus, the Phocian,

Olymp. 107. Y. 1.

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 37.

it

it is ſaid, he particularly applied [B]. Her perſon expreſſed her mean and ſordid mind: and, by gratifying her paſſion for money [C], he was conſiderably aſſiſted in his deſign, and found but little difficulty in gaining a renewal of the alliance, and a promiſe of aſſiſtance. Pauſan. in Lacon.

THE ſubtle and deſigning temper of Archidamus, inceſſantly employed in forming ſchemes for reviving the power of his country, had, at this time, engaged him in a conteſt with his neighbours, which made a ſtrict connexion between him and Phocis ſtill the more neceſſary. He had conceived a plan for reconciling the different intereſts of the Grecian ſtates, in appearance advantageous to the principal members of the great Hellenic body, but, in effect, only calculated to reſtore the ſuperiority of Sparta. He propoſed to re-eſtabliſh the ſeveral cities in the ſame condition as before the late wars. Oliv. L. 6. p. 213.

ATHENS would thus have recovered the city of Oropus, to which they ſtill aſſerted their claim, but which the Thebans kept

[B] SHE was remarkably low in ſtature, and poſſeſſed of none of thoſe graces, for which the Spartan women were in general famous. We learn from Heraclides Lembus, an antient writer, quoted by Athenaeus, (L. 13. p. 566.) that the Ephori impoſed a fine on Archidamus for preferring her to another lady of diſtinguiſhed beauty, but of inferior fortune. The Spartans, who were ever attentive to the conſtitution of their offspring, expreſſed their fears on this occaſion, leſt ſuch a match ſhould produce a diminutive race of kings. Βασιλικους αντι Βασιλεων.

[C] ACCORDING to Pauſanias (in Lacon. p. 91.) Archidamus himſelf had no ſmall ſhare of the ſacrilegious ſpoils of the temple. To this circumſtance the author of the Itinerary ſubjoins another more for the honour of this prince. That, at ſome time in the courſe of the ſacred war, when the Phocians had formed a cruel and deſperate reſolution, of putting all the inhabitants of Delphi, who were capable of bearing arms, to the ſword, and ſelling their wives and children for ſlaves; Archidamus prevented the execution of this deſign, and ſaved the Delphians.

in

in their poſſeſſion [D]. Theſpia and Plataea, two eminent cities in Boeotia, that had felt the jealouſy and revenge of Thebes, and now lay ſubverted and depopulated, were, by the ſame plan, to be reſtored and fortified. The Phocians were to give up their two important conqueſts, Orchomenus and Coronea. But theſe, and the other Boeotian cities, were only to acknowledge Thebes as the principal and leading city of Boeotia, without any abſolute ſubmiſſion or dependence, and without obedience to that juriſdiction which the Thebans claimed over them. On the other hand, Meſſene and Megalopolis, the two barriers which Epaminondas had raiſed up againſt Lacedaemon, were to be deſtroyed, and their inhabitants diſperſed. Thus, while the Thebans were to loſe that power, which their late conqueſts had acquired in Boeotia, all the regulations, which the equity of Epaminondas had eſtabliſhed in Peloponneſus, as barriers againſt the Lacedaemonian ambition, were to be totally ſubverted, and the Spartans to be reſtored to a power of reſuming that tyrannical dominion, which they had formerly exerciſed over their neighbours.

Demoſth. pro Megal.

In order to facilitate the execution of this plan, he firſt endeavoured to gain that authority in Peloponneſus to which he aſpired. A diſpute was ſoon raiſed between Sparta and Argos, about the boundaries of their dominions. To Nicoſtratus, an eminent citizen

[D] Thespia was a city of Boeotia, at the foot of mount Helicon. Its inhabitants accounted it an honour to be totally ignorant of all arts, even agriculture not excepted. The Thebans, after their victories over Sparta, to puniſh the pretended diſaffection of the Theſpians, ſacked, and razed their city, without ſparing even the temples.——Plataea was another city of Boeotia, famous for the victory which the Grecks gained there over Mardonius. It had been twice demoliſhed by the Thebans. In the fifth year of the Peloponneſian war, the Spartans blocked it up, and obliged the inhabitants to ſurrender; on which occaſion, the Thebans, who were then united with the Spartans, inſiſted on the demolition of Plataea. The peace of Antalcidas reſtored this city. But the Thebans, three years before the battle of Leuctra, provoked at the refuſal of the Plataeans to join with them againſt Sparta, again reduced it to a ſtate of deſolation.

Tourreil. Not. in Orat. de Pace.

of

of Argos, Archidamus ſecretly applied, and, by many artful and flattering promiſes, endeavoured to prevail upon him to put him in poſſeſſion of one of the gates of the city. But the illuſtrious Argian rejected his offers with indignation. "Is this," ſaid he, "the lan- Plutarch. in Apophth.
"guage of a deſcendent from Hercules? he deſtroyed villains, you "would make a villain." The king of Sparta, confounded by this gallant rebuke, reſolved to have recourſe to arms, and, by engaging the ſeveral ſtates of Greece in a new conteſt, increaſed the diſorders and inflamed the commotions of this diſtracted nation; and thereby gave new hopes to the common enemy, the Macedonian, who ſaw, with pleaſure, the commotions in Peloponneſus, and waited for an occaſion of interfering in them with honour and advantage.

BUT, whatever diſtant hopes Philip might have now conceived from this new diſpute, the ſacred war was deſervedly the more immediate object of his regard. Archidamus had ſent one thouſand Spartans to the aſſiſtance of Phayllus; the Achaeans two thouſand; Diod. Sic. ut ſupra.
the contingent of the Athenians was ſtill more conſiderable, for they detached five thouſand foot, and four hundred horſe, under the command of Nauſicles, one of their moſt experienced generals. The tyrants of Theſſaly, lately drove out of that country, without any hopes of a reſtauration, reinforced the Phocian army with two thouſand Theſſalians, who had followed their fortune. Nor did thoſe illuſtrious ſtates, which Phayllus had laboured to gain over, alone engage in this diſpute. Many of the leſs conſiderable communities were inticed by the proſpect of advantage, and joined with no leſs ardor in this odious and unpopular cauſe. And, having thus formed a numerous army, the Phocian chief determined to ſtrike terror into his enemies, by proceeding to immediate action: for this purpoſe, he entered into Boeotia; and, having advanced as far as to Orchomenus, encountered the enemy; but, to mortify his aſpiring hopes, received a ſignal defeat, and was obliged to retire with the loſs of a conſiderable part of his army. But, without allowing his followers time

for any melancholy reflections, he inſtantly ſought an occaſion of reviving their hopes, and retrieving the honour of his arms. He again marched againſt the Boeotians, and engaged them near the river Cephiſus: but this attempt was ſtill more unſucceſsful: four thouſand of his men were killed; above four hundred fell into the hands of their unrelenting enemy, who remained abſolute maſters of the field of battle. Yet, ſtill undiſmayed, Phayllus renewed the combat in a few days, and, in this weak and unſucceſsful effort, fifty of his Phocians were ſlain, and one hundred and thirty made priſoners.

In the mean time Philip, ever ſtudious to derive the full advantage from the opinions and paſſions of other men, was preparing to improve his late ſucceſs. The honours of his victory over Onomarchus were ſtill freſh and blooming: even his enemies admired him; and his partizans were inceſſant in ſounding his praiſes: the minds of the Grecians were inflamed againſt ſacrilege and profanation; and every defeat, which the Phocians received, was induſtriouſly repreſented as a manifeſt indication of the divine diſpleaſure. This Philip, therefore, conceived to be the favourable moment for an attempt to penetrate into the very heart of Greece; there to appear the umpire in all diſputes, and to render his deciſions abſolute and irreſiſtible. He flattered himſelf, that his deſigns muſt be perfectly concealed by the veil of religion and veneration for the gods; he declared his reſolution of entering into Phocis, and executing full vengeance on that profane and obſtinately hardened people; and, with a numerous and formidable army, already provided for the purpoſe, marched towards Thermopylae, thoſe famous ſtreights which commanded the entrance into Greece. The Athenians, too acute and penetrating not to ſee his deſign in its full extent, or to imagine that any motive could really prompt him to this attempt, but that of gaining the abſolute command of Attica and Peloponneſus, were ſtruck with terror and aſtoniſhment at the approach of ſo formidable

Sect. 38.

Juſtin. L. 8. C. 2.

Demoſth. Philip. 1.

a prince to what they juſtly eſteemed the very borders of their territories, Boeotia alone intervening. They imagined that they already ſaw the powers of Macedon and Thebes united, pouring down and overwhelming their country, and ſpreading like a deſtructive inundation over all Greece. This ſudden and violent impreſſion rouſed them from their indolence. No difficulties were thought of, no ſupplies wanted; the richer citizens, in this preſſing emergency, ſupplied the public amply from their private fortunes; a formidable armament was inſtantly provided at an expence, which plainly demonſtrated the general ſenſe of the impending danger. They ſailed to the ſtreights, poſſeſſed themſelves of all the paſſes, and ſtood prepared to oppoſe the invader.

Demoſth. de falſa Leg. Sect. 29.

THEIR army was now poſted between inacceſſible mountains on one hand, and frightful precipices on the other, which terminated in the ſea. Valour and diſcipline muſt have proved ineffectual againſt ſuch advantage of ſituation, even if it had been conſiſtent with policy to have attempted to force a paſſage. But ſuch an attempt muſt have been too flagrant a declaration of his deſigns againſt a people with whom he was ſtill concerned to keep ſome meaſures; Philip, therefore, choſe to lead his forces back to Macedon, and to load the Athenians with all the odium of the defence of ſacrilege.

THIS unexpected diſappointment irritated the mind of Philip to a degree of acrimony, which plainly diſcovered that his own intereſt and deſigns were much more affected by it, than the cauſe of heaven. His reſentment againſt the Athenians was expreſſed in the bittereſt and boldeſt denunciations of vengeance; and, if we may believe Juſtin, his preſent vexation of mind appeared in ſome actions quite inconſiſtent with his general conduct; in which he ſeldom failed to aſſume the appearance at leaſt of juſtice and lenity, and eſpecially where ſome material point of intereſt was not concerned. But it is

Dem. Phil. 1. Sect. 5.

* L 8. C. 3. aſſerted by that * hiſtorian, that he now turned his arms againſt thoſe very cities which had been attached and allied to him, which had marched under his command, and congratulated both him and themſelves upon his victories; that he ravaged and plundered theſe cities, and ſold the wives and children of the inhabitants for ſlaves; that, in the places where he had been juſt received with all the marks of hoſpitality, he ſpared neither their temples nor their gods, ſo as to appear not ſo much the avenger of ſacrilege, as ſollicitous to abandon himſelf to all the exceſſes of impiety and profanation. Paulus Oroſius, who laboured to find out crimes and calamities in profane hiſtory, dwells with ſeeming pleaſure on this deſcription of Juſtin; but neither the vehemence and acrimony of Demoſthenes, nor the authentic hiſtorical remains of antiquity, have given any particulars of theſe pretended outrages: neither can they be reconciled to Philip's acknowledged good ſenſe, and his conſtant attention to his future intereſt.

THE late precaution of Athens ſoon became a general topic in Greece, and was variouſly received and repreſented from the variety of tempers, opinions, and intereſts. "How different," did Philip's favourers and partizans now cry out, "was this action of the Athe-
"nians from the glorious effort of Leonidas at the ſame place!
"That illuſtrious Spartan marched to Thermopylae to defend the
"Grecian temples from the ravages of the Barbarians; the Athe-
"nians, to defend the ravagers and impious profaners of the Del-
"phian ſhrine, and to oppoſe a glorious zeal for the honour of
"Apollo; that divinity, whom they had the vanity to account
"among their anceſtors; that divinity, whom they had ever conſulted
"in all their difficulties; that divinity, by whoſe directions they
"had made ſo many conqueſts, and had gained ſuch extenſive em-
"pire. Before this time, this degenerated people had diſcovered
"their contempt for all things ſacred; we all remember, that,
"when

Juſtin. L. 8. C. 2.

Meurſii Athen. Att. L. 2. 12. Ariſtid. Tom. 1. p. 169. Juſtin. ut ſupra.

" when [E] Iphicrates had intercepted ſome ſtatues of gold and ivory deſtined for the ſervice of the gods by Dionyſius the Sicilian, they ordered him to ſell them publicly, though dedicated to the Olympian Jupiter and Delphian Apollo: they have now repeated their impiety; an impiety the more ſhocking, when committed, not by the ignorant and lawleſs, not by the rude and barbarous, but by people refined and poliſhed, inſtructed and directed by wiſe and humane laws and inſtitutions, by the example of their anceſtors, and the memory of their former virtue." Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 57.

THUS did the honeſt and undeſigning, who were ſenſible of the corruption of Athens, and the creatures of a ſubtle prince, who had received his pay, and were ever ready to eccho his dictates, expreſs their real or pretended ſentiments. On the other hand it was urged, that " the affectation of a zeal for religion was but too plainly a " pretence to conceal the dangerous deſigns which the extravagant " ambition of the Macedonian had formed. The preſervation of a

[E] DIODORUS relates this tranſaction at large, as an inſtance of the preſent impiety of the Athenians. Iphicrates, a little before the commencement of the ſacred war, had been at anchor with his fleet before the iſland of Corcyra, when the Sicilian veſſels, which were laden with theſe ſtatues, fell in with ſome of his ſhips, and were taken. When the admiral had examined the lading, he ſent to his ſtate to deſire inſtructions how he was to proceed; and received for anſwer, that the affairs of the gods were by no means his concern; that a commander was to confine his attention to the ſupport and maintenance of his forces. Thus encouraged, Iphicrates inſtantly converted the ſtatues into money. Dionyſius, to expreſs his reſentment at this impious outrage, addreſſed a letter to the Athenians, in which he purpoſedly omitted the uſual formulary χαιρειν και ευπραττειν. The letter is preſerved, and was expreſſed in this manner:

" Dionyſius, to the ſenate and people of Athens."

" HAPPINESS I cannot wiſh you " with propriety; as you commit ſacri- " lege againſt the gods, both by ſea and " land. The ſtatues which were ſent by " us, thoſe holy offerings, dedicated to the " divinities, you have ſeized and deſtroyed, " in an open and impious violation of the " reverence due to the greateſt gods, Del- " phian Apollo, and Olympian Jupiter."

" juſt

"juſt ballance of power had been originally the great object of "Athens, in the aſſiſtance which that ſtate granted to the Phocians; "the junction of Macedon and Thebes threatened Greece with "many dangerous conſequences; and commanded all the attention "of the Athenians, who, from the early ages of antiquity, had ever "appeared the patrons and protectors of Grecian liberty, the enemies "of oppreſſion, and the ſcourge of lawleſs and extravagant ambi-"tion. But their own immediate welfare, the very being of their "ſtate, had now called forth their arms, and engaged them to de-"feat the pernicious ſchemes of Macedon. The total ſubverſion of "Athens, and the ſovereignty of Peloponneſus, were the immediate "objects of Philip's views. Caution, vigilance, and vigour, were "ever to be exerted againſt ſo politic and enterprizing a prince; a "prince, who, from an obſcure and contemptible corner of the "world, preſumes to give law to all his neighbours; leads out his "armies, extends his conqueſts, foments diviſions, arms nation "againſt nation; equally the enemy of all, and really attentive only "to the eſtabliſhment of his own greatneſs. Ever ſince the famous "victory at Plataea, no Barbarian had ever preſumed to ſet his foot "in Greece. Philip is equally alien, equally barbarous with the "Perſian, more the object of indignation, and much more to be "dreaded and ſuſpected. The oppoſition, therefore, now made to "his audacious attempt, was dictated by the ſame glorious zeal for "the common cauſe, which animated Leonidas and his Spartans; "and ſhould be received with equal gratitude, and held in equal "honour. The valour of the Athenians had obliged the common "enemy to retire in ſhame and confuſion; and defeated the deſigns "of the man, who, under pretence of ſuccouring the weak, and "puniſhing the guilty, ſought only to erect his own power and ſove-"reignty on the ruin of all, friends and enemies, allies and com-"petitors."

DROPHANTUS, who had commanded the Athenian forces on this occaſion, was received, at his return, with the ſame joy and acclamations, as if he had obtained a ſignal victory. Crowns were decreed to him, and prayers and ſacrifices offered up to thank the gods for the deliverance of Athens. Yet, notwithſtanding the retreat of Philip, the impreſſion of their late danger ſtill remained in full force: it was now but too apparent, that indolence and miſconduct, on the part of Athens, had raiſed up an enemy capable of forming and executing the boldeſt deſigns. They ſaw their fatal error in neglecting and deſpiſing a power which ſhould have been cruſhed in its infancy, and were, at times, tempted to believe, that all oppoſition was now too late. They could ſcarcely perſuade themſelves, that Philip had abandoned his enterprize, but were poſſeſſed with the imagination of his appearing every moment at their gates. To guard their territories from invaſions, to defend themſelves againſt the menaces of Philip, which were now reſounded in their ears, both by thoſe who were employed to magnify his power, and by thoſe who inveighed againſt his inſolence, they poſted a conſiderable body of forces, either at the entrance of Attica, or at Thermopylae, (for interpreters are divided in explaining that paſſage in the firſt Philippic oration, which alludes to this tranſaction.) Their former ſollicitude, to prevent his entrance into Greece, makes it more probable that their forces were now ſtationed at the very ſtreights; for it could hardly be conceived, that, if Philip returned, was allowed to paſs through Thermopylae, and to unite with his allies in Boeotia, any body of forces, occaſionally raiſed, and ſtationed ever ſo advantageouſly at the entrance of Attica, could poſſibly bear up againſt ſo formidable an inroad of two ſuch united powers, or prevent them from burſting in, and over-running that country. It is but juſtice, therefore, to the penetration of this people, to believe, that, on this occaſion, they took the moſt effectual precaution. Yet ſtill their corruption appeared in this inſtance of timely zeal and vigour; for, inſtead of intruſting a ſervice of ſuch conſequence to ſome citizen of worth and

Demoſthen. de falſa Leg. Sect. 30.

Demoſ. Phil. 1. Sect. 2.

Phil. 1. Sect. 9.

and character, regularly choſen by the voices of the people, intrigue and cabal were ſuffered to procure the command for Menelaus, an obſcure foreigner. It is indeed hard to think with Tourreil, that this Menelaus was a natural brother to Philip, whom his jealouſy had driven out of Macedon: or that the Athenians would have intruſted their army to one ſo nearly allied to their enemy. The conjecture of Lucceſini ſeems better founded, that he was ſome Phocian officer, who might have been recommended on this occaſion, as from his knowledge of the country, where the forces were to be ſtationed, he might be ſuppoſed capable of poſting them to the beſt advantage, and, from his intereſt there, might gain them proviſions with greater eaſe and readineſs.

Not. in Phil. I.

HAVING thus provided for the defence of their territories, their next care was to convene an aſſembly to deliberate on the means of correcting paſt errors, and controuling the ambitious ſchemes of their formidable rival. This was but reſuming a ſubject, which had frequently engaged their attention. Every inſtance of ill ſucceſs abroad, every motion and tranſaction of their enemies, never failed to raiſe a ferment in the Athenian aſſembly, where the pride of that people was flattered by the thought, that, thus convened, they decided the fate of ſtates and nations, of enemies and allies, and where their orators acknowledged, and ſervilely ſtooped to, the ſovereign authority of the people; and either by condemning and inveighing againſt the conduct of thoſe to whom their affairs were intruſted, or by defending the public meaſures, afforded them perpetual ſubjects of conteſt and debate; and frequently acquired an intereſt, which no ſuſpicions of their want of integrity, and ſometimes even avowed corruption, could not ſhake. At preſent they aſſembled with leſs pride, and leſs paſſion, than they had on ſome occaſions diſcovered: inſtead of indignation at the conduct of Philip, they felt terror and diſmay: inſtead of hearing their greatneſs, and glory, and power, reſounded

reſounded by their flattering leaders, they now found a counſellor in Demoſthenes, who had courage to oppoſe their prejudices, and to diſplay their errors and miſconduct; and integrity and prudence to point out the meaſures neceſſary for their defence and ſecurity. This renowned orator now roſe up, for the firſt time, againſt the Macedonian; and diſplayed thoſe abilities, which, through the whole courſe of Philip's reign, proved the greateſt obſtacle to his deſigns.

IN the oration which he delivered on this occaſion, and which is ſtill extant among the invaluable remains of this illuſtrious Athenian, we find him introducing his ſentiments with an apology for that zeal which prompted him (now but twenty-nine years old) to appear the foremoſt in the cauſe of his country, without regard to the precedence uſually granted to the elder ſpeakers. They had frequently been heard upon the preſent ſubject, and the inſufficiency of their counſels plainly appeared from this ſingle circumſtance, that it was a ſubject which the people now found themſelves obliged to reſume. The preſent melancholy ſtate of their affairs he imputes not to any want of power and abilities, but to ſupineneſs and inaction; and, from this cauſe of their diſtreſs, derives fair hopes and proſpects of future fortune. He reminds them of their glorious and ſucceſsful efforts to reduce the power, and curb the inſolence, of Lacedaemon; and to regain that ſovereignty which they had loſt by the victory of Lyſander. Phil. 1. Sect. 1. Sect. 2.

"IF there is a man in this aſſembly" (thus doth he continue his ſpirited addreſs) "who thinks that we muſt find a formidable enemy "in Philip, while he views, on one hand, the numerous armies which "ſurround him; and, on the other, the weakneſs of the ſtate thus "deſpoiled of its dominions: he thinks juſtly. Yet let him reflect "on this: there was a time, Athenians! when we poſſeſſed Pydna,

" and Potidaea, and Methonè, and all that country round: when " many of thoſe ſtates, now ſubjected to him, were free and inde- " pendent, and more inclined to our alliance than to his. Had then " Philip reaſoned in the ſame manner, "' How ſhall I dare to attack "' the Athenians, whoſe garriſons command my territory, while I "' am deſtitute of all aſſiſtance!'" " He would not have engaged " in thoſe enterprizes, which are now crowned with ſucceſs; nor " could he have raiſed himſelf to this pitch of greatneſs. No, " Athenians! he knew this well, that all thoſe places are but prizes, " laid between the combatants, and ready for the conqueror: that the " dominions of the abſent naturally devolve to thoſe who are in the " field; the poſſeſſions of the ſupine to the active and intrepid. Ani- " mated by theſe ſentiments, he overturns whole nations; he holds " all people in ſubjection: ſome, as by right of conqueſt: others, " under the title of allies and confederates: for all are willing to " confederate with thoſe whom they ſee prepared and reſolved to " exert themſelves as they ought.

" AND if you (my countrymen) will now, at length, be per- " ſuaded to entertain the like ſentiments; if each of you, re- " nouncing all evaſions, will be ready to approve himſelf an uſeful " citizen, to the utmoſt that his ſtation and abilities demand: if the " rich will be ready to contribute, and the young to take the field: " in a word, if you will be yourſelves; and baniſh thoſe vain " hopes, which every ſingle perſon entertains, that, while ſo many " others are engaged in public buſineſs, his ſervice will not be re- " quired; you then (if heaven ſo pleaſes) will regain your domi- " nions, recall thoſe opportunities your ſupineneſs hath neglected, " and chaſtiſe the inſolence of this man. For you are not to imagine, " that, like a god, he is to enjoy his preſent greatneſs for ever, fixed " and unchangeable. No, Athenians! there are who hate him, who " fear him, who envy him, even among thoſe ſeemingly the moſt

" attached

" attached to his cauſe. Theſe are paſſions common to mankind; nor " muſt we think that his friends only are exempted from them. It is " true, they lie concealed at preſent, as our indolence deprives them " of all reſource. But let us ſhake off this indolence! for you ſee " how we are ſituated; you ſee the outrageous arrogance of this " man, who does not leave it to your choice, whether you ſhall act, " or remain quiet; but braves you with his menaces; and talks " (as we are informed) in a ſtrain of the higheſt extravagance: and " is not able to reſt ſatisfied with his preſent acquiſitions, but is ever " in purſuit of farther conqueſts; and, while we ſit down, inactive " and irreſolute, incloſes us on all ſides with his toils.

" WHEN therefore, O my countrymen! when will you exert " your vigour? when rouſed by ſome event? when forced by ſome " neceſſity? what then are we to think of our preſent condition? " to freemen, the diſgrace attending on miſconduct is, in my opi- " nion, the moſt urgent neceſſity. Or, ſay, is it your ſole ambition " to wander through the public places, each enquiring of the other, "" what new advices?"" " can any thing be more new than that a " man of Macedon ſhould conquer the Athenians, and give law to " Greece?"—"" Is Philip dead?""—"" No, but in great danger."— " How are you concerned in thoſe rumours? ſuppoſe he ſhould " meet ſome fatal ſtroke: you would ſoon raiſe up another Philip, " if your intereſts are thus regarded. For it is not to his own " ſtrength that he ſo much owes his elevation, as to our ſupineneſs. " And, ſhould ſome accident affect him; ſhould fortune, who hath " ever been more careful of the ſtate than we ourſelves, now repeat " her favours, (and may ſhe thus crown them!) be aſſured of this, " that, by being on the ſpot, ready to take advantage of the confu- " ſion, you will every-where be abſolute maſters: but, in your pre- " ſent diſpoſition, even if a favourable juncture ſhould preſent you

" with Amphipolis, you could not take poſſeſſion of it, while this " ſuſpence prevails in your deſigns and in your councils."

FROM theſe bold and animated expoſtulations, he proceeds to lay down a plan of operation. Their force, he obſerves, was not ſufficient to meet Philip in the field; they were to be guarded againſt his excurſions; and, by depredations on the coaſt of Macedon, to confine his attention to the ſecurity of his own kingdom. For this he recommends to them to prepare fifty ſhips of war, with tranſports and other neceſſary veſſels for a body of horſe: ten light veſſels for a convoy, two thouſand infantry, and five hundred cavalry, of which number five hundred foot and, fifty horſe, to be citizens of Athens. He then computes the ſupplies neceſſary for this force, and propoſes a ſcheme in form for raiſing them.

IT doth not appear, that the ſpirit which animated this harangue, and the accurate knowledge of the intereſts of Athens, which the great ſpeaker diſplayed, had that effect which might naturally have been expected from them. The people ſeem to have attended with pleaſure and applauſe, without duly weighing the force of his remonſtrances, or the wiſdom of his counſels. Probably, the aſſiſtance they had already ſent to Phocis, rendered them averſe to new expences and new armaments; and, probably, Philip had his agents and partizans in the aſſembly, who, ever attentive to the ſervice of a maſter by whom they were magnificently paid, recommended leſs vigorous meaſures, under various plauſible pretences; which had but too much weight, as they flattered the indolence and unſurmountable averſion to public cares, which were ever predominant at Athens, notwithſtanding any temporary interruptions and tranſient fits of zeal. The diſpoſitions, the prejudices, the errors, and the corruptions of this people, were ever watched by Philip with the moſt attentive regard: while they were amuſed and deceived, his reſtleſs mind

mind was ſecretly employed in meditating his revenge: the late ſudden effort of their zeal was juſt ſufficient to convince him, that they were to be regarded as his principal rivals, and that nothing but their oppoſition could raiſe up any material obſtacles to thoſe ſchemes, which his ambition, inlivened by ſucceſs, was daily forming and extending: and the general weakneſs of their conduct encouraged him to hope that this oppoſition would, in the end, prove ineffectual; and that art and reſolution would render him ſuperior to their power.

BOOK II. SECTION III.

CONTENTS.

HISTORY of the ſacred war continued.—The death of Phayllus.—He is ſucceeded by Phaleucus.—Actions of this general.—Commotions in Peloponneſus.—The Argians and Megalopolitans aſſiſted by the Thebans, Eleans, &c.—Letter of Archidamus to the Eleans.—The Spartans ſupported by Phocis.—Orneum taken.—Thebans defeated.—Their confederates retire.—Oration of Demoſthenes for the Megalopolitans.—Action near Telphuſa.—A truce granted to Megalopolis.—Probable reaſons for this truce.—Philip's expectations from the diſorders of Peloponneſus.—The continuance of the Phocian war highly agreeable to his views.—The Thebans exhauſted.—Apply to the king of Perſia.—Philip's attention to the affairs of Greece.—His influence in all popular aſſemblies.—Juſtin's account of his expedition into Cappadocia.—Difficulties attending this account.—Philip reſides for ſome time in Macedon.—His buildings.—He borrows money from the men of affluence in Greece.—This conduct explained. — New commotions in Theſſaly. — Quieted by Philip's arms and policy.—The elegance and magnificence of Philip's court.—He encourages men of genius.—Affords an aſylum to unfortunate

princes

princes and nobles.—His behaviour to his ſubjects.—His adminiſtration of juſtice.—His gaiety and feſtivity.—His companions.—Cliſophus.—Menecrates.—The account of Theopompus examined.—Philip raiſes diſorders in the iſland of Euboea.—Sends in his forces.—Plutarch's application to Athens.—Is oppoſed by Demoſthenes.—The violence of the Athenians.—Character of Phocion.—He ſails to Euboea.—Is diſtreſſed.—Gains a victory over Callias.—Drives out Plutarch.—Returns in triumph to Athens.

BOOK the SECOND

SECTION III.

THE ſacred war ſtill continued to rage in Greece, to harraſs and weaken the contending parties, and to prepare the way for the power of Macedon. Phayllus, the Phocian general, having been driven out of Boeotia by repeated defeats, led his forces into the territories of the Locrians, ſurnamed Epicnemidii, and there poſſeſſed himſelf of ſeveral cities. At Aryca, a town of conſiderable note in this diſtrict, he firſt found his progreſs checked; and, as his arms could not readily ſubdue it, he entered into a ſecret conference with ſome traitors within the walls, who prevented the delay and danger of a formal ſiege, by betraying the town to the Phocians. Here he left a ſmall garriſon, leſt he might too far weaken the main body of his army, and marched back to Phocis; when the Locrians, by means of ſome private intelligence, ſurprized the town which they had ſo lately loſt, and put the Phocian garriſon to the ſword. The news of this event determined Phayllus to enter once more into Locris, where he again inveſted Aryca with a conſiderable body, and led the reſt of his army againſt Abae, a city of eminence in Phocis, where there was an antient and ſplendid temple of Apollo, in which the god delivered his oracles; whoſe inhabitants had for

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 38.

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 58. Herod. Urania. Cap. 134.

ages paid, and ſtill continued to pay him peculiar honours; and, from their veneration to the divinity, had refuſed to join with Phayllus and his Phocians in their irreligious attempts.

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 38.

THE Boeotians thought themſelves obliged to ſuccour this place; and, marching with incredible diligence and expedition, fell by night upon the camp of Phayllus, defeated the Phocians with conſiderable ſlaughter, and, having ravaged and laid waſte their territories with an uncontrouled fury, elevated by their ſucceſs, and laden with booty, they returned into Locris to raiſe the ſiege of Aryca. But Phayllus, whom they fondly ſuppoſed to have been ruined beyond all recovery, inſtantly rallied and collected his forces; and, when the victorious army arrived at the town, they were ſurprized and mortified, by finding, that he had already joined the beſiegers; and was ſo well prepared to give them battle, that, before they could be regularly formed in compleat order, he fell furiouſly upon them; and, having gained a compleat victory, took the city of Aryca, and razed it to the ground.

THIS was the laſt military exploit of Phayllus, and the only one in which his arms had been crowned with victory. In ſome ſhort time after, he was attacked by a conſumption, which abſolutely prevented him from action. He ſtruggled for ſome time with his diſorder, but, at length, was obliged to yield to the violence of it; and died in ſuch excruciating torments, as made his death to be regarded by the religious, as the manifeſt judgment of heaven. [A] He named

Ibid.

[A] THE heathen hiſtorians, who all expreſs a ſerious regard to their religion, and a deep ſenſe of the veneration due to the national worſhip, ſpeak of all the events of this war, and all the calamities of the Phocians, in that manner. Pauſanias (L. 10. p. 318.) makes Phayllus have ſufficient warning of this his miſerable end in a dream. Among the ſacred offerings of the temple was an artificial ſkeleton of braſs, ſaid to have been depoſited by Hippocrates the phyſician. The chief is ſaid to have dreamed, immediately upon entering on his command, that his body was become exactly like to this figure.

Phaleucus,

Phaleucus, the ſon of Onomarchus, for his ſucceſſor, with directions, that, in conſideration of his youth and inexperience, Mnaſeas ſhould be appointed his coadjutor, an antient friend of the family, a man well verſed in arms, and in every reſpect capable of forming a great general. In ſome time after, the Boeotians, as if reſolved to make a trial of this new general and his director, took advantage of the night, and fell on the Phocian camp with ſo much fury, that the whole army was thrown into the utmoſt diſorder. Mnaſeas, who exerted himſelf with due vigour to repel this unexpected attack, fell in the engagement, together with two hundred of the Phocians; and thus the young Phaleucus loſt all the advantage of his counſels. This chief, now left to his own guidance, ſoon felt the fatal conſequences of a precipitate valour. With all his cavalry he marched againſt that of the enemy, and came to an engagement before the city of Chaeronea, where he received a total overthrow, after a bloody and obſtinate conteſt, in which a conſiderable number of his troops were ſlain.

AND now, while Thebes and Phocis were purſuing each other with ſuch unrelenting fury, efforts were made by each in favour of their allies. The hoſtile intentions of Archidamus had been ſufficiently declared againſt the Argians, whoſe independent condition he beheld with impatience and indignation; and againſt the Megalopolitans, whoſe ſettlement he conſidered as the diſgrace of his country, and the odious memorial of the triumphs of Epaminondas. The Thebans, on their part, were bound in honour to ſupport the eſtabliſhments of their illuſtrious general; and had, therefore, diſpatched four thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe, under the command of their general Cephiſion, to the aſſiſtance of the Megalopolitans and Argians. Encouraged by this ſupport, the Megalopolitans took the field, and pitched their camp near the ſources of the Alpheus, ſo as to cover their city and territories: and here they received additional reinforcements from the Eleans, Meſſenians, and

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 39.

Pauſan. in Eliac. Sicyonians. The Eleans had no great military reputation, and were, at this time particularly, weakened by inteſtine diſorders; which made Archidamus expreſs his contempt of their preparations in the following Laconic letter:

Plut. Apoph. "Archidamus to the Eleans."

"Peace is a valuable thing. Farewell."

THE Spartans, on their part, were aſſiſted by the Phocians, who, for this purpoſe, detached three thouſand foot, and one hundred and fifty of the famous cavalry of Theſſaly, who had followed Pitholaüs: Diod. L. 16. Sect. 39. ſome of their Peloponneſian allies alſo united with them: and Archidamus took his ſtation near Mantinea, in the preſence of the enemy; the vicinity of the two armies made a general engagement to be regarded as inevitable; when Archidamus ſuddenly decamped, entered the territories of Argos, and ſeized the town of Orneum, which had engaged in an alliance with Megalopolis. The Argians were the firſt to oppoſe this attempt, but were ſoon defeated, with the loſs of about two hundred men. The Thebans followed, and renewed the engagement, in full reliance on the ſuperiority of their numbers; but the exacter order and diſcipline of the Spartan army ſupplied the deficiency of their force: the conflict was maintained with equal ardor on each ſide, till night put an end to it, and left the victory undecided; when the Argians, who had now experienced, and ſeem to have dreaded, the vigour of Archidamus, retired, and the reſt of the allies alſo marched back to their particular cities. The Lacedaemonians, thus left maſters of the field, made an inroad into Arcadia, where they ſtormed and plundered the city of Heliſſon, and then returned in triumph into Sparta.

IN this ſhort reſpite from war, Olivier aſſerts, that we muſt neceſſarily fix the ambaſſy of the Megalopolitans and Spartans to Athens,

Athens, where each of theſe ſtates pleaded their cauſe before the aſſembly, the one to gain aſſiſtance, the other to perſuade the Athenians to continue neuter: on which occaſion Demoſthenes appeared the advocate for Megalopolis. Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus dates his oration for the Megalopolitans ſome what earlier; and an attentive peruſal of the oration itſelf may poſſibly ſuggeſt ſome arguments to confirm us in the deference due to the accuracy of that critic. From its general tenor, it appears, that the application of the Arcadians was really made, at the firſt beginning of this quarrel, while the Lacedaemonians were as yet but preparing to attack them. But the learned reader may think the preciſe time, in which the oration was delivered, a matter not ſo worthy his attention, as the artifice, the delicacy, the inſinuating addreſs, the exact knowledge of the intereſts of Athens, of the diſpoſitions, opinions, paſſions, and deſigns of the leading ſtates, the penetration and extenſive policy, and all the qualifications neceſſary for an accompliſhed ſtateſman, which are eminently diſplayed in the oration itſelf. Yet we muſt conclude, that his eloquence and abilities were unſucceſsful, as Diodorus does not mention the Athenians among the people who ſent ſuccours to the Megalopolitans on this occaſion.

In Epiſtola ad Ammae.

THE hoſtilities, on each ſide, were now continued for ſome time longer. The allies, as hath been obſerved, retired from the ſcene of action: and the Thebans, in their retreat, met with a party of the Lacedaemonians, near the river Telphuſa, commanded by Anaxander; and, after an engagement ſufficiently obſtinate and bloody, took the general priſoner, together with ſixty of his ſoldiers. This ſucceſs determined them not to haſten their march: they again attacked two different detached parties of the enemy with repeated ſucceſs; but in a more general engagement, which theſe ſkirmiſhes produced, the Lacedaemonians gained a victory, which put an end to the campaign. And, a truce being now concluded between Sparta and Megalopolis, the Thebans had no opportunity of retrieving their late

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 39.

late diſgrace, but retired into Boeotia with the remains of their army.

HISTORY doth not aſſign any cauſe for this appearance of moderation in the Spartans, in granting a truce to a diſtreſſed enemy, deſerted by their allies, and weakened by the taking of Heliſſon. The French hiſtorian conjectures, that they might have been determined to this by the arrival of ſome ſuccours from Athens, in favour of Megalopolis. But, as to any ſuch ſuccours, hiſtory is ſilent; and, if it be allowed to indulge conjectures, his apprehenſions of Philip may, not without reaſon, be ſuppoſed to have influenced the king of Sparta on this occaſion. The Macedonian Prince's early connexions with Epaminondas, gave him a plauſible pretence of interfering to ſupport the eſtabliſhments of that renowned commander: and we ſhall find, in the courſe of this narration, that, in a little time after this, Philip had acquired conſiderable intereſt among the enemies of the Spartan power in Peloponneſus. * Demoſthenes aſſerts, in his oration on the Crown, that, from the time when theſe commotions firſt broke out in that country, he had a particular attention to them, and took care to gain over a number of partizans in every city, who were employed to keep up and to foment all diſorders. He was concerned, ſaith * Olivier, more particularly than any other, to prevent the execution of that plan which Archidamus had formed. It would have deprived him of ſome maritime towns, which he had gained in Thrace; the cities which he poſſeſſed in Theſſaly muſt have been given up; and his connexions there intirely broken. The Olynthians, whoſe ruin he now meditated, and who, on their part, hated and ſuſpected him, muſt have recovered thoſe places in their diſtrict which Lacedaemon had kept poſſeſſion of ſince the late war with Olynthus, or had rendered independent. It might therefore have been naturally urged by his creatures and agents in Argos and Arcadia, that the moſt effectual method to curb the pride and inſolence of Sparta, was to ſeek the

Olivier L. 6. p. 236.

* Sect. 7.

* ut ſupra.

* aſſiſtance

aſſiſtance and protection of the king of Macedon. To defeat a deſign of this nature, from which Archidamus might have foreſeen very momentous conſequences, it was obvious to amuſe thoſe people by a truce, and the hopes of a future accommodation of all differences. Philip, on his part, though exceedingly deſirous of interfering in theſe diſputes, could not think it neceſſary to prevent the preſent ſuſpenſion of them. Archidamus, he knew, however he might diſſemble at preſent, would not willingly reſign his ſcheme. The different powers would act with vigour ſufficient to prevent the execution of ſome part of it; but, as every one of them had ſome favourite articles in this ſcheme, which they were deſirous of preſerving, it was not poſſible they could act in concert: the contending parties would mutually weaken each other; and the Arcadians, and other enemies of Sparta, at laſt find themſelves obliged to have recourſe to Macedon. Some fortunate event might hereafter open him a paſſage into Peloponneſus, where his arms and policy could not fail to decide their quarrels, and make him equally the maſter of all the contending parties, while he only affected a tender concern for the oppreſſed, and an honourable zeal for defending the eſtabliſhments of Epaminondas.

NOR was it leſs conſiſtent with his views, to ſuffer the ſacred war to waſte and harraſs the ſeveral combatants; particularly, as the late oppoſition of the Athenians, prevented any impeachment of the ſincerity of his zeal for religion. The Thebans, when the truce granted to Megalopolis obliged them to return into Boeotia, found that country waſted by the Phocians. Phaleucus, their chief, had juſt reduced the city of Chaeronea, when the Thebans came opportunely to drive him from his conqueſt, and to revenge the depredations he had made in their territories, by an inroad into Phocis: here the whole country was expoſed to their fury: they ravaged and laid waſte the lands, the houſes, the poſſeſſions of the wretched Phocians; and, having taken and plundered ſome cities of

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 39.

leſs

leſs note, returned into their own country, laden with the ſpoils of the enemy. All this variety of fortune ſerved effectually to weaken the contending parties. The Phocians, quite exhauſted by their loſſes in the field, as well as by their conqueſts in Boeotia, where they were obliged to maintain numerous garriſons, appeared ready to ſink under the attack of the firſt powerful enemy who ſhould declare againſt them. The Thebans, equally exhauſted, ſaw ſome of their moſt conſiderable cities in the hands of an enemy, whom they were unable to diſpoſſeſs; and who, on their part, were obliged to exert all their efforts to maintain theſe poſts. Military perſons were, at the ſame time, allured from every part of Greece, by large pay, and the fair proſpects of advantage, to ſhed their blood in the ſervice of Phocis. And thus this fatal conteſt not only ſerved to harraſs thoſe who were immediately engaged in it, but proved the means of draining away, and gradually conſuming, the natural ſtrength of every Grecian ſtate. No wonder, therefore, that Philip did not appear extremely ſollicitous to put an immediate end to this war. His deſigns were, by this time, become great and extenſive; he had penetration and ſagacity to ſee through theſe incidents and tranſactions which might facilitate them; and temper and reſolution to wait, with patience, the favourable moment for carrying them into execution.

Diod. Sic. Lib. 16. Sect. 40.

IT was not the leaſt part of the diſtreſs which the Thebans now experienced, that their finances were intirely exhauſted, by the expence of conſtant armaments. To the king of Perſia, therefore, they applied; and, by their ambaſſadors, intreated this prince, by whoſe opulence the Greeks were on many occaſions obliged, to relieve their preſent neceſſities by a ſum of money. Artaxerxes Ochus, who now reigned in Perſia, was, at this time, meditating an expedition againſt Egypt, where he had, ſome time ſince, fought with ill ſucceſs: and had ſent to the leading powers of Greece to deſire aſſiſtance. The Athenians and Spartans declared their reſolution

Sect. 44.

of

of adhering to the intereſts of Perſia, but, at the ſame time, pleaded their inability to ſend any troops [B]. The Argians, on the other hand, ſupplied the great king with three thouſand men, commanded

 by

[B] THEY had already ſent out Phocion, with ſome ſhips, to the aſſiſtance of Hidriaeus, king of Caria, who was endeavouring to oblige Cyprus to return to its obedience to the king of Perſia. Hidriaeus was the ſucceſſor of Artemiſia, ſo famous on account of her grief for the death of her huſband. Poſſibly this reputation had no other foundation than in the imaginations of thoſe men of genius who diſputed the prize in the games, which ſhe exhibited in honour of Mauſolus. This Mauſolus was a weak prince, governed intirely by his wife; to whom the ambaſſadors of foreign ſtates were always privately inſtructed to addreſs themſelves. It was ſhe who had been the means of kindling up the ſocial war: nor did ſhe, after her huſband's death, appear to act as a widow totally inconſolable, and regardleſs of the world. Vitruvius hath preſerved the memory of a ſtratagem which ſhe employed to poſſeſs herſelf of Rhodes. The Rhodians held a private intelligence in the city of Halicarnaſſus, the capital of Caria; and hoped that the inhabitants would willingly unite with them, in order to ſhake off the yoke of a woman. In theſe expectations they ſent a fleet thither. But Artemiſia, having diſcovered the plot, ordered the inhabitants to range themſelves under their walls, and to receive the Rhodians as their expected deliverers. Deceived by this appearance, the Rhodians landed, and left their ſhips deſerted: they were ſurrounded and cut to pieces. Artemiſia, who had ordered her gallies to fall down ſome canals which communicated with the port, and to ſeize their ſhips, now ſet ſail in the Rhodian fleet, and appeared before their city. It was ſuppoſed by the people of Rhodes, that their own army was returned victorious from Caria. The Carians were maſters of their city before the fatal miſtake was perceived: where Artemiſia changed the form of government, from a democratical, to that of an oligarchy. This produced an application to the Athenians from the people of Rhodes, in order to engage that ſtate to reſtore their antient government. The cauſes of complaint, which they had given to the Athenians in the courſe of the ſocial war, it was hoped, would not be remembered; or, at leaſt, would not prevent the Athenians from embracing the honourable occaſion of re-eſtabliſhing a government of the ſame form with their own. Demoſthenes pleaded the cauſe of Rhodes, in the oration on this ſubject, which is ſtill extant among his remains. He begins with felicitating his countrymen, that their enemies were now obliged to implore their aſſiſtance againſt thoſe who had engaged them to declare againſt Athens. He freely acknowledges the miſconduct of the Rhodians, and confeſſes that they are themſelves unworthy of that protection which they are imploring; but, at the ſame time, addreſſes himſelf intirely to the generoſity

of

by Nicoſtratus, a general equally eminent for his vigour and abilities; though his great qualities were, in ſome ſort, diſgraced by a wild and whimſical affectation of imitating the garb and manners of Hercules, and appearing in the field armed with his club, and cloathed in his lion's hide. The Thebans alſo detached one thouſand of their infantry, under the command of Lacrates, one of their generals; and the Perſian, in return for this ſervice, granted their preſent requeſt, and immediately ſupplied them with three hundred talents. Yet this could not inable them to gain any material advantage over Phocis. A whole year was waſted in mutual incurſions and depredations, or, at moſt, ſome ſlight actions, which hiſtory hath not thought worthy of being particularly recorded.

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 40.

DURING this interval, Philip was ſeated in his own kingdom, watching the ſeveral commotions which raged all around him; ſtrictly obſervant of the errors and diſtreſſes of every ſtate and government,

of his countrymen, which hitherto had ever proved the great reſource of the diſtreſſed, without regard to their deſerts. He expreſſes a greater dependence on the misfortunes of the Rhodians, than on their gratitude; and, to give the greater elevation to the ſentiments of his hearers, artfully mixes with his reflexions the praiſes of Athens, and urges the advantages which this ſtate muſt derive from increaſing the number of democracies. He labours to diſſipate any apprehenſions from Caria or Perſia, which might prevent the Athenians from acting, on this occaſion, agreeably to the dictates of generoſity; and concludes with recommending the noble conduct of their anceſtors to their preſent imitation. There is one particular ſtroke in the oration with reſpect to Philip, which deſerves a place here:—"Some of you, I find," ſaith the orator, "treat Philip with diſ-"regard, as if beneath their attention; "and yet expreſs the greateſt apprehen-"ſions of the KING, as an enemy who "muſt prove highly dangerous to thoſe "who may be the objects of his reſent-"ment. If then we are never to oppoſe "the one, becauſe he is weak; and if we "are to ſubmit, in every inſtance, to the "other, becauſe he is formidable; againſt "whom, ye Athenians, ſhall we ever draw "the ſword?"

THESE particulars, which I have contented myſelf with tranſlating from Olivier, and which he hath inſerted in the body of his hiſtory, I thought might, with greater propriety, be preſented to the reader in the form of a note.

vernment, concerting his designs, and preparing for new conquests. His forces, and particularly his marine, were constantly receiving some accession or improvement; and new creatures were every day, and in every community, by the power of gold, gained over to his interest, whose business it was to raise confusion and disorder, to inflame all contests and animosities, to magnify, or depreciate, the power of their master, to represent him as formidable or weak, just as his service required them to inspire terror or security; to misguide public councils, to betray public trusts, and to practise all the infamous arts of men, attentive only to gratify a sordid luxury or avarice, and regardless of the most sacred duties of civil life.

Demosth. Phil. 1. Sect. 2.

De Corona Sect. 7. & alibi passim.

About this time, if we may depend on the copies of the abbreviator of Trogus, Philip made an excursion into Asia, where he reduced the whole province of Cappadocia to the power of Macedon, having first treacherously seized and put to death some neighbouring kings. We find, saith * Olivier, that Theopompus particularly and largely described this province, which seems to imply, that Philip, whose actions he related, must have had some intercourse with Cappadocia, or that it was the scene of some of these his actions. But whether those, whom Justin calls the neighbouring kings, were satraps who had revolted from the king of Persia, or governors of a part of Pontus, who supported themselves independent of that monarch, is left intirely to uncertain conjecture. As the records of antiquity have not preserved the least traces or circumstances of an expedition so remarkable as this must have been, the learned have been induced to suppose, that the copies of Justin are corrupted; and, instead of Cappadociam, we should read Chalcidem, or Chalcidicam. If so, the corruption must have been very early; for we find Paulus Orosius copying after the common reading. And although such an amendment, by supposing Justin to refer to his attempts on Euboea, or his war against the Olynthians (of which we shall have immediately occasion to speak) at once removes the

Just. L. 8. C. 3.

* Liv. 7. p. 268.

Faber, Tourreil, Olivier.

difficulty which ariſes from the ſilence of other writers; yet another difficulty remains which might have deſervedly been conſidered by thoſe who ſuggeſted or adopted this amendment; and that is, that neither in the territories of Olynthus, nor yet in Euboea, can we find thoſe finitimos reges, whom Philip treated with ſo much cruelty and treachery. If we ſuppoſe firſt, that Juſtin is relating his invaſion of the Olynthian territories, and his reduction of the Chalcidian region; then, by thoſe neighbouring kings, we muſt underſtand the kings of Thrace. But Philip's conduct to thoſe princes, whatever it was, does not appear to have been at all connected with this expedition; to have at all contributed (directly) to its ſucceſs, or even to agree with it in point of time. And as to Euboea, though Chalcis, and its other cities, had their diſtinct governors and petty tyrants, yet we ſhall find the power, which Philip gained in theſe cities, was by no means purchaſed by the blood of theſe governors. But, without farther anticipating this hiſtory, let us leave theſe matters in their original obſcurity, and return to this prince's conduct in his own kingdom, where we may pronounce, with more certainty, that he reſided for ſome time, waiting for the effects of his ſecret machinations, and revolving his ſchemes of greatneſs.

ARTS and elegance were but little known or cultivated in Macedon before the reign of Philip, when the poverty, the weakneſs, and barbarouſneſs of that country, confined the attention of its princes and inhabitants to the bare neceſſaries for their ſubſiſtence and ſecurity. But Philip had taſte, and now poſſeſſed riches to adorn and poliſh his kingdom; nor did he want the due attention both to its ſtrength and ſplendor. Able architects, and ſkilful engineers, were invited to embelliſh, and to fortify, the ſeveral parts of Macedon. Temples, palaces, theatres, now began to riſe in all his cities; and, as artifice and policy had ever ſome ſhare in all parts of this prince's conduct, under pretence of being the better inabled to erect theſe coſtly edifices, he had recourſe to a ſcheme with which later ages

Juſt. L. 8. C. 3.

have

have been well acquainted. His emiſſaries were diſpatched through all Greece, where they ſollicited the men of affluence in every ſtate, and, by promiſes of large returns of intereſt, engaged them to lend their money to the king of Macedon. Numbers were found, whoſe avaricious expectations, or whoſe vanity in obliging a prince who condeſcended to requeſt their aſſiſtance, prompted them to empty all their hoards of wealth into the coffers of Philip. And, if we may believe Juſtin, the expectations of theſe unwary men were fatally diſappointed, and they themſelves reduced to beggary and ruin. He aſſerts, that neither their intereſt nor principal were ever paid; but that, when theſe proprietors came to Macedon to ſollicit their ſeveral demands, after many delays, they were at length threatened with the royal diſpleaſure, and obliged to retire. It cannot reaſonably be ſuppoſed, that this premeditated breach of truſt ſhould have eſcaped the notice of Demoſthenes, who repreſented all Philip's actions in the worſt and ſtrongeſt light. Yet we find him quite ſilent on a ſubject, which muſt have afforded ſuch an ample field for his ſeverity. It ſeems therefore more reaſonable to attend to thoſe who repreſent the preſent ſchemes of Philip, as partly intended to conceal thoſe penſions which the intereſt of his affairs required him to diſtribute. Theſe were received by numbers in every public aſſembly; and it was more honourable, both for him who gave, and for thoſe who accepted them, to diſguiſe theſe penſions under the name of debts. They to whom he gave his own money, and they to whom he paid high intereſt for the ſums he borrowed, were indeed equally obliged, and, of neceſſity, equally attached to him; the one for fear of loſing his pay; the others to ſecure that property which they had depoſited in his hands. Beſides, the fair pretence of tranſacting buſineſs, and taking care of their private affairs, inabled his partizans to appear at any time in Macedon, and to concert their ſecret practices without ſuſpicion; as we may hereafter have occaſion to obſerve.

Juſt. L. 8. C. 3.

Olivier L. 7. p. 250.

But

But the attention of this prince was, for ſome time, diverted by
Olymp. 107. Y. 4. new commotions, which began to riſe in Theſſaly. Here the fickle inhabitants became impatient for new revolutions. They complained,
Dem. Olyn. 3. Sect. 8. that Philip had but expelled their former tyrants to eſtabliſh himſelf in their place: they actually oppoſed him in an attempt to fortify Mag-
Olyn. 1. Sect. 6. neſia, and clamoured loudly for the reſtitution of that city, and of Pagaſae, where he ſtill maintained his garriſons. Their ports and harbours, they cried, were only made ſubſervient to the intereſts of Macedon, inſtead of inriching the natural and original proprietors; and urged the neceſſity of confining thoſe advantages to themſelves, and excluding thoſe, who, whatever their pretence had been, really appeared indifferent to the intereſts of Theſſaly; and, notwithſtanding their pretended zeal, ſuffered the Phocians to harraſs them and the other confederates, without that vigorous interpoſition which
Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 52. they had been made to expect. Pitholaüs, encouraged by theſe the diſpoſitions of his countrymen, and aided by Phocis, once more appeared at Pherae, and aſſerted his antient title. Philip was equally concerned to regain the affections of the Theſſalians, and to oppoſe the open force of Pitholaüs. He therefore marched to Pherae, obliging his ſoldiers to obſerve the exacteſt diſcipline, and declaring, that his ſole deſign was to diſpoſſeſs the tyrant. This was effected without any violence; for Pitholaüs, incapable of oppoſition, inſtantly diſappeared at the approach of Philip, who was now left at liberty to make ſuch farther diſpoſitions in this country as might ſecure the
Olyn. 1. Sect. 3. affections of the people. He aſſured them, with all the appearance of a warm and ſincere friendſhip, that he really intended, and that his affairs would ſoon permit him, to give them up intire poſſeſſion of Magneſia; that the ſacred war ſhould be the principal object of his attention; that the Theſſalians, and their confederates, ſhould be freed from all the expence and burden of this quarrel, the final deciſion of which nothing but the unjuſt ſuſpicions of Athens had prevented: that all his forces, and all his treaſures, were devoted to this righteous cauſe; and that the enemies of Theſſaly ſhould ſoon experience

experience the ſincerity of theſe his declarations. Thus did his artifice calm the jealouſies of this people, who reſigned themſelves once more, with full confidence, to the promiſes which Philip freely laviſhed, regarding them only as expedients; and, having thus diverted and allayed a ſtorm which might have proved dangerous, he returned to purſue the means of increaſing the luſtre and magnificence of his own kingdom.

PHILOSOPHERS, poets, actors, muſicians, men of genius, and artiſts of every kind, were received, careſſed, and rewarded, at the court of Macedon. If a man of merit, in any part of Greece, ſuffered by the caprice, neglect, or envy of his countrymen, he was ſure to be received by Philip with the diſtinction due to his abilities. Thus when Leoſthenes, an Athenian eminent for his eloquence, was driven from his own country, by the envy of his enemies, or the ſuſpicions which the people were made to entertain of his integrity; he found ſuch effectual protection, ſuch marks of affection, and reſpect from Philip, as made his countrymen aſhamed of their conduct; and taught them to regret their error, in giving their enemy a citizen of ſo much merit. But what ſeems ſtill a greater proof of the reputation which this prince had already acquired, and ſerved to extend and to increaſe it, was, that unfortunate princes and nobles crowded to his court, and there found a ſecure aſylum. When Egypt was at length ſubdued by Ochus, and Nectanebus obliged to abandon his dominions, this prince is ſaid to have taken refuge, not in Ethiopia, as * Diodorus relates, but in Macedon, with the only prince whom he thought capable of protecting him againſt the Perſian: and here he was received and entertained with ſuch intimate affection and confidence, that ſuſpicions were ſuggeſted of an unwarrantable correſpondence between him and queen Olympias. Hence authors, who were inattentive to the period of time in which Nectanebus could have come to Macedon, have ſuppoſed, that to him Alexander really owed his birth; and hence all the fancies of leſs antient and authentic

AEſchin. de falſ. Leg. Sect. 10. cum Schol.

* L. 16. Sect. 51. Solin. C. 14.

Glycas. Cedrenus. Syncellus. Chronogr.

authentic writers, and the accounts of thoſe magical arts by which they ſuppoſe that this prince gained the affections of Olympias. But, whatever may be objected againſt the reſidence of Nectanebus at Macedon, it is certain, that Artabazus and Memnon, two rebellious ſatraps (the one of whom had for a long time maintained a war againſt his maſter, and the other afterwards proved the moſt dangerous enemy to Alexander) lived with their families at Pella, ſupported and protected by Philip, until Mentor the Rhodian, who had done the Perſian great military ſervices, interceded for theſe his kinſmen, and made their peace.

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 51.

To his own ſubjects Philip appeared to act with that tenderneſs and moderation, that affability and condeſcenſion, which rendered him infinitely dear to them, notwithſtanding all the toils and diſtreſſes, by which they were continually harraſſed and waſted, under ſo warlike and enterprizing a prince. His ears were ever open to their complaints, and every day, before he gave audience, an officer was employed to remind him in form, that HE WAS MORTAL: thus did he contrive to affect an appearance of humility; and, at the ſame time, to remind his ſubjects of his real greatneſs, to give them high ideas of his elevation as a prince, and to aſſure them of his tender feelings as a man, and juſt concern for their welfare.

Plut. in Apoph.

IT once happened, that a poor woman appeared before him to demand an audience; and, according to the cuſtom of Macedon, to requeſt, that he would hear and determine her ſuit, which had been long depending, and which various engagements had obliged him to poſtpone. Still he pleaded his embarraſſments, and careleſſly put her off to ſome time of greater leiſure. Provoked at theſe repeated delays, ſhe now anſwered boldly: "If you cannot find time to do "me juſtice, diveſt yourſelf of your office; ceaſe to be a king." He at once conceived the full force of this remonſtrance, which a juſt indignation had extorted from this oppreſſed creature; and, far from being

being ſhocked or diſpleaſed at her freedom, he inſtantly heard and decided her ſuit. He acknowledged, that to be a king and a judge was, in effect, the ſame: that the throne was ſtrictly a tribunal, and not only gave him the power, but laid him under the inviolable obligation of diſtributing juſtice; and that to grant all the time and attention, neceſſary to ſo important an office was not a favour, but a duty which he owed to his ſubjects. All this, ſaith Monſieur Rollin, is contained in that expreſſion, ſo ſimple, and, at the ſame time, ſo pregnant with good ſenſe, *ceaſe to be a king.*

We have an inſtance alſo of his unbiaſſed regard to juſtice, in that noble anſwer which he made to a perſon who ſollicited him to exert his influence and authority in favour of a man, whoſe reputation, it was ſaid, muſt be ruined by a ſentence which was going to be pronounced againſt him. "I had rather," ſaid Philip, "that he ſhould loſe his "reputation, than that I ſhould deſtroy my own." Nor in his quality, as a judge, did he aſſume any rigid ſeverity, or auſtere appearance. On the contrary, his natural gaiety was ſometimes ſuffered to break forth, as in the caſe of two notorious villains, who accuſed each other before him; one of whom he ſentenced to be baniſhed; and, when the other began to exult in his ſuppoſed victory, the king, with an affected gravity, pronounced that he ſhould follow his adverſary. Plut. in Apophth.

In effect indeed, the illuſtrious warrior, and the wiſe and gracious prince, was no leſs diſtinguiſhed by his wit and feſtivity, his eaſe and gaiety in private life. The diſtance and haughty retirement of Aſiatic courts were, utterly unknown in Macedon. Philip had thoſe qualities which could bear the teſt of a conſtant and familiar intercourſe. He converſed with his nobles, and ſhared in their diverſions and entertainments, with all the freedom of an equal. His viſits to them were not announced in form: he oftentimes ſurprized them totally unprovided for his reception and entertainment. On one of

theſe occaſions, he is ſaid to have relieved his hoſt from his confuſion and diſtreſs, by an artifice, which it may be thought beneath the dignity of hiſtory to have tranſmitted to us. The ſupper, to which he came uninvited and unexpected, appeared ſcarcely ſufficient to ſatisfy the train which attended him. He ordered that it ſhould be privately intimated to the gueſts, that a ſecond and better courſe was ſoon to make its appearance. The expectation of more delicate entertainment made moſt of them eat leſs freely: the prince, and they who were in the ſecret, feaſted fully, and afterwards indulged their mirth at the diſappointment of the reſt.

Plutarch. in Apophth.

But it is by no means honourable to the character of Philip, that, in theſe his hours of feſtivity, his companions are ſaid to have been frequently choſen for the extravagance of their humours, the livelineſs and bitterneſs with which they expoſed each other to ridicule, and the ingeniouſneſs, and abject ſubmiſſion, with which they flattered their royal hoſt. One Cliſophus is recorded to have aped his maſter with ſuch infamous ſervility, as to uſe but one eye, when Philip had loſt one of his; and to halt, when Philip had been wounded in the leg. If the prince betrayed the leaſt diſlike of what he eat or drank, the countenance of the flatterer at once expreſſed the ſame ſenſations. With this he ſometimes mixed an affectation of bluntneſs and rudeneſs, which rough diſguiſe oftentimes conceals the moſt delicate flattery. When Philip one day upbraided him with his inſatiable importunity, "Why then," ſaid he, "do you allow me "time to forget your favours?" And when he was upon ſome occaſion particularly ſevere upon him, "a truce to your raillery," replied Cliſophus, "if you expect that I ſhould give you a good character "at court."

Demoſth. Olyn. 1. Sect. 7.

Athenae. L. 6. p. 248. Tourreil. Not. in Olyn. 1.

The entertainment which he derived from the extravagance and follies of thoſe with whom he converſed, appears from the ſtory of Menecrates the phyſician. This man was mad enough to fancy himſelf

Athenae. L. 7. p. 289.

himſelf Jupiter, and is ſaid to have written a letter to Philip, conceived in theſe terms:

" Menecrates Jupiter, to king Philip, health!"

" You reign in Macedon. I am ſovereign in phyſic. I ſave the ſick. You deſtroy the healthy. Farewel."

To which Philip returned this anſwer:

" King Philip, to Menecrates, wiſhes [c] good ſenſe!"

To expoſe his madneſs, Philip made a magnificent entertainment, to which Menecrates was invited. While the other gueſts indulged themſelves in feaſting and drinking, the phyſician was treated like an immortal, and entertained with perfumes and incenſe. The firſt tranſport of joy, at ſeeing his divinity thus acknowledged, made him, for a while, reſign himſelf up to the delution: hunger, at length, forced him to recollect his condition; and, quite tired of this exalted character, he abruptly left the company to flatter the humour of their prince, and ridicule this deity who was obliged to eat, in order to ſubſiſt. Athenae L. 7. p. 289.

But flattery, ſervility, and abſurdity, were not the worſt of thoſe qualities by which Philip's companions were diſtinguiſhed, if the remains of thoſe authors, who have written largely of his conduct, have been tranſmitted faithfully and exactly. " In the choice of his " courtiers and confidents," ſaith the hiſtorian Theopompus, as quoted by * Athenaeus, " he conſulted neither merit nor probity; " Greeks and Barbarians were entertained by him indiſcriminately, " according to the degrees of their abandoned impudence and diſſo- " luteneſs: and this infamous collection were called the friends of * Lib. 4. p. 167. Lib. 6 p. 260, 261.

[c] Φιλιππος Μενεκρατει. Υγιαινειν. The ſpirit of this ſhort epiſtle, which is alſo attributed to Ageſilaus, conſiſts in the equivocal ſignification of the word ὑγιαινειν, which is indiſcriminately applied to ſoundneſs either of mind or body.

" Philip. All his eſteem, all his liberality, was confined to men " plunged in debauch, and given up to the groſſeſt exceſſes of a li- " centious life. What ſorts of infamy, what kinds of vice, were " they not guilty of? Some of them affected the exterior and de- " portment of the other ſex, and, by their ſhocking commerce, " might rather be called Philip's miſtreſſes than his friends: equally " abandoned to pollution and cruelty, to murder and proſtitution. " Enemies of honeſty and good faith, and ſhamefully triumphing in " perjury and perfidy. Nothing could eſcape their rapine, or ſatisfy " their avarice. So that this collection of wretches, though not ex- " ceeding eight hundred men, enjoyed a greater revenue than ten " thouſand Greeks peaceably ſettled in the moſt fertile ſoil."

THIS picture, ſhocking as it is, is yet ſaid to be taken from an hiſtorian who flouriſhed in the reigns of Philip and Alexander, who was connected with their friends, favoured by Alexander, and whoſe works were carefully collected and digeſted by the latter Philip, king of Macedon, to do honour to the memory of his illuſtrious predeceſſor. It is well known, that ſeverity and acrimony were the peculiar characters of Theopompus: and ſuch ſeverity, when juſtly merited, Philip frequently received with the utmoſt patience and indulgence. Yet, in juſtice to this prince, it muſt be acknowledged, that the whole paſſage is quoted by Athenaeus from the forty-ninth book of the hiſtory of Theopompus; and that * Diodorus obſerves, that the laſt ſix books, from the forty-eighth to the fifty-fourth, are at leaſt ſuſpected. [D] The expreſſion of Diodorus hath even been thought capable of a ſtronger ſignification, *That theſe laſt five books were intirely loſt in his time.* Theſe deſcriptions, which Athenaeus hath preſerved, are rather ſtronger and more offenſive than thoſe of Demoſthenes; and yet we know, that the orator was at leaſt as remarkable for his ſeverity, and for his force and art in aggravation, as

Photius Bib. in Art. *Theopompus.*

* L. 16. Sect. 3.

[D] ἐξ ὧν περὶ διαφωνουσιν. *De quinque tamen inter haec diſcrepatur.* RHODOM. — *Ex quibus quinque interciderunt.* G. J. VOSSIUS.

the

the hiſtorian. We know too, that the colourings of oratory are generally higher and more ſtriking than thoſe of hiſtory. It muſt therefore be ſubmitted to the judicious, whether there be not reaſon to ſuſpect, that ſome later writer might have attempted to ſupply the loſs of the laſt books of the hiſtory of Theopompus; and unwarily indulged his imagination, in enlarging on the deſcriptions of Philip's diſſolute manners, which he found in the great Athenian. If the ſtyle of this hiſtorian, as * Suidas informs us, was ſo exactly imitated in his own days, as to deceive the Greeks, much more might ſucceeding ages receive ſuch a ſpurious addition as the genuine remains of Theopompus: and if the exquiſite taſte of the Athenians could not immediately diſtinguiſh between the original, and an ingenious copy; it is ſcarcely preſumptuous to ſuppoſe, that Athenaeus, Photius, and ſome other writers, might have been deceived.

* in Ἀναξιμένης.

BUT however this may be, or however Philip might, at ſome times, indulge himſelf in pleaſure and ſenſuality, his attention was not one moment diverted from his grand deſigns. The iſland of Euboea, and the territories of Olynthus, were now the immediate objects of his machinations. The ſituation and importance of Euboea, which he juſtly called the fetters of Greece, determined him to eſtabliſh ſuch an intereſt there, as might facilitate the conqueſt of the iſland; and, with Olynthus, he was now no longer obliged to diſſemble; but reſolved to ſeek an occaſion of coming to an open rupture, as with the only powerful neighbouring ſtate which he had left unſubdued; the only ſtate, which, by uniting with the Athenians, might inable them to harraſs his frontiers, or diſtreſs his kingdom.

Olymp. 107. Y. 4.

WHEN the Athenians had driven out the Thebans from Euboea, they left the iſland free, and demanded no other acknowledgment for their protection, than the advantage of thoſe proviſions, which the ertility of the ſoil inabled the iſlanders to ſupply. The country

ÆEſchin. in Cteſ. Sect. 31.

was

was divided into ſeveral diſtinct and independent ſtates, and every city governed by thoſe whoſe influence and addreſs could raiſe them to the ſupreme command. Theſe petty tyrants ſoon began to have frequent diſputes and conteſts with each other, which Philip, no doubt, took care to foment, until they at laſt produced an open rupture. On this occaſion, Philip eſpouſed the intereſt of Callias, the governor of Chalcis (a city neareſt to the continent, and, at this day, joined to it by a bridge) and ſent Eurylochus, one of his generals, thither with ſome forces and money. Plutarch, who commanded in Eretria, inſtantly diſpatched ambaſſadors to Athens, expreſſing his apprehenſions of the Macedonian power, and the conſequences of Philip's interfering in the diſputes of the iſland; intreating the protection of the Athenians, and offering to ſubmit to their juriſdiction. They had, at this time, ſome forces in Euboea, under the conduct of one of their generals, named Hegeſilaus, who ſupported the propoſitions of Plutarch, and anſwered for the integrity of his intentions.

Demoſth. de falſa Leg. Sect. 82. Schol.

Dem. Orat. de Pace.

DEMOSTHENES, though an inveterate enemy to the incroaching power of the Macedonian, oppoſed Plutarch, and adviſed his countrymen to reject his overtures. No other motive hath been aſſigned for this conduct, but a ſovereign contempt which he entertained for Plutarch and the Eretrians. Poſſibly he might have conceived, and not without reaſon, that this tyrant was ſecretly in the intereſt of Philip; and that the whole affair was no more than the conſequence of a ſcheme, concerted between them, to engage the Athenians in an expenſive and inglorious expedition, ſo as to fatigue and exhauſt them.

IF ſuch was the opinion of Demoſthenes, it was fully juſtified by the event: but, at preſent, he was ſingle in this opinion; and it was received with ſo much indignation, that the people, who naturally ſuſpected this apparent inconſiſtency with his former ſentiments, and were

were particularly inflamed by the party, whoſe private deſigns made them earneſt to engage their countrymen in this expedition, were ſcarcely reſtrained from tearing the orator to pieces. Demoſthenes himſelf imputes this heat and violence to the latter cauſe. "You "may remember," ſaith he, in his oration on the Peace, "that "during the diſorders of Euboea, when certain perſons perſuaded "you to aſſiſt Plutarch, and to engage in an inglorious and expenſive "war, I was the firſt, the only one, who roſe up to oppoſe it; and "ſcarcely eſcaped their fury, who, for a trifling gain, were urging "you to many highly pernicious meaſures." But, although he thus affects to conſider this fury as the mere artifice of intrigue and corruption; yet it is certain, that any oppoſition to the paſſions and reigning ſentiments of the Athenians, was frequently received with impatience and reſentment: and never were they hurried on with greater ardor, than to this expedition. Men of diſtinction and eminence vied with each other in their zeal for the public ſervice. They were for ruſhing, all at once, into the iſland, till Phocion, who was appointed general, obliged them to be content with ſerving by turns. The orator Hyperides, who was bound to equip a ſingle veſſel, inſiſted on fitting out two; one on his own account, and one for his ſon. Niceratus, the ſon of Nicias, imbarked, notwithſtanding a lingering diſorder with which he was afflicted, and the recent loſs of his two children, which he then felt in all its force. Eretemon, Mantitheus, Euthydemus, Cleon, Ariſtocles, Pamphilus, all illuſtrious Athenians, fitted out their gallies: the three laſt commanded them; the others ranked with the cavalry, where Æſchines, of whom we ſhall hereafter ſpeak, and Demoſthenes alſo ſerved. Thus did this people, whoſe impreſſions were ever violent, and who always acted in extremes, ruſh on to an expedition calculated to ſerve the purpoſes of Philip.

Plutarch in Orat. Vit. p. 849.

Demoſth. in Midiam. p. 408.

Æſchin. de falſa Leg. Sect. 53. Dem. ut ſup.

THEIR forces landed at Eretria, where affairs appeared in a much worſe condition than had been imagined. The troops of Philip were ſo diſpoſed as to command every advantageous poſt. He had ſent

Plut. in Phocion.

ſent in but few Macedonians. The greateſt part of his force was formed of auxiliaries, who rather appeared to be employed and paid by Chalcis, than as mercenaries in the ſervice of Philip. With theſe was alſo joined a large body of Phocians, (though enemies of Macedon, and allies of Athens) engaged by ampler pay than they received at home: and Plutarch himſelf gave many indications of diſſaffection and treachery. Thoſe whom they came to relieve, were found equally corrupted, and equally the enemies of Athens with thoſe whom they were to engage. Thus was the ſnare diſcovered: but, happily, the abilities of their leader extricated them from the danger.

AEſchines in Cteſiph. Sect. 32.

THIS man would have done honour to the early and leaſt corrupted times of the Athenian ſtate. His manners were formed in the academy upon the models of the moſt exact and rigid virtue. It was ſaid, that no Athenian ever ſaw him laugh or weep, or deviate, in any inſtance, from the moſt ſettled gravity and compoſure. He learned the art of war under Chabrias: and frequently moderated the exceſſes, and corrected the errors, of that general: his humanity he admired and imitated; and taught him to exert it in a more extenſive and liberal manner. When he had received his directions to ſail, with twenty ſhips, to collect the contributions of the allies and dependent cities; "why that force?" ſaid Phocion, "if I am to "meet them as enemies, it is inſufficient: if I am ſent to friends "and allies, a ſingle veſſel will ſerve." He bore the ſeverities of a military life with ſo much eaſe, that, if Phocion ever appeared warmly cloathed, the ſoldiers at once pronounced it the ſign of a remarkably bad ſeaſon. His outward appearance was forbidding, but his converſation eaſy and obliging; and all his words and actions expreſſed the utmoſt affection and benevolence. In the popular aſſembly, his lively, cloſe, and natural manner of ſpeaking, ſeemed, as it were, the eccho of the ſimplicity and integrity of his mind: and had frequently a greater effect than even the dignity and energy of Demoſthenes; who

Plut. in Phocion.

who called him "the pruner of his periods." He ſtudied only good ſenſe and plain reaſoning, and deſpiſed every adventitious ornament. In an aſſembly, when he was to addreſs the people, he was ſurprized by a friend wrapped up in thought. "I am conſidering," ſaid he, "whether I cannot retrench ſome part of my intended "addreſs." He was ſenſible of the ill conduct of his countrymen, and ever treated them with the greateſt ſeverity. He defied their cenſures, and ſo far did he affect to deſpiſe their applauſe, that, at a time when his ſentiments extorted their approbation, he turned about, in ſurprize, and aſked a friend, "if any thing weak or im-"pertinent had eſcaped him." His ſenſe of the degeneracy of Athens made him fond of pacific meaſures. He ſaw the deſigns of Philip, but imagined that the ſtate was too corrupted to give him any effectual oppoſition. So that he was of the number of thoſe men, who, according to Demoſthenes, in his third Philippic oration, "gave up the intereſts of the ſtate, not corruptly or ignorantly, but "from a deſperate purpoſe of yielding to the fate of a conſtitution "thought to be irrecoverably loſt." He was, of conſequence, ever of the party oppoſite to Demoſthenes; and, having been taught by experience to ſuſpect the popular leaders, conſidered his earneſtneſs to rouſe the Athenians to arms, as an artifice to embroil the ſtate, and, by that means, to gain an influence in the aſſembly. "Pho-"cion!" ſaid Demoſthenes, "the people, in ſome mad fit, will "certainly ſacrifice thee to their fury." "Yes!" replied he, "and you "will be their victim, if ever they have an interval of reaſon." Yet they often prevailed on him to act againſt his judgment, though never to ſpeak againſt his conſcience. He never refuſed or declined the command, whatever might be his opinion of the expedition. Forty-five times was he choſen to lead their armies, generally in his abſence; and ever without the leaſt application. They knew his merit; and, in the hour of danger, forgot that ſeverity with which he uſually treated their inclinations and opinions.

THE preſent occaſion demanded all his abilities and addreſs. The pompous aſſurances of the aſſiſtance and concurrence of the Euboean ſtates had determined him to lead but a moderate number of forces into the iſland. He now ſaw the vanity of theſe expectations: nor were his ſoldiers duly obedient to military diſcipline. Immediately after the deſcent, numbers of his cavalry quitted him and diſperſed; but theſe he would, by no means, recal or wait for: "all that could "prove of real ſervice," he obſerved, "continued with him: the "mutinous and diſobedient would not only prove uſeleſs and un-"governable themſelves, but impede and corrupt others. And, as "they are conſcious of their own miſconduct, they will be the leſs "apt (ſaid he) to miſrepreſent or calumniate us at our return."

Plutarch. in Phocion.

THUS were the Euboeans much ſuperior in numbers, an inconvenience which Phocion determined, if poſſible, to remedy by the advantage of ſituation. The Euboeans are celebrated by Homer for their firm and cloſe manner of engaging. They valued themſelves on verifying this elogium; and, by a law, which Strabo mentions to have ſeen engraven on a column in the midſt of the iſland, forbad the uſe of miſſive weapons; which they never employed, at leaſt in their civil wars. This made Phocion chuſe for the ſituation of his camp, an eminence near the plain of Tamynas, which it was probable the enemy would occupy, and ſeparated from it by a piece of rough and rocky ground, incloſed with a deep ditch. Here he intrenched himſelf, and waited the approach of Callias, who incamped on the oppoſite plain, and exerted all his efforts to ſurround him. Some days he remained beſieged in his camp: the news was brought to Athens; and reinforcements were decreed. In the mean time the enemy prepared for a general aſſault. As they advanced, Phocion ordered his men to ſtand to their arms, while he himſelf went to ſacrifice: in which, either his religion, or artifice, engaged him for ſome time. His ſoldiers began to be impatient for the charge: but, as he obſerved on this or a like occaſion, "They could not then

Plutarch. in Phocion.

"make

"make him valiant, nor he make them wiſe." Plutarch, who probably ſaw his deſign, and was willing to defeat it, began to utter many inſinuations to the diſadvantage of the general's courage; and, in a pretended fit of zeal, charged the enemy himſelf at the head of the auxiliaries. When the cavalry ſaw this, they forgot the orders of their leader; ruſhed out without forming, and ſpurred on againſt the enemy. Plutarch's attack was weak and fallacious: he fled at once, and, falling back upon the horſe, ſpread terror and confuſion among them: ſeveral were killed, and the reſt reached the camp in the utmoſt diſorder. The Chalcidians, in their turn, purſued with a raſh and intemperate ardor: and, in full confidence of the victory, marched up boldly to the intrenchments, and began to level them. Phocion now put an end to his ſacrifice: the enemy was engaged in an uneven and diſadvantageous ground: he ſallied out with his infantry; made great havock among them; and quickly drove them to the plain they had at firſt occupied. Here he halted, to give time for his cavalry to rally: and, having collected round him the braveſt of his forces, fell furiouſly on the center of the Chalcidians. The fight was bloody and obſtinate, and Phocion in the utmoſt danger of being overpowered by numbers, when Cleophanes, a gallant Athenian, who, by this time, had formed the cavalry on a plain which had been uſed for a horſe courſe, charged the right wing of the enemy. This wing was quickly broken; the center gave way, and the victory was compleat. It was obſerved, that Demoſthenes was by no means the firſt to return to the charge. He was even accuſed as a deſerter of his rank. AEſchines indeed behaved with an intrepidity which was honoured and rewarded; and was appointed, by Phocion, to bring the news of this victory to Athens.

Plutarch. in Phocion. AEſchin. in Cteſiph. Sect. 32.

Demoſth. in Midiam. p. 399. AEſchin. de falſa Leg. Sect. 53.

THE conduct of Plutarch, in the late engagement, rendered him juſtly ſuſpected. And ſome further practices and intelligences, in which he was diſcovered, or the declaration and open avowal of his attachment

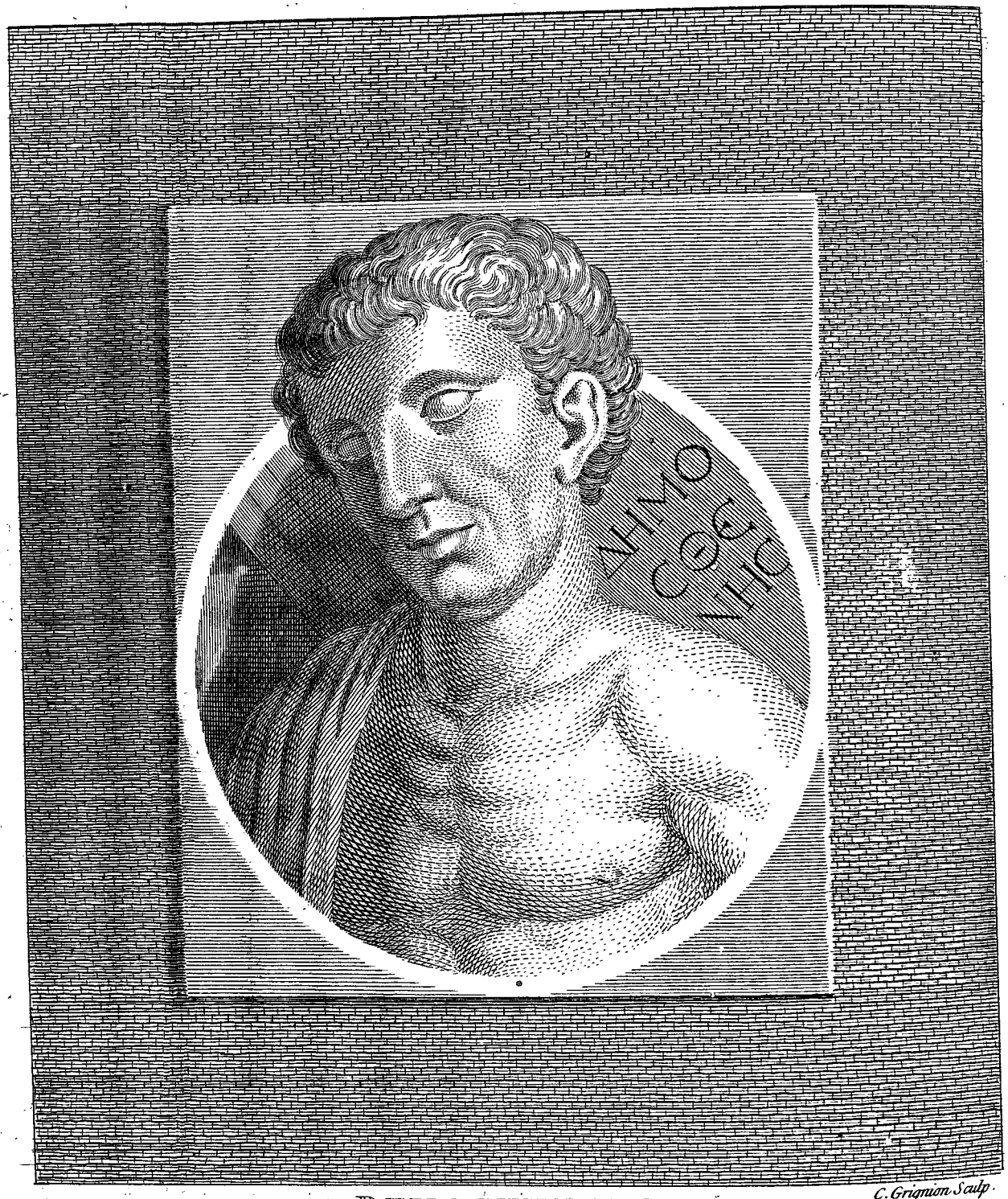
Plutarch. in Phocion.

attachment to the Macedonian intereſt, determined Phocion to treat him as an enemy. He drove him out of the iſland, and then proceeded to attack the fort of Zaratra, ſituated advantageouſly on that part of the iſland which projects, as it were, into an iſthmus, ſo as to command the ſea on each ſide. The garriſon ſurrendered, but Phocion would not ſuffer any one of the Greeks to be made a priſoner: "leſt the Athenians" ſaid he, "ſhould at ſome time be "inflamed by their popular leaders, and, in a ſudden fit of fury, "wreak their vengeance on them."

Demoſth. in Midiam. p. 408. Plutarch. in Phocion.

THUS had Philip the mortification to find his ſecret practices, for this time, ineffectual. The expedition ended to the immortal honour of the illuſtrious Athenian, who re-imbarked at Styra, with his victorious army; and, with all his ſhips collected and drawn up in order of battle, crowned with garlands, and inlivened by the ſound of flutes, with which the rowers kept time, entered the port of Athens, amidſt the joyful acclamations of his ſoldiers and fellow-citizens.

END of the FIRST VOLUME.



C. Grignion Sculp.

DEMOSTHENES.

ex Ciceronis sententia, oratorum Græcorum omnium facile princeps.

Marmor Tarracone inventum.

Apud veterum illustrium Philosophorum, Poetarum, Rhetorum, et Oratorum Imagines, a Io. Petro Bellorio. p. 79

THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE and REIGN OF PHILIP King of MACEDON; THE Father of ALEXANDER.

By THOMAS LELAND, D.D.
FELLOW of TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN.

VOL. II.

LONDON:
Printed by THOMAS HARRISON,
For W. JOHNSTON, in ST. PAUL'S CHURCH YARD.
MDCCLVIII.

THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE AND REIGN OF *PHILIP* KING of MACEDON.

BOOK III. SECTION I.

CONTENTS.

RUMOURS of a conſpiracy to dethrone Philip.—The Olynthians ſuſpected of ſharing in it.—Philip invades their territories.—They apply to Athens for aſſiſtance.—Firſt Olynthiac oration of Demoſthenes.—He is oppoſed by Demades.—Character of this leader.—Chares ſent to the relief of Olynthus.—The progreſs of the Macedonian arms.—Conſternation of the Olynthians.—They are defeated.—Send a ſecond ambaſſy to Athens.—The confuſion of the Athenians.—They ſend out a gally in queſt of Chares.—He returns.—His exploit, and triumph.—The Athenians elevated.—The ſecond Olynthiac oration of Demoſthenes.—New ſuccours ſent to Olynthus under the command of Charidemus.—The Olynthians again defeated.—They baniſh Apollonides.—Entruſt their cavalry to Euthycrates and Laſthenes.—The conduct of Charidemus.—The Olynthians once more ſollicit the Athenians.—The third Olynthiac oration of Demoſthenes.—The character of AEſchines.—He encourages the Athenians to take up arms, and to excite the ſtates of Greece, againſt Philip.—Siege of Olynthus continued.—Its cavalry betrayed.—Philip becomes maſter of the town.—Olynthus razed; and the inhabitants ſold.—Ariſtotle ſuſpected of cruelty.—Inſtance of Philip's condeſcenſion.—The Athenians affected by the misfortunes of the Olynthians.—Philip's behaviour to the traytors who had lately ſerved him.—His two natural brothers put to death.—Philip celebrates games in honour of the muſes.—The humanity of Satyrus.—Philip carries on a pyratical war againſt Athens.—Practiſes ſecretly in Euboea.—The defeat of Moloſſus.—Overtures for an accommodation between Athens and Macedon.—Agreeable to the Athenians.—

Ariſtodemus and Neoptolemus ſent to Pella.—The Athenians again inflamed by AEſchines.—Their heat allayed by the arrival of Phrynon.—Philocrates moves the aſſembly to enter into a treaty with Philip.—His motion ſupported by Demoſthenes.—Probable reaſons for this conduct.—Stratocles and Eucratus confirm the people in their favourable ſentiments of Philip.—Ten ambaſſadors appointed to treat about a peace.

THE LIFE and REIGN OF PHILIP King of MACEDON.

BOOK the THIRD.

SECTION I.

DURING the diſorders of Euboea, the kingdom of Macedon was alarmed by a conſpiracy, formed (as was ſuppoſed) by Archelaus, Aridaeus, and Menelaus, three natural ſons of Amyntas, to dethrone Philip, and to divide the kingdom between them. It doth not appear probable, that an attempt of this nature could have really been made againſt a prince, ſurrounded with large armies, ſtrengthened by alliances, and admired and beloved by his ſubjects: yet the danger was induſtriouſly magnified by Philip and his creatures. Archelaus was ſeized, and, according to the cuſtom of Macedon, condemned to death by the army. Aridaeus and Menelaus had taken refuge in Olynthus; ſuſpicions ſeem to have been fomented of this ſtate, as ſharing deeply in the conſpiracy; and an indignation to have been artfully raiſed, againſt a people who could thus baſely join in deſigns againſt their ally, their friend, and benefactor. Olivier Vol. 2. p. 1. Juſtin L. 8. C. 3.

The diſpoſitions which they had already diſcovered, the jealouſy and hatred which they had already expreſſed of Philip, muſt have given ſome credit to ſuch repreſentations; and that prince well knew how to improve every circumſtance, and to find the faireſt and moſt plauſible pretences for his deſigns.

OLYNTHUS was now much more powerful than ever. When Lacedemon came, with all her force, to fall on the Olynthian territories, the ſtate commanded but five thouſand foot, and four hundred horſe. Ten thouſand foot, and one thouſand horſe, was now the force of Olynthus: and its dominions were enlarged and ſtrengthened by the conceſſions made by Philip in the infancy of his reign. But the Macedonian had taken care to render all their power ineffectual. The Olynthians ſaw ſeveral of their citizens grown rich and great, in a manner quite unaccountable; their poſſeſſions were enlarged; they raiſed ſtately houſes; and diſplayed their affluence and magnificence. This was the price at which they ſold their integrity to the enemy of their country: yet were their fellow-citizens ſo infatuated, as to grant them the confidence and reſpect, due only to riches acquired by merit and honeſt induſtry. Thus did corruption prepare the way to their deſtruction: and then was the time for Philip's attack. He demanded that his two brothers ſhould be ſurrendered to him. The Olynthians, either convinced of their innocence, or thinking themſelves bound to protect them from the conſequences of an attempt which they themſelves had encouraged, refuſed abſolutely to give them up: and, to ſupport his demand, Philip led his forces directly into their territories.

Dem. de fal. Leg. Sect. 75.

Olymp. 107. Y. 4.

THE firſt appearance of their danger determined the Olynthians to diſpatch ambaſſadors to Athens, to cement that friendſhip, which their mutual intereſts had already formed; and to engage the people to enter into that ſtrict alliance, which might oblige them to ſend aſſiſtance to the Olynthians, againſt an enemy they were equally concerned to oppoſe. Philip's preſent invaſion had raiſed the ferment and confuſion at Athens, natural to a people, whoſe inquiſitive diſpoſitions had ever rendered

rendered them attentive to the motions of their rival; though their indolence and ſupineneſs kept them from oppoſing or preventing them. A war between theſe two neighbouring powers, which had been long the object of their wiſhes, as the only means of confining Philip's views to his own kingdom, had now happened: and an aſſembly was convened to deliberate on the meaſures proper to be taken in conſequence of this event. The ambaſſadors were introduced and heard; and moſt of the eminent ſpeakers delivered their opinions on this important occaſion. At length Demoſthenes aroſe, and ſupported the demands of Olynthus, in the firſt of thoſe which are called Olynthiac orations. Dem. Olyn. 2. Sect. 4. Tourreil Sommaire Olyn. 1.

ADDRESS and energy are equally conſpicuous in this performance. He begins with congratulating his countrymen on an event ſo agreeable to their views, and favourable to their intereſts. But let us attend to the orator himſelf, in his remarkably delicate and fine exordium. "In "many inſtances (Athenians!) have the Gods, in my opinion, mani- "feſtly declared their favour to this ſtate: nor is it leaſt obſervable in "this preſent juncture. For that an enemy ſhould ariſe againſt Philip, "on the very confines of his kingdom, of no inconſiderable power; "and, what is of moſt importance, ſo determined upon the war, that "they conſider any accommodation with him, firſt, as inſidious; next, "as the downfal of their country: this ſeems no leſs than the gra- "cious interpoſition of heaven itſelf. It muſt, therefore, be our care, "(Athenians!) that we ourſelves may not fruſtrate this goodneſs. For "it muſt reflect diſgrace, nay, the fouleſt infamy, upon us, if we ap- "pear to have thrown away, not thoſe ſtates and territories only which "we once commanded, but thoſe alliances and favourable incidents "which fortune hath provided for us."

THE greatneſs of Philip's power, and the continued courſe of his ſucceſſes, were the conſiderations which principally diſpirited the Athenians, and poſſibly were urged with too much force by the ſpeakers which had before appeared. Theſe he therefore repreſents in ſuch a manner, as to convince them of the neceſſity of oppoſing him, and, at the

the ſame time, to encourage them to the attempt. Corruption and artifice are the cauſes to which he aſcribes his elevation. All thoſe whom he deceived, and made the inſtruments of his power, are now convinced of his inſincerity; and ready to unite, and to reduce him to his original condition. No acquiſitions, no advantages, can ſecure him from the fatal effects of this combination. "For when forces "join in harmony and affection, and one common intereſt unites the "confederating powers, then they ſhare the toils with alacrity, they "endure the diſtreſſes, they perſevere. But when extravagant ambition, "and lawleſs power, (as in his caſe) have aggrandized a ſingle perſon; "the firſt pretence, the ſlighteſt accident, overthrows him; and all his "greatneſs is daſhed at once to the ground. For it is not, no Athe-"nians, it is not poſſible to found a laſting power upon injuſtice, perfidy, "and treachery. Theſe may perhaps ſucceed for once; and borrow "for a while, from hope, a gay and flouriſhing appearance. But time "betrays their weakneſs; and they fall into ruin of themſelves. For "as, in ſtructures of every kind, the lower parts ſhould have the greateſt "firmneſs; ſo the grounds and principles of actions ſhould be juſt "and true. But theſe advantages are not found in the actions of "Philip."

He therefore recommends to them to diſpatch immediate and effectual ſuccours to the Olynthians; to ſend ambaſſadors to animate and encourage the Theſſalians in their diſpoſitions which had lately appeared, and which, he ſtill inſiſts, were utterly unfavourable to Philip; and to inforce their remonſtrances by their own vigour and activity. Such a conduct, he declares, could not fail to bring down that ruin upon Philip, which he repreſents as juſt impending, and ready to cruſh him: in which his allies, his ſubjects, his ſoldiers, his exceſſes, his jealouſy, and envy, his inſatiable ambition, and even his victories, all conſpired to involve him. To the Athenians, and to their miſconduct, to the abuſes and corruptions which had crept into the adminiſtration, and to theſe only, he imputes the ſucceſſes of their enemy. Some of theſe corruptions

tions he displays at large; others he hints at with sufficient severity; and concludes with inforcing the necessity of a thorough reformation.

DEMOSTHENES was vigorously opposed by Demades, a popular leader, then of considerable figure. I here take the liberty of transcribing the character of this leader, as I have represented it on another occasion: "He was a man, who, by birth and education, seemed "destined to meanness and obscurity: but, as the Athenian assembly ad- "mitted persons of all ranks and occupations to speak their sentiments, "his powers soon recommended him to his countrymen; and raised "him, from the low condition of a common mariner, to the ad- "ministration and direction of public affairs. His private life was "stained with those brutal excesses, which frequently attend the want "of early culture, and an intercourse with the inferior and least refined "part of mankind. His conduct, as a leader and minister, was not "actuated by the principles of delicate honour and integrity: and his "eloquence seems to have received a tincture from his original condi- "tion. He appears to have been a strong, bold, and what we call a "blunt speaker; whose manner, rude and daring, and sometimes bor- "dering on extravagance, had oftentimes a greater effect than the "more corrected style of other speakers, who confined themselves "within the bounds of decorum and good breeding."

Philochorus in Dionys. Epist. ad Amm.

Pref. to Transl. of the Phil. Orations.

WHATEVER might have been the motive of his opposition on the present occasion, whether a sincere and disinterested difference of sentiment, or, which is more probable, the secret influence of Macedonian gold, his opposition was in a good measure ineffectual: for the Athenians were so far affected by the eloquence and force of Demosthenes, that they decreed to send two thousand men, and thirty ships, to the assistance of Olynthus. But, unhappily, these forces were composed of foreigners and mercenaries, and commanded by Chares, who, notwithstanding what may have been said by Demosthenes to palliate his misconduct, was undoubtedly a disgrace to his country, and to the military

Plutarch in Apophth. military character: fitter to be employed, as Timotheus obſerved, to carry the baggage, than to command an army.

WHILE the Athenians were thus employed in debating and forming decrees and reſolutions, Philip was in the field, and acting with all imaginable vigour. No ſooner had this prince entered the Chalcidian region, than the commanders of every town were ready to receive his bribes, and to open their gates to him. The fortreſs of Gira was firſt taken and razed; and then his march was directed to Stagira. The inhabitants, who were trained to war, attempted to ſtop the progreſs of his arms: but the place was ſoon taken by ſtorm; thoſe who eſcaped the ſword were reduced to ſlavery; and the town razed to the foundations. The neighbouring cities were either corrupted or intimidated, and opened their gates. Miciberna, a town ſituated on the Toronäic gulph, was ſo well provided and fortified, that it appeared capable of holding out a conſiderable time. But the corruption of the governor ſaved Philip the tedioufneſs and trouble of a ſiege. Toronè, a maritime city, whoſe citadel was joined by ſtrong walls to the ſea, had ſoon the ſame fate; and, poſſibly, on this occaſion it might have been, that Philip, when the ſtrength of the place was repreſented to him, aſked that memorable queſtion, "Cannot a mule, "laden with money, find acceſs to it?"

Demoſt. de falſa Leg. Sect. 75.

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 52.

Ib. Sect. 53.

ALL this time the Athenian ſuccours were expected in vain. They had ſailed; but how their courſe had been directed, was a matter totally unknown. The Olynthian cities were almoſt all ſubdued, or purchaſed with ſo much eaſe, that Philip, as Demoſthenes obſerves, could not often advance faſt enough to accept of all the invitations of traytors, contending who ſhould be the ſpeedieſt to take his pay, and betray their truſt; and was frequently at a loſs to determine, which of them he ſhould firſt gratify. The capital city was now threatened with a ſiege; and the general terror and conſternation, as well as the ſtrength of the invader, ſeems to have been duly weighed, and to have prompted the

AEſchin. de fal. Leg. Sect. 24.

Dem. de falſa Leg. ut ſupra.

the Olynthians to attempt an accommodation: at leaſt, by offering a treaty, to gain ſome reſpite of the preſent danger; and, if poſſible, to amuſe the enemy, till ſuccours ſhould arrive. But it was in vain to hope to deceive the penetration of Philip. He knew how to retort this artifice upon themſelves; and, by affecting ſome attention to their overtures, to render his attentions doubtful for a while: ſtill, however, continuing his approaches; till at laſt, when he had advanced within forty ſtadia of Olynthus, he took off the maſk; avowed his reſolutions of for ever preventing his enemies from forming any connexions with this ſtate, which might embarraſs or diſtreſs him; and declared explicitly, that either the Olynthians muſt quit their territories, or he could not reign in Macedon. Dem. Phil. 3. Sect. 4. Ibid.

THIS people had long ſuſpected, but now received a terrifying proof, that he meditated no leſs than their final ruin and ſubverſion. Vigour and reſolution were the only means left to ſave them. They collected their own forces, with whom they united thoſe which their neighbours could afford, and determined to try their fortune in the field. They fought bravely; and their cavalry, in particular, diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their gallant conduct. But they were defeated, and ſhut up within their walls: and, while the victor was preparing for a vigorous ſiege, ambaſſadors were again ſent to Athens, to repreſent the deſperate condition of Olynthus, and to urge the neceſſity of ſupporting that ſtate againſt the Macedonian arms. Dem. de falſa Leg. ut ſupra. Diod. Sic. Lib. 16. Sect. 53.

HERE were again raiſed that tumult and confuſion, which the news of Philip's victories uſually occaſioned. Their general, their army, their fleet, they had no accounts of: their allies were not only left unprotected, but their ſettlements and dependent towns in Thrace, particularly in the Cherſoneſus, were invaded and harraſſed by the Macedonians. They were alſo alarmed AEſchin. de fal. Leg. Sect. 24.

with intimations of a treaſonable correſpondence carried on within their city, by which Philip was ſecretly ſupplied with arms, and all neceſſaries for his fleet. At the motion of Timarchus, a popular leader, and zealous oppoſer of the Macedonian intereſt, they iſſued out a decree, denouncing ſentence of death againſt all ſuch infamous practices: and loudly clamoured againſt Chares, whoſe neglect, or treachery, had thus diſtreſſed his country. The moſt ſtrenuous partizans of this commander held down their heads in confuſion: and, to allay the preſent ferment, Cephiſophon, one of his moſt intimate friends, was now obliged to move, that Antiochus, who commanded thoſe gallies which were uſually ſent out with advices, ſhould immediately ſet ſail, and ſeek out this chief, to whom the Athenians had entruſted their fleet; and, when found, ſhould inform him, that the Athenian people were highly ſurprized, that Philip ſhould be ſuffered to invade their dependent ſettlements, while they themſelves were totally ignorant what courſe their admiral had taken; where he was now ſtationed; or in what manner he had diſpoſed of his forces.

Dem. de fal. Leg. Sect. 80, 81.

AEſchin. ut ſupra.

BUT he himſelf now brought the news of his own exploits, as we find them recorded in thoſe fragments of Theopompus, which Athenaeus hath preſerved. Inſtead of oppoſing the attempts againſt Olynthus; inſtead of protecting any of the Athenian ſettlements; he had contented himſelf with making a deſcent on the coaſt of Pallenè, where he met thoſe eight hundred men, who were called Philip's friends, and who have been already deſcribed, headed by one Audaeus. On theſe he fell with all his force, and ſoon put them to flight. He was now returned in triumph to Athens; and, in honour of this illuſtrious victory, gave a public entertainment, on which he expended no leſs than ſixty talents, which he had exacted from the Phocians. The people, who judged of the importance of the exploit, by the manner in which it was celebrated, imagined, that their general muſt have given Philip ſome very fatal

Athen. L. 12. p. 534.

fatal blow: and the aſſembly, now convened to conſider the demands of Olynthus, breathed nothing but contempt and indignation at Philip's preſent enterprizes, and vain and extravagant menaces of revenge and chaſtiſement. Dem. Olyn. 2. Sect. 1.

SUCH were their diſpoſitions, when Demoſthenes appeared, and addreſſed the aſſembly, in the ſecond of the Olynthiac orations. He begins, on this occaſion, with correcting the vanity and confidence of his countrymen; he rouſes them, by the terror of impending danger, and affects to conſider the defence of Olynthus as the laſt and only means of preſerving the very being of Athens. They were now engaged in an alliance with Olynthus; and there could be no doubt of the neceſſity of fulfilling their engagements: but how to be inabled was the great queſtion. By the original conſtitution of Athens, every citizen, without diſtinction, was obliged to ſerve perſonally in the field, until he had arrived at the age of forty years. No ſtation, circumſtances, or character, could poſſibly be pleaded as an excuſe: but all, without diſtinction, men of eminence, men who had been dignified by public offices, philoſophers, whoſe lives were devoted to contemplation, to the acquiſition and propagation of knowledge, gloried in the faithful diſcharge of the ſacred duty which they owed to their country, and in the reſolution and bravery with which they fought its battles, even in the ſtation of private ſoldiers. We find Plato (in his apology) boaſting of the military proweſs of his maſter Socrates: and his own actions in the field have not wanted the due applauſe of hiſtory. But new decrees had now been made, and new cuſtoms introduced, by which men of wealth and intereſt were inabled to procure an exemption from military duties; ſo that it was become exceedingly difficult to raiſe an army compoſed of Athenian citizens: while a ſenſeleſs profuſion at home, and ill concerted and unſucceſsful expeditions abroad, had, by this time, almoſt intirely exhauſted their finances. The weight of public expences began to be univerſally complained of; and Tourreil Not. in Phil. 1. p. 271.

ſome attempts ſeem to have been made to put an end to that ſhameful miſapplication of their treaſure to the ſupport of theatrical entertainments. Apollodorus, in particular, a wiſe and public-ſpirited Athenian, propoſed to the aſſembly, as we learn from * Demoſthenes, that this important affair ſhould be duly weighed; and that they ſhould conſider of the expediency of applying the redundancies of their treaſury, according to the original intent, to the ſupport of their armies. But all ſuch attempts were now effectually fruſtrated; for Eubulus, a popular leader, who ſought to gain an intereſt and influence in the aſſembly, by flattering the vices and follies of his countrymen, had lately prevailed to have a law paſſed, by which it was pronounced a capital offence for any man to propoſe a decree for the alienation of the theatrical money. Thus was every honeſt counſellor reduced to the melancholy alternative, of either paſſing over in ſilence ſo ſcandalous and pernicious an abuſe, or of ſacrificing his life to his ſincerity and integrity.

* In Neaer. Initio.

Liban. Ulp. in Olyn. 2.

THESE were the great difficulties, with which Demoſthenes was now to ſtruggle: and his perſonal ſafety obliged him to treat this latter point with the exacteſt caution. "Appoint magiſtrates," ſaith he, "for the inſpection of your laws; not to enact any new laws; "you have already a ſufficient number; but to repeal thoſe, whoſe "ill effects you now experience. I mean the laws relating to the "theatrical funds (thus openly I declare it) and ſome about the "ſoldiery. By the firſt, the ſoldier's pay goes, as theatrical ex-"pences, to the uſeleſs and inactive; the others ſcreen thoſe from "juſtice, who decline the ſervice of the field, and thus damp the "ardor of thoſe diſpoſed to ſerve us. When you have repealed "theſe, and rendered it conſiſtent with ſafety to adviſe you juſtly, "then ſeek for ſome perſon to propoſe that decree, which you are "all ſenſible the common good requires. But, till this be done, "expect not that any man will urge your true intereſt, when, for "urging your true intereſt, you repay him with deſtruction. Ye "will

" will never find ſuch zeal: eſpecially ſince the conſequence can be
" only this; he who offers his opinion, and moves for your con-
" currence, ſuffers ſome unmerited calamity: but your affairs are not
" in the leaſt advanced; nay, this additional inconvenience muſt
" ariſe, that, for the future, it will appear more dangerous to ad-
" viſe you, than even at preſent. And the authors of theſe laws
" ſhould alſo be the authors of their repeal. For it is not juſt that
" the public favour ſhould be beſtowed on them, who, in framing
" theſe laws, have greatly injured the community; and that the
" odium ſhould fall on him, whoſe freedom and ſincerity are of
" important ſervice to us all.—Until theſe regulations be made,
" you muſt not think any man ſo great, that he may violate thoſe
" laws with impunity; or ſo devoid of reaſon, as to plunge himſelf
" into open and foreſeen deſtruction."

In the progreſs of this ſpeech, he draws a contraſt between the ancient and preſent ſtate of Athens; between the conduct of former times and that of his cotemporaries; which, as it ſets the corruptions of their ſtate in the cleareſt point of view, deſerves to be inſerted at large.

" And here (ſaith the orator) let me intreat your attention to
" a ſummary account of the conduct of your anceſtors, and of
" your own. I ſhall mention but a few things, and theſe well
" known: (for, if you would purſue the way to happineſs, you need
" not look abroad for leaders; our own countrymen point it out.)
" Theſe our anceſtors, therefore, whom the orators never courted,
" never treated with that indulgence, with which you are flattered,
" held the ſovereignty of Greece, with general conſent, five and forty
" years; depoſited above ten thouſand talents in our public treaſury;
" kept the king of this country in that ſubjection, which a barbarian
" owes to Greeks; erected monuments of many and illuſtrious
" actions, which they themſelves atchieved, by land and ſea; in a

" word,

" word, are the only perſons who have tranſmitted to poſterity " ſuch glory as is ſuperior to envy. Thus great do they appear in " the affairs of Greece. Let us now view them within the city, " both in their public and private conduct. And, firſt, the edifices " which their adminiſtrations have given us, their decorations of our " temples, and the offerings which they depoſited, are ſo numerous, " and ſo magnificent, that all the efforts of poſterity cannot exceed " them. Then, in private life, ſo exemplary was their moderation, " their adherence to the ancient manners ſo ſcrupulouſly exact, that, " if any of you ever diſcovered the houſe of Ariſtides, or Miltiades, " or any of the illuſtrious men of thoſe times, he muſt allow, that " it was not diſtinguiſhed by the leaſt extraordinary ſplendor. For " they did not ſo conduct the public buſineſs, as to aggrandize " themſelves; their ſole great object was to exalt the ſtate. " And thus, by their faithful attachment to Greece, by their piety " to the gods, and by that equality which they maintained among " themſelves, they were raiſed (and no wonder) to the ſummit of " proſperity.

" SUCH was the ſtate of Athens at that time, when the men I " have mentioned were in power. But what is your condition, " under thoſe indulgent miniſters who now direct us? is it the ſame, " or nearly the ſame?——Other things I ſhall paſs over, though I " might expatiate on them. Let it only be obſerved, that we " are now, as you all ſee, left without competitors; the Lacedaemo- " nians loſt; the Thebans engaged at home; and not one of all the " other ſtates of conſequence ſufficient to diſpute the ſovereignty " with us. Yet at a time, when we might have enjoyed our own " dominions in ſecurity, and have been the umpires in all diſputes " abroad; our territories have been wreſted from us; we have ex- " pended above one thouſand five hundred talents to no purpoſe; " the allies, which we gained in war, have been loſt in time of " peace; and to this degree of power have we raiſed up an enemy

" againſt

" againſt ourſelves. (For let the man ſtand forth, who can ſhew " whence Philip has derived his greatneſs, if not from us.)"

In the concluſion, he once more hints at the expediency of paying their ſoldiers with the money now deſtined to the uſe of the theatre; ſtill guarding againſt any formal motion or propoſal. And, to treat this affair with ſtill greater delicacy, he ſuggeſts another method of eluding the force of Eubulus's law: and that is, that theſe theatrical diſtributions ſhould be ſtill continued; but that all thoſe, who were in the ſervice of the public, and who uſually received their ſeveral appointments, ſhould now diſcharge their reſpective duties, without pay, fee, or reward; ſo that the name only of theſe diſtributions would have in that caſe remained.

But however the Athenians might have indulged or approved of the liberty, with which Demoſthenes cenſured their conduct, and inforced their real intereſt, they yet could not prevail on themſelves to ſacrifice their darling entertainments to their glory and ſecurity. They, however, granted to the Olynthians a reinforcement of four thouſand foreign infantry, and one hundred and fifty horſe, under the command of Charidemus. This general began with ravaging Bottia, a territory on the confines of Chalcis, which, among other towns, contained Pella, the capital of Macedon; and then threw his forces into Olynthus. Encouraged by theſe ſuccours, the inhabitants hazarded another battle, but were received with the bravery and vigour uſual to the Macedonians, and drove back to their city with conſiderable loſs. In theſe two battles, which Philip had now fought with the Olynthians, Apollonides, the commander of their cavalry, a man of eminence, and friend to the Athenians, who had honoured him with the freedom of their city, ſeems to have had diſcovered ſuch abilities and valour, as threatened to retard his progreſs. He knew the value of a brave, judicious, and faithful officer; and judged it neceſſary to deprive his enemies of ſo important an acquiſition.

Philochorus in Dionyſ. Epiſ. ad Amm.

Diod. Sic. Lib. 16. Sect. 53.

Demoſth. in Neaer.

quiſition. His gold had already gained a conſiderable party within the walls of Olynthus, by whoſe malicious practices, and factious clamours, the Olynthians were fatally deceived, and made to entertain ſuſpicions of the integrity of Apollonides. Blinded by prejudice, and inflamed and deceived by infamous arts, they liſtened readily to one of Philip's creatures, who was employed to accuſe him publicly; baniſhed their zealous and honeſt general, and unhappily were prevailed on to confer his command upon Euthycrates and Laſthenes, two corrupted and abandoned traytors, who had ſold themſelves, and their country, to Philip. Such was the madneſs of the many: and ſo falſe and dangerous a teſt of real merit doth popularity frequently prove.

Dem. Phil. 3. Sect. 12.

THE forces of Charidemus, at the ſame time, proved uſeleſs and contemptible; and their general diſtinguiſhed himſelf only by his inſolence and debauchery. At every meal, according to his cuſtom, he drank to a ſcandalous exceſs; and publicly inſulted the ladies of Olynthus by his brutality. He was even ſo inſolent and abandoned, as to demand that the ſenate of Olynthus ſhould procure for him a beautiful youth, a captive then in the town, as a reward for his pretended ſervices.

Theop. in Athen. L. 10. p. 436.

THE Olynthians, thus unhappily circumſtanced, were obliged to apply once more to Athens, and to deſire a reinforcement, compoſed of citizens animated with a ſincere ardor for their intereſt, their own glory, and the common cauſe. Demoſthenes was ſtill their ſtrenuous advocate, and, on this occaſion, pronounced the third Olynthiac oration. The ſame motives to vigour and reſolution, the ſame animated expoſtulations and remonſtrances, are urged in this performance, with new force and energy. The ſum of the orator's advice is this: to ſend immediate ſuccours to Olynthus, and theſe formed of citizens; to make, at the ſame time, a diverſion in Macedon; and to diſpatch ambaſſadors through Greece, to notify

tify theſe their reſolutions, to remove all ill impreſſions, which their former miſconduct (aggravated and inforced by Philip's repreſentations) might have made on the ſeveral ſtates, and to inſpire them with the glorious reſolution of uniting againſt the common enemy. He again reſumes the conſideration of the theatrical money, but with ſtill greater caution and reſerve. In this addreſs, critics have remarked, with pleaſure and approbation, the different pictures which he draws of Philip, for the different purpoſes of alarming and encouraging his hearers. At firſt he is politic, vigilant, and intrepid; he has riſen gradually to the higheſt pitch of power; and is now ready to appear before the walls of Athens, if not inſtantly oppoſed. Then, leſt their minds might be too ſtrongly affected by the danger, he is repreſented in a manner totally different. His power is by no means real or ſolid; his allies are ready to revolt; his kingdom is threatened with war and deſolation; and he is juſt ready to be cruſhed by the firſt vigorous effort made to diſtreſs him. But as confidence and ſecurity were the fatal extremes, to which his hearers were the moſt inclined, he ſeems to have dreaded the danger of dwelling too long on this repreſentation, and concludes with the dreadful image of a formidable enemy ravaging their territory, and ſhutting them up within their walls.

Tourreil. Som. Olyn. 3.

Rollin. Hiſt. Phil.

WAR now became the favourite topic at Athens: and AEſchines, among others, loudly declared for it. This popular leader, as yet uncorrupted by the gold of Macedon, had that influence in the aſſembly, which was uſually acquired by eloquence and abilities. His father had been baniſhed by the thirty tyrants, which Lacedaemon had impoſed on Athens, when Lyſander made her miſtreſs of that ſtate: and his fortune, in theſe times of diſorder, was conſiderably impaired. The earlier years of the ſon were ſpent in the leſs honourable occupations: but he had thoſe powers and accompliſhments, which ſoon raiſed him from his ſtate of obſcurity. As an orator, "his ſtyle was full, diffuſive, and ſonorous. He was a ſtranger to "the

Plutarch, in Vit. Orat.

Pref. to Tran. of Philippic Orations.

"the glowing expreſſions, and daring figures, of Demoſthenes, "which he treats with contempt and ridicule. But, though more "ſimple, he is leſs affecting: and, by being leſs contracted, has not "ſo much ſtrength and energy. Or, as Quinctilian expreſſes it, "carnis plus habet, lacertorum minus. But, if we would view his "abilities to the greateſt advantage, we muſt not compare them with "thoſe of his rival; then will his figures appear to want neither "beauty nor grandeur. His eaſy and natural manner will then be "thought highly pleaſing: and a juſt attention will diſcover a good "degree of force and energy in his ſtyle, which, at firſt, appears "only flowing and harmonious."

ON the preſent occaſion, he mounted the gallery, from whence the public ſpeakers addreſſed the aſſembly, and vehemently urged the abſolute neceſſity of vigorous and active meaſures. He produced one Iſeander a player, a man not likely to be heard with the leſs favour, on account of his profeſſion, to inform them of the practices of Philip in Arcadia, of which he had been lately witneſs; of his induſtry and artifice in forming an intereſt there; and of the zeal and courage with which AEſchines had oppoſed his partizans. He expatiated on theſe and all the other dangerous deſigns of Philip, and inveighed, with great ſeverity, againſt the indolence and inſenſibility of his countrymen. He recalled all the glory of their anceſtors to their view; and inſiſted on the neceſſity of acting worthy of the ſtate, and worthy of the ſovereigns and protectors of Greece. He urged them to ſend out their emiſſaries even into the moſt diſtant regions of the earth, to raiſe up enemies againſt this aſpiring and ſubtle prince. He then ſummoned the youth of Athens to the temple conſecrated to Agraulas, one of the daughters of Cecrops; and there engaged them, by a ſolemn oath, to conſider Philip as their implacable enemy. Thus were hoſtilities declared in form on the part of Athens. Eubulus himſelf drew up a decree, whereby it was enacted, that deputies ſhould be ſent to the ſeveral ſtates of Greece, to engage them.

Dem. de falſa Leg. Sect. 5.

Sect. 84.

them in a common league againſt the Macedonian. AEſchines was commiſſioned to go for this purpoſe into Arcadia. Two thouſand foot, and three hundred horſe, all Athenian citizens, with ſeventeen ſhips of war, and tranſports, were granted for the relief of Olynthus. But unfortunately the command was again intruſted to Chares. His diſſolute and abandoned manners rendered him the ſcorn of his enemy: his avidity and extortion made him hated and dreaded by the allies: but the large ſums of money, which he uſually exacted from theſe latter, inabled him to pay a number of popular leaders, who ſupported his intereſt in the aſſembly, and ſcreened him from all the conſequences of his miſconduct. Philochor. in Dionyſ. Epiſt. ad Amm.

PHILIP, in the mean time, vigorouſly puſhed on the ſiege of Olynthus. Some ſallies were made, in which the beſieged ſeemed to have the advantage, as Euthycrates and Laſthenes, the two new commanders of their cavalry, concealed their treacherous intelligence with Philip by theſe ſucceſſes, which were in reality concerted. They at length marched out, at the head of five hundred horſe, to attack one of the enemy's poſts. The Macedonians fled at the firſt onſet; and they abandoned themſelves to the purſuit: thus leading their troops into the ambuſh which had been before prepared for them. They now found themſelves ſurrounded by a numerous force, and the whole body of horſe was obliged to lay down their arms, and to ſurrender priſoners of war. Dem. de fal. Leg. Sect. 75.

THIS body had been of conſiderable ſervice to the Olynthians. It had been employed in cutting off convoys, and making various excurſions into the adjacent diſtricts, as the Macedonians had not been able to ſurround the town intirely. This fatal loſs therefore, together with the traiterous correſpondence carried on within the town, ſoon opened the gates, and made Philip compleat maſter of Olynthus [A]. Oliv. Vol. 2. p. 22. Olymp. 108. Y. 1.

THE particulars of the art and addreſs by which the two principal traitors recommended themſelves to the attention and confidence of their countrymen; the manner

THE inhabitants, who had but juſt now enjoyed a conſiderable ſhare of power, riches, and magnificence, were, in a moment, reduced to the abject and miſerable condition of ſlaves. Their beautiful and ſtately edifices were demoliſhed; and their city, whoſe elegance and ſituation were celebrated through Greece, was now razed to the foundations. Spectators looked on with grief and commiſeration, and the news was every-where received with indignation and ſurpriſe. "Hath Philip deſtroyed Olynthus," ſaid a witneſs of this melancholy event: "He himſelf never raiſed ſuch "a city." But the mind, poſſeſſed with an inſatiable ambition, cannot attend to the ſollicitations of its more humane and benevolent affections. His ſchemes of greatneſs demanded the total ruin of this ſtate: and to ſuch ſchemes the conquerors and ſcourges of mankind are ever known to make all other conſiderations yield.

Thucyd. L. 1.

Plut. de Ira cohibenda. p. 558.

THE whole body of Olynthians, without diſtinction, without regard to condition, ſex, or age, was now ſet up to public auction, and ſold to any of the Greeks that were inclined to purchaſe. Philip was preſent at this ſale, where Ariſtotle, the philoſopher, is accuſed of aſſiſting and aggravating the misfortunes of a people, with whom he had lived in friendſhip, by pointing out the richeſt of the inhabitants, and inſtructing Philip to extort that treaſure which they might have concealed in this public diſtreſs, and to demand exorbitant ranſoms. An Olynthian, who was going to be ſet up among others, loudly demanded his liberty, declaring, that he was a friend of the king, and deſiring to be brought near him, that he might approve what he aſſerted. Philip ordered him to advance, and the man begged him, in a whiſper, to let fall the ſkirt of his robe, for

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 53.

Euſeb. Praep. Ev. Lib. 15. 2. p. 792.

Plut. in Apoph.

ner in which they conducted their infamous deſign; and the circumſtances of their betraying the town to the beſieger; might have probably been worthy of being exactly and minutely recorded. But theſe, and many other particulars relative to the tranſactions of Philip, which might have afforded leſſons of inſtruction, highly uſeful and important, are unhappily loſt to poſterity; or, at moſt, but imperfectly related, or alluded to by the Athenian orators.

that,

that, at preſent, he was expoſed in a manner quite indecent. The king entered into this pleaſantry with the utmoſt condeſcenſion and good humour. "Right, !" ſaid he, "the man is my friend, though "I did not know it. Let him be ſet at liberty." [B]

THE news of theſe tranſactions was received at Athens with ſhame and ſorrow. The ambition and cruelty of Philip now raiſed their utmoſt indignation; and the misfortunes of their allies, now when it was too late, awakened all their ſentiments of humanity. Thoſe few inhabitants, who eſcaped the general ruin, they received, and treated with the utmoſt tenderneſs. They condemned Euthymachus, one of their own citizens, to death, who had abuſed an Olynthian woman with the licence which maſters uſurped over the ſlaves of that ſex. When Chares appeared, and offered to render an account of his conduct, they refuſed to hear him; and, on this occaſion, he was told by Cephiſodotus, that "he had too long held "the people under his abſolute ſubjection, whom he now inſulted "by this pretended candor and readineſs to account for his "actions." They endeavoured to make ſome amends for their former neglect of the ſafety of Olynthus, by thundering out the ſevereſt decrees againſt thoſe traitors who had brought down ruin and deſolation on that ſtate. But other puniſhments were reſerved for them. Some were, without diſtinction, involved in the general

Dinarchus Orat. in Dem.

Ariſtot. Rhet. L. 3. C. 10.

Demoſth. de fal. Leg. Sect. 75.

[B] In the controverſies of M. Seneca the lawyer, (L. 10. Controv. 5.) we find it aſſerted, that, among thoſe wretches of Olynthus, who were now loaded with chains, and dragged away to ſlavery and miſery, Parrhaſius, the celebrated painter, obſerved one, whoſe face had a ſingularity of expreſſion which ſtruck his fancy, that he purchaſed and led him home, where the inhuman artiſt cauſed him to be tormented, in order to ſtudy the different characters of pain; and, from him, drew a picture of Prometheus chained to the rock, which was depoſited in the temple of Minerva at Athens. I am not ſufficiently warranted to determine, whether this be a real hiſtorical fact, or a fiction framed for the ſake of a debate in the ſchools. Pliny, who recounts the performances of this painter, (Hiſt. Nat. L. 35. C. 36.) makes no mention of a Prometheus.

calamity.

calamity. The two principal betrayers of their country, Euthycrates and Laſthenes, were the objects of contempt and deteſtation, even to the Macedonians. The ſoldiers were ever inſulting, and dealing them liberally the opprobrious names of traitors, parricides, and villains. They complained to Philip, and deſired his protection: but his anſwer compleated their confuſion, and plainly ſhewed with what abhorrence ſuch wretches muſt ever expect to be received, even by thoſe who have been ſerved by their iniquity. "Do not take "notice of theſe rude, ill-mannered fellows," ſaid Philip, "they "are ſtrangers to all civility and good breeding. They call every "thing by its proper name." The fate of theſe men was worthy of their baſeneſs: they were thus expoſed to all poſſible inſult, unprotected and deſpiſed; and either removed by a violent death, or ſuffered to languiſh under diſgrace and poverty. [c]

Plut. in Apophth.

Dem. de Cherſon. Sect. 10.

Juſt. L. 8. C. 3. In Olynthus were found Menelaus and Aridaeus. They were condemned by the army, and inſtantly ſacrificed to Philip's jealouſy, or to the ſecurity of his throne.

Dem. de fal. Leg. Sect. 58. cum Schol. In honour of this important conqueſt, thoſe Olympic entertainments (ſo were they called) which Archelaus, a prince of Macedon, had inſtituted, and which were continued in the city of Dium for the ſpace of nine days, in honour of the muſes, were now celebrated by Philip, at his return to Macedon, with a magnificence intirely new. But his views were not confined to the oſtentatious diſplay of his wealth and grandeur, or the enjoyment of pleaſure and entertainment. Theſe games were, on the contrary, made the occaſion

Olivier L. 8. p. 28.

[c] If we may rely on the repreſentations of Demoſthenes, theſe men were ſufficiently warned of their fate, by the manner in which Philip treated thoſe who had already ſerved him in the ſame infamous way. The orator aſcribes his ſucceſs at Amphipolis and Pydna to treachery, and inſinuates, that the traitors were repaid as their baſeneſs merited.

of

of confirming his old friendſhips, and acquiring new. The concourſe which attended them was received with all politeneſs and kindneſs; and entertained at public feaſts, where Philip did the honours of his palace with all due elegance and grandeur. Theſe feaſts were uſually concluded, by preſenting his gueſts with a cup, in which he had firſt drank to them, according to the Grecian cuſtom, or with ſome other mark of his munificence: and, on one of theſe occaſions, he obſerved, that Satyrus, the celebrated actor, whom he held in great eſteem, did not appear to partake in the general feſtivity, nor to deſire any token of his friendſhip. "Has Satyrus no- "thing to aſk," ſaid Philip; "doth he doubt my generoſity, or "imagine that I have conceived ſome particular offence at him?" "The things which others ſeem ſo earneſt to obtain," replied Satyrus, "are to me intirely indifferent. That, which would gratify me in the "higheſt degree, my prince could grant with the greateſt eaſe: but, "alas! I fear he will refuſe it." Philip gaily preſſed him to ſpeak his requeſt boldly, and to put his friendſhip to the proof; for that he ſhould deny him nothing. Thus encouraged, he addreſſed himſelf in this manner to the king: "Apollophanes, of Pydna, was my "friend and hoſt. When he was killed, his relations ſent his two "young daughters to Olynthus, as to a place of ſecurity. There "were they taken when juſt arrived at the marriageable age: and "are now groaning under the weight of captivity and ſlavery, em- "ployed in all thoſe menial offices to which their unhappy fate has "ſubjected thoſe helpleſs creatures. Theſe are the preſents I re- "queſt; and theſe I conjure you to beſtow upon me. But, firſt, "know what it is I aſk. I expect, I wiſh for, no advantage from "them. I diſdain all intentions unworthy of me, and unworthy of "their father. No! my deſire is to give them ſuch portions as may "inable them to marry happily."

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 55.

Dem. de fal. Leg. Sect. 58. cum Schol.

THE beginning of this ſpeech excited the attention of the whole company. Apollophanes was known to have been extremely ob- noxious.

Ibid.

noxious to Philip, as he had been an accomplice in the murder of his brother Alexander. The concluſion was pleaſing and aſtoniſhing; and their eſteem and admiration broke inſtantly forth, in the loudeſt acclamations and applauſes. Philip was affected by this greatneſs and goodneſs of mind, which his gueſt diſcovered; he readily granted his petition, and his munificence inabled Satyrus to pay the portions.

Oliv. L. 8. P. 34.

THE taking of Olynthus gave Philip an acceſſion of territory highly convenient and important. It made him maſter of the whole Chalcidian region, a tract in itſelf of conſiderable moment; it divided Thrace, and ſeparated the country ſubject to Athens, from that which Cerſobleptes reſerved to himſelf. The kingdom of Philip, including Theſſaly, which he in effect commanded, was now bounded by Phocis on the ſouth-weſt, and on the north-eaſt by the dominions of Cerſobleptes. But, on each ſide, were numbers in the Athenian intereſt. This ſtate was now the only great enemy he had to encounter, the only material obſtacle to his deſign of commanding all Greece. Its miniſters were ſolliciting the ſeveral Grecian powers to unite with them againſt him. It was his part, if poſſible, to detach them from theſe connexions; and to engage them to conclude a peace with him ſeparate from the other ſtates. He knew that indolence and ſelf-enjoyment were ſtill predominant at Athens; and that vigour and reſolution, on his part, would ſoon make them weary of the war, on which they ſeemed at preſent totally intent. Theſe he was therefore determined to exert. His ſhips of war were ſent to ſea to harraſs and diſtreſs their trade: their merchants were continually falling a prey to theſe; and their tributaries and dependent iſlands were ever ſubject to his incurſions and depredations. From comparing ſeveral paſſages in the Athenian orators, which hint at ſome tranſactions of this prince, which hiſtory hath not particularly recorded, it ſeems to me probable, that, during the courſe of the Olynthian war, his fleet was employed in making ſome deſcents on Lemnus and Imbrus, iſlands dependent on Athens, in order (poſſibly)

to

to divert the attention of the Athenians from the defence of Olynthus. Here ſeveral Athenian citizens were made priſoners, and carried off in chains to Macedon. The Macedonian fleet then took its courſe towards the ſouth, and ſurprized ſome Athenian veſſels at anchor near the cape of Geraſtus (which might have been intended for the relief of Imbrus) and theſe were inſtantly ſeized and rifled. Encouraged by this ſucceſs, and the rich ſpoil which had been thus obtained, Philip now ſeems to have determined to continue thoſe depredations. The bad conduct of Chares had greatly weakened the naval power of Athens, and left the ſea open to the Macedonians, who boldly ſailed to the very coaſt of Attica, and, having made a deſcent on Marathon, inſulted the Athenians, by taking their ſacred galley, as it was called, which was deſtined to be ſent out, on all extraordinary emergencies, with advices and directions to their commanders [D]. A body of Athenian cavalry, under the

[D] The learned reader need not be informed, that theſe tranſactions are mentioned in the oration, called the firſt Philippic of Demoſthenes; and that their date is here ſettled upon a ſuppoſition, that what is ſo intitled in the copies and editions of Demoſthenes, is really two diſtinct orations, ſpoken on different occaſions, and at different times. In a former work I endeavoured to eſtabliſh this opinion by ſome (at leaſt) probable arguments. It muſt be confirmed beyond controverſy, could it be proved that theſe tranſactions were not prior to the date of Demoſthenes's firſt oration againſt Philip; but that I have placed them nearer to their true time, than the commentators and interpreters of this orator. —— Luccheſini fixes them to the third year of the one hundredth and fifth Olympiad, immediately after the reduction of Amphipolis, Pydna, and Potidaea. But, beſides that he aſſigns no authority for this opinion from hiſtory, it ſeems irreconcilable to the conduct and policy of Philip at that time, who (whatever were his actions) profeſſed to be at peace with Athens; amuſed that ſtate with promiſes of giving up Amphipolis; and, in his attack of Pydna and Potidaea, affected only to act as ally to Olynthus. Olivier dates them ſomewhat later in the ſecond year of the one hundred and ſixth Olympiad, in the archonſhip of Diotimus. He collects this from a decree preſerved in the oration of Demoſthenes on the crown, (Sect. 34.) which was occaſioned by the invaſion of Attica, and in which Diotimus is mentioned as commander of the Athenian cavalry. But, as it appears that it was not conſiſtent with the office of archon to be employed in ſuch

command of Diotimus, attempted to oppose this inroad, but soon threw down their arms, and fled shamefully before the enemy: while the forces of Macedon, having thus alarmed the Athenians in their very city, again set sail, and proceeded to the isle of Salamis.

such a command (of which the reader may be at once satisfied, by consulting any of the authors who have treated of the constitution and polity of Athens) this opinion is overturned by the only authority which can be produced to confirm it. Had the name of the archon Επονυμος been used in the dates of those decrees, which Demosthenes quotes in the above-mentioned oration, the difficulty would be cleared at once: but, as this is not the case, we are obliged to have recourse to what other lights may be afforded. And first, before the author is condemned of rashness and presumption, the learned reader is intreated to attend to the following passage in AEschines on the ambassy, (Sect. 24.) Φιλιππος δε ὁρμηθεις ἐκ Μακεδονιας, οὐκ ἔτ' ὑπερ Αμφιπολεως προς ἡμας ἠγωνιζετο, ἀλλ' ἤδη περι ΛΗΜΝΟΥ και ΙΜΒΡΟΥ και Σκυρου, τῶν ἡμετερων κτηματων; ἐξελειπον δε Χερρονησον ἡμων οἱ πολιται, την οὐσαν ὁμολογουμενως Αθηναιων.——ΟΙ ΜΕΝ ΚΑΙΡΟΙ ΤΗΣ ΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΤΟΙΟΥΤΟΙ ΗΣΑΝ, ΕΝ ΟΙΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΕΙΡΗΝΗΣ ΕΓΕΝΟΝΤΟ ΛΟΓΟΙ. "Philip issues out from Macedon; no longer contends with you for "Amphipolis, but now attacks LEMNUS "and IMBRUS, our undoubted dominions. "Our citizens, in the Chersonesus, are "obliged to abandon their settlements in "that country, to which our right was "fully and amply acknowledged, &c.— "THESE WERE THE TIMES, such the "circumstances of the state, WHEN A "PEACE BEGAN TO BE FIRST MENTIONED."—Another passage in Demosthenes (Exord. 32.) is also worthy of notice: ——Ψηφιεῖσθε ἁπερ ἐκ των περεληλυθοτων χρονων, καθελκειν τριηρεις, εμβαινειν, εἰσφερειν· παντα ταυτα ἠδη· ἁ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἢ πεντε (ἀν σιωπηθη τὰ παρα τῶν πολεμιῶν, και σχῶσιν ἡσυχιαν ἐκεινοι) παλιν οὐκετι καιρον εἶναι πραττειν ὑποληψεσθε· ὁπερ ἡνικα ἐν Ἑλλεσποντῳ Φιλιππον ἠκουσαμεν, συνεβη, και παλιν ἡνικ' ΈΙΣ ΜΑΡΑΘΩΝΑ ΤΡΙΗΡΕΙΣ ΆΙ ΛΗΣΤΡΙΔΕΣ ΠΡΟΣΕΣΧΟΝ.——"You "will then, as in times past, make magnificent decrees for equipping your fleet, "arming your citizens, and raising your "subsidies; all which shall, in three or "five days (should the enemy seem quieted, and no longer disposed to molest "you) be pronounced unnecessary, as was "the case when we heard that Philip was "at the Hellespont; and again, when "the piratical ships made the descent "at Marathon."—When the reader has perused that part of the present history, which is contained in this and the following sections, he will be the better inabled to judge how far these passages favour my opinion; and, by comparing the transactions there related, and authentically attested, with the passages here quoted from the Athenian orators, he will determine whether the author hath been guilty of an unwarrantable presumption in discarding the authority of the copies of Demosthenes, and even of those critics and commentators, to whose learned and judicious labours he is considerably indebted.

Here

Here they again defeated a detachment commanded by Charidemus, and thus returned home in triumph, laden with the ſpoils of their enemy.

In Euboea, the place of all others where Athens could be moſt deeply wounded, Philip determined to make one attempt more. Favoured as he was by the diſpoſition of the inhabitants, who were many of them ſecret enemies to Athens, he had occaſion for no other pretence, but that of freeing the iſland from the Athenian tyranny. Moloſſus, who was appointed to ſucceed Phocion in the command of the Athenian forces in Euboea, conducted himſelf in ſuch a manner, as to encourage Philip to this attempt. He firſt made himſelf hated, and afterwards deſpiſed. Hipparchus had ſucceeded Plutarch in the government of Eretria: and his years and reputation gave credit to the Macedonian intereſt, which he eſpouſed from a particular eſteem for Philip, and a ſincere perſuaſion, that he ſhould really ſerve his country, by rendering it dependent on this prince. Callias, the Chalcidian, was ſcreened, by his intereſt among the popular leaders at Athens, from the reſentment due to his late conduct: and now again appeared in Euboea, an active and vigorous manager for the king of Macedon. He aſſembled a kind of convention of the different ſtates at Chalcis, under pretence of ſettling the affairs, and compoſing the diſorders, of Euboea; but, in reality, to concert meaſures for ruining the Athenian intereſt. From thence he paſſed over to the court of Macedon, to give an account of his ſucceſs. Here he diſplayed and magnified his ſervices, which were graciouſly received, and all poſſible aſſurances of ſupport and aſſiſtance readily given to him. Philip's partizans in Euboea now collected and ſtrengthened themſelves; his forces were ſent into the iſland; and his agents every-where employed to gain the people over to his intereſt; and to drive out and deſtroy all thoſe who attempted to oppoſe him.

Oliv. L. 8. p. 36.

AEſchin. in Cteſ. Sect. 33.

Plutarch. in Phocion.

MOLOSSUS had neither ſtrength nor abilities to oppoſe to this formidable aſſociation; nor did he ever once think of defeating it, till it was already formed compleatly, and prepared to act. Then, at length, he took the field; but quickly found himſelf betrayed, even by thoſe who had given him the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of their attachment: ſuch a general corruption had Philip's ſecret practices produced. He was ſurrounded and taken priſoner, with all his army; which, when plundered by the Euboeans, was ſuffered to paſs over into Attica, loaded with all the ignominy of this defeat.

Dem. de Cherſo. Sect. 9.

Phil. 3. Sect. 7.

AND now Philip's party was triumphant; and the whole iſland prepared to ſubmit to his regulation. The government of Eretria was placed in the hands of Clitarchus, a man devoted intirely to the king of Macedon. And, while he thus eſtabliſhed his power in a place, which, by its ſituation, commanded as it were the country of Attica, at Oreum, over-againſt Scyathus, an iſland dependent on Athens, he procured the government for Philiſtides, who had formerly headed the Theban party in Euboea, and who, by his conduct and character, was the terror and deteſtation of all good men. Thus did this vigilant prince eſtabliſh ſuch an intereſt, as might effectually facilitate the future ſubjection of that iſland; although, at preſent, he pretended only a tender regard to its freedom and tranquillity.

IT could not but be imagined, that the Athenians would take ſome meaſures for oppoſing this ſettlement, and for ſupporting their intereſt and power in a place of ſuch conſequence to the welfare and ſecurity of Attica. The Euboean cities were now under the direction of men ready to obey the dictates of the king of Macedon: the inſtruments of his policy, who had, by long experience, become perfectly acquainted with the means of amuſing the Athenians. By his direction, probably, ambaſſadors were now ſent, in the name of theſe ſtates, to Athens, to endeavour to heal all late breaches, and eſ-

effect an accommodation, and, particularly, to poſſeſs the Athenians with favourable opinions of Philip's intentions, who, they declared, was extremely deſirous of putting an end to all quarrels, and making a peace on ſuch terms as ſhould demonſtrate his integrity and reſpect for their ſtate. Ariſtodemus and Neoptolemus, two celebrated actors, (the latter alſo noted as a dramatic poet) who had been gained over to the intereſt of Philip by his favours and preſents, were employed to confirm theſe repreſentations, and to influence the people in favour of their maſter. Neoptolemus had, ſome time before, gone to Macedon, under pretence of collecting ſome debts, but, in reality, to concert with Philip the means of ſerving and obliging him in the Athenian aſſembly. Demoſthenes, who ſaw through his deſigns, endeavoured to lay them open to his countrymen; and to guard them againſt his artifices: but was ſoon ſilenced by the friends of Neoptolemus, who cried out, that nothing but malice, officious baſeneſs, or ſecret enmity, could prompt any man to accuſe him, or to draw invidious inferences from his correſpondence with Macedon, to which he was not only induced by his private intereſt, but by a regard to his country, as, by transferring his effects from Macedon to Athens, he was the better inabled to contribute to the exigencies of the ſtate. The diſpoſitions of the people, on this occaſion, are beſt deſcribed by * Demoſthenes: "Had ye been ſpectators in the "theatre, and not engaged in affairs of the higheſt and moſt inti-"mate concernment to the public, ye could not have heard him "with more indulgence, nor me with more reſentment."

AEſchin. de fal. Leg. Sect. 7.

Dem. Orat. de Pace. Sect. 2.

* Orat. de Pace.

THUS the temper of this people, ever violent, but ever varying, led them from peace to war, and from war to peace, juſt as the breath of ſome popular ſpeaker fired their national vanity, or ſoothed their love of eaſe and indolence. Theſe latter paſſions were juſt going to prevail, when AEſchines returned from his ambaſſy, and gave a new direction to their minds. He had aſſembled the great council of Arcadians at Megalopolis; and prevailed on that people

Dem. de fal. Leg. Sect. 5.

people to engage to bear arms againſt Philip; and now appeared to give an account of his ſucceſs. He diſplayed the ſervices which he had performed on this occaſion; enlarged on the oppoſition he had been obliged to combat from Philip's agents; inveighed, with great bitterneſs, againſt the corrupt practices of thoſe hireling wretches, who were labouring, not only to deſtroy their own countries, but to bring down univerſal ruin on the whole nation of Greece: he aſſured the people, that the Arcadians, rouſed and inflamed by his remonſtrances, expreſſed all poſſible ſatisfaction at that ſpirit, that true zeal for the general cauſe of Greece, which now began to appear at Athens. He harangued, with all poſſible acrimony, againſt Philip: he had beheld, he ſaid, on his return, a ſight capable of melting them to pity, at the calamities of Greece, and of inſpiring them with fury and indignation againſt the Barbarian: a body of young Olynthians, of both ſexes, to the number of about thirty, driven, like a herd of cattle, by one of Philip's officers, as a preſent to ſome of his creatures. He dwelt on the miſery of theſe their late allies, and the unparallelled inhumanity of their conqueror; and concluded with recommending to them to ſend their envoys to confirm the Arcadians in their preſent zealous diſpoſitions, and to procure the juſtly merited puniſhment for thoſe who ſtill preſumed to ſupport the Macedonian intereſt in that country.

WAR and revenge now ecchoed through the aſſembly. The people were more exaſperated, and more violent, than ever: the Macedonian emiſſaries and partizans were ſilenced and diſmayed, and began to look on all their induſtry and artifice as wholly ineffectual; when one ſingle act of Philip's politeneſs, or, to ſpeak more properly, of his policy, raiſed his creatures from their deſpair, and gave another turn to the diſpoſitions of the Athenians.

AEſchin. de fal. Leg. Sect. 7.

A MAN of ſome eminence at Athens, whoſe name was Phrynon had aſſiſted at the celebration of the famous Olympic games, which collected the Greeks from all parts, every fourth year, to Elis. In the tir-

time of univerſal feſtivity all wars ceaſed, and a general truce was obſerved for fifteen days. Yet ſome Macedonian ſoldiers, either ignorant, or in contempt of this truce, ſeized and plundered Phrynon; and obliged him to purchaſe his liberty by a conſiderable ranſom. At his return to Athens, he applied to the people, and requeſted to be ſent with a public character into Macedon, that he might have an opportunity of ſolliciting the reſtitution of the effects which had been taken from him. In the courſe of all the Grecian wars, heralds and ambaſſadors were ever paſſing from one to another party, to ſettle the exchange of priſoners, and for other like purpoſes. On this occaſion therefore, Phrynon was, according to his deſire, ſent, on ſome public occaſions, to Macedon, and Cteſiphon appointed for his collegue. They were received by Philip with his uſual artful affability, and all his ſpecious ſhews of openneſs, candor, and affection: He aſſured Phrynon, that his ſoldiers had acted from ignorance and miſapprehenſion, and ordered, that his effects ſhould be all inſtantly reſtored. He entertained them at his table, where he gave them every poſſible inſtance of his attention and reſpect; and, at parting, declared, in a moſt engaging manner, that it was with the greateſt concern he found himſelf involved in a war with Athens; that, however he might have been unfortunately miſconceived or miſrepreſented, he had ever entertained the moſt favourable intentions towards the ſtate, and that nothing could give him greater pleaſure, than to ſee a ſpeedy and effectual accommodation of all the diſputes now unhappily ſubſiſting between them.

PHRYNON and Cteſiphon were now returned, highly flattered by the confidence which Philip appeared to repoſe in them. This, poſſibly, contributed to deceive them into an opinion of his candor and ſincerity; and their vanity prompted them to diſplay to the aſſembly the friendſhip and regard which Philip expreſſed for them, and for the ſtate; on which they enlarged, as perſons in ſtrict intimacy with this prince, and well acquainted with his ſentiments and diſpoſitions. AEſchin. de fal. Leg. Sect. 7.

diſpoſitions. They were heard with ſatisfaction and applauſe. All the late reſolutions, all the preparations for war, were, in an inſtant, forgotten: and Philocrates, a man attached to the Macedonian intereſt, and ſuſpected equally by AEſchines and Demoſthenes, moved the aſſembly, that an herald and ambaſſadors ſhould be ſent to Philip, to diſcover his intentions, and to make him propoſitions for a peace. This motion was, at firſt, attacked judicially by one Lycinus: on which occaſion Demoſthenes, in a long and elaborate defence, ſupported the cauſe of Philocrates, who, by a fit of ſickneſs, was prevented from appearing before the aſſembly.

THIS conduct of Demoſthenes is urged as an inſtance of his inconſiſtency and inſincerity. But it muſt be obſerved, that, beſides the indolent and corrupted part of Athens, there was another party equally averſe to war, but from different principles. They ſaw the power and the vigour of Philip; they were ſenſible of the weakneſs and degeneracy of their countrymen; they reflected, that, from the time that they had attempted to recover Amphipolis, no leſs than fifteen hundred talents had been expended, to no purpoſe, except to gratify the avarice of ſome foreign commanders, who had been taken into their ſervice, and who had ever appeared more attentive to their private intereſt, than to the glory of Athens. One hundred veſſels had been loſt; ſeventy-five dependent cities, moſt of which had been conquered in Thrace by Timotheus, had fallen into the hands of the enemy; Olynthus was deſtroyed, and Euboea revolted; the ſeveral Grecian ſtates harraſſed and waſted by their ill-judged quarrels, and alienated from each other by their jealouſies and ſuſpicions; and Philip more admired, more dreaded, and more reſpected, than ever. They concluded, therefore, that the ſtate of Athens was rather concerned to ſecure what ſhare of power was left to her, than to entertain notions of revenge; or of reducing an enemy too active, too politic, and too ſtrong for a weakened, diſtracted, and corrupted people to contend with. This was the opinion of Phocion, and other cit-

AEſchin. de fal. Leg. Sect. 54.

citizens of eminence and character; and ſome attention was due to the ſentiments of ſuch men. Poſſibly they who had the higheſt opinion of the power of Athens, if duly and faithfully exerted, and who were moſt firmly perſuaded of the expediency and neceſſity of oppoſing their rival, might ſtill have thought it juſt and reaſonable to hear, at leaſt, what terms of accommodation he might propoſe. This would convince the Grecians of their candor and moderation; the power of rejecting them was ſtill reſerved, and, if unreaſonable and unjuſt, they would help to undeceive thoſe who were blinded by Philip's artful profeſſions, and afford new incitements to a vigorous oppoſition. But, whatever might have been the motives of Demoſthenes, the people approved of his arguments: the decree propoſed by Philocrates was confirmed; and the accuſer had ſcarcely the fifth part of the ſuffrages. AEſchin. de fal. Leg. Sect. 7. c

In the courſe of theſe tranſactions, another incident happened to confirm the Athenians in their preſent pacific diſpoſitions. At the time when Olynthus was taken, ſome of their citizens were found in the town, and brought priſoners to Macedon: among whom were Stratocles and Eucratus, two Athenians of conſiderable note. The relations of theſe men applied to the aſſembly, and requeſted, that they might be taken care of in the treaty which they now ſeemed diſpoſed to tranſact. Demoſthenes and Philocrates ſupported their application; and Ariſtodemus [E], whoſe profeſſion, as a player, made him extremely agreeable to Philip, was immediately commiſſioned Sect. 8.

[E] This prince, who ever ſtudied to maintain an extenſive reputation, wiſely judged nothing could more contribute to this, than to ſhew an extraordinary regard to the polite arts, and to their profeſſors of every kind. The paſſion for the theatre, which prevailed in Greece, naturally introduced the performers to the notice and regard of the public: and, in proportion as this paſſion became violent, they met with an extraordinary degree of reſpect, and it became faſhionable to careſs them: and, poſſibly, Philip did not think it beneath him to flatter the Greeks, by conforming to their faſhions. Beſides, the alluſions and particular applications of paſſages in the tragic writers to the affairs and perſons which might, at any time, be the objects of general

to go to Macedon, and to treat particularly about their releaſe. He was probably more engaged in paying his court, than in executing his commiſſion: and, at his return, either neglected to give an account of it, or deferred it on purpoſe, till he ſhould be expreſſly called on, that the report, which he had determined to make, might be the leſs ſuſpected. In the mean time, Stratocles returns to Athens, being diſmiſſed by Philip without any ranſom, and with the higheſt expreſſions of reſpect. Poſſeſſed with this inſtance of politeneſs and generoſity, he laviſhes his encomiums on Philip, repeats the aſſurances of his kind and amicable intentions to Athens, and inveighs againſt Ariſtodemus for neglecting to report the ſucceſs of his ambaſſy. And now Ariſtodemus was ſummoned to give an account of his negotiation before the ſenate. Here he expatiated on the merits, the candor, the ſincerity, and the benevolence of Philip, on his regard and reſpect for Athens; and declared, that this prince was not only ready to conclude a peace, but to enter into a ſtrict alliance with the ſtate. The ſame repreſentations he made to the aſſembly of the people, who heard them with the utmoſt ſatisfaction: and Demoſthenes himſelf appeared ſo well ſatisfied with the conduct of Ariſtodemus, that he moved, and the aſſembly decreed, that he ſhould be honoured with a golden crown, the uſual reward of thoſe who had acquitted themſelves with honour in the adminiſtration of public affairs.

NOTHING now remained, but to nominate the perſons to whom this important tranſaction was to be committed, and on whoſe abilities the people might rely, to make their overtures at Macedon, and to defend the intereſts of their country in an emergency which demanded the utmoſt addreſs and circumſpection. Ten Athenian

ral attention, an uſual practice on the Greek ſtage, put the reputations of great men, in ſome meaſure, in the power of actors, and made it their intereſt to court them: as, by dwelling on, and pointing out, particular paſſages, which might afford appoſite and ingenious applications to the circumſtances and characters of their times, they might influence their audience, in a manner which cannot be ſurpriſing, when we conſider that the Greeks were frequently guided more by imagination than judgment.

citizens

citizens were now chosen for this purpose, Ctesiphon, Phrynon, Philocrates, Jatrocles, Nausicles, Cimon, Demosthenes, Dercyllus, AEschines, and Aristodemus. To these were added Agalocreon of Tenedos, on the part of the allied cities and states dependent upon Athens, who was to act as their representative, and to take care of their particular interests. AEschin. de fal. Leg. Sect. 9.

THE ten were all men of distinction, and respectable by their condition or accomplishments. Ctesiphon by his age and experience, and weight in the assembly; Phrynon by his riches; Cimon by his illustrious birth; Nausicles and Dercyllus by the public offices which they had discharged. Jatrocles was also a person of figure, and had ever been in strict connexion with AEschines. AEschines himself was noted for his genius, memory, and eloquence; and, by that zeal which he had already expressed against the Macedonian, fully persuaded the people of his integrity, and inspired them with exalted expectations from his conduct in this commission. Demosthenes was now universally celebrated and admired, as a public speaker and able politician. Philocrates, besides his facility in speaking, was remarkable for his gaiety in social life, a qualification of no small consequence at the court of Macedon: and Aristodemus added to a most advantageous person all the charms of wit and politeness, and all the force and beauty of a just and graceful elocution. Oliv. L. 9. p. 52. AEschin. de fal. Leg. Sect. 18. Dem. de fal. Leg. Sect. 5. Lucian. in vit. Dem. AEschin. de fal. Leg. Sect. 21.

DEMOSTHENES appeared particularly intent on the speedy execution of this commission. To prevent all possible delay or interruption, he moved the people to send deputations to some cities, where Aristodemus had obliged himself to perform on the stage under some particular penalties, to apologize for his absence, and to get those penalties remitted. [F] Sect. 9.

[F]* THE idea of pomp and dignity, which we are accustomed to annex to that of an ambassador, may make it appear very extraordinary that a player should be intrusted

truſted with ſuch a commiſſion, whoſe profeſſion was undoubtedly conſidered by the Athenians as of the leſs honourable kind, (whatever favours might be laviſhed on the miniſters of their darling pleaſures, in theſe times of luxury;) for we find Demoſthenes frequently ſpeaking with contempt of their profeſſion.——But, in a ſtate purely democratical, the abilities were conſidered, and not the ſtation of thoſe who were intruſted with the conduct of public affairs. We find, in the caſe of Demades, that a common boat-man was inabled to raiſe himſelf to ſome of the higheſt offices in the ſtate. Nor muſt we imagine, that the deputies of this republic were at all ſimilar to the repreſentatives of ſovereign princes in modern times. They were ſent out without parade, train, or attendants, dignified only by being citizens of Athens. Demoſthenes (de falſa Leg. Sect. 47.) mentions it as an extraordinary inſtance of extravagance, that five ſuch deputies had an appointment of one thouſand drachmae, that is, 32 l. 5 s. 10 d. for three months: not a fifth part of what Amoebaeus received, per diem, for ſinging in the theatre at Athens.

BOOK III. SECTION II.

CONTENTS.

PHILIP purſues his Thracian conqueſts.—Halus beſieged by Parmenio.—The Athenian deputies proceed towards Macedon.—The behaviour of Demoſthenes,—his magnificent promiſes.—The ambaſſadors, arrive,—are introduced to an audience.—The ſubſtance of AEſchines's ſpeech.—Demoſthenes confounded,—he cenſures the other ambaſſadors,—whom he afterwards flatters.—They return to Athens.—The behaviour of Demoſthenes in the ſenate,—and in the popular aſſembly.—Eurylochus, Antipater, and Parmenio, arrive at Athens.—The aſſiduity of Demoſthenes in doing the honours of the city to the Macedonian ambaſſadors.—The motion in favour of the allies.—Diſſenſions in the aſſembly.—The ſentiments of Demoſthenes,—and of AEſchines; whoſe opinion is of a ſudden intirely altered.—The decree of Philocrates paſſed.—The motion of Demoſthenes.—Cerſobleptes abandoned by the Athenians; ſubmits to Philip.—New commotions at Athens, and new preparations for war.—The ſudden fit of zeal ſubſides.—The people impatient for the ratification

of the treaty.—The unneceſſary delays of the ambaſſadors.—They arrive at Pella,—are joined by Demoſthenes.—The Phocian war continued.—Ambaſſadors from Phocis, Thebes, and Lacedaemon, attend on Philip.—His artful behaviour to the ſeveral ambaſſadors.—Private conferences of the Athenian deputies.—The ſpeech of Demoſthenes to Philip.—That of AEſchines.—Philip addreſſes a letter to the Athenians.—The ſhameful adulation of AEſchines and the other deputies.—The treaty ratified on the part of Philip.—Halus taken.

BOOK

BOOK the THIRD.

SECTION II.

WHILE Athens was thus preparing all matters for an accommodation, Philip was employed in the purſuit of his Thracian conqueſts, which were greatly facilitated by the reduction of Olynthus. He was already maſter of the promontories of Pallenè and Ampelus; and had now only to re-unite that of Athos, which Xerxes had ſeparated, and which commanded the gulphs of Singis and Strymon. He took the cities of Ganos, Ergiſkè, and ſome others of no conſiderable name; and confined Cerſobleptes to the ſacred mount; the town which the ſtatue of Alexander would have held in its hand, had it been cut out of mount Athos, according to the famous project of the ſtatuary; and which, at this day, bears the ſame name. Parmenio was at the ſame time in Theſſaly, ſupporting the Pharſalians, the devoted friends of Philip, in their pretenſions to Halus, whoſe inhabitants inclined to the Athenian intereſt, and, of conſequence, were obnoxious to Philip. The Pharſalians ſeemed to have claimed Halus as their property; while the Halians aſſerted their own independence, and the king of Macedon, to ſupport his friends, and weaken the intereſt of his enemies, ſent his

AEſchin. in Ctef. Sect. 30.

Demoſth. de falſa Leg. Sect. 48.

his forces into Theſſaly, under pretence of forcing them to acknowledge their rightful ſovereigns. This city was ſeated on the Pthiotis, between the mountains Othrys and Thympreſtes: its walls were waſhed by the river Amphryſſus: its ſituation was ſtrong, and inabled it to ſuſtain a long ſiege.

Demoſth. de falſa Leg. Sect. 48.

THE Athenian deputies paſſed through the Macedonian army, which had inveſted Halus, without waiting the return of the herald, who had been ſent to demand their ſafe conduct; and from thence paſſed on to Pagaſae. Still they continued their progreſs, and, at Lariſſa, met the herald returning with their paſſport, and, without delay, proceeded towards Macedon. From the firſt moment of their departure, the principal ambaſſadors ſeem to have betrayed a mutual diffidence and ſuſpicion of each other. Each ſeemed more ſollicitous to deprive his collegue of any honour which might attend this negotiation, and to ſhift off any diſgrace from himſelf, than to unite in one cordial and ſincere reſolution of attending to the public intereſts.

Ibid. Sect. 6.

AEſchines is ſaid, by Demoſthenes, to have expreſſed his ſuſpicions of the integrity of Philocrates, and to have ſpoken of him as a man from whom they might expect the moſt abandoned and traiterous conduct: and, if we may believe AEſchines, Demoſthenes, through the whole journey, betrayed the utmoſt diſſatisfaction at thoſe who were joined with him in the commiſſion; and, by a peculiar moroſeneſs, had rendered himſelf ſo diſagreeable to them, that they would have excluded him from their ſociety, had not Agalocreon and Jatrocles interpoſed, and perſuaded them to endure his ſeverity of temper. In ſome of their converſations, in which they were concerting the beſt manner of executing their commiſſion, Cimon expreſſed his apprehenſions of Philip's art and power of ſpeaking. But theſe apprehenſions, if we may believe AEſchines, were treated with great contempt by Demoſthenes; who inſiſted, in the moſt confident manner, that he had ample and irreſiſtible matter to urge; that he ſhould trace the conteſts between Athens and Macedon from the earlieſt date; eſtabliſh the right of his country to Amphipolis by the

AEſchin. de fal. Leg. Sect. 10.

fulleſt and cleareſt proofs, and deprive Philip of all power of objection or reply [A]: that he had no doubt but that this prince would feel the whole force of his remonſtrances; that this city ſhould be given up to the Athenians, and that Leoſthenes ſhould alſo be reſigned into their hands, whom the ambaſſadors were commiſſioned to demand from Philip; but whether as a criminal, in order to be brought to juſtice; or, as a valuable citizen, whom they affected to conſider as detained at Macedon againſt his will; we are not ſufficiently warranted to determine.

THEY were now arrived, and introduced to an audience. As it had been agreed between them, they ſpoke in order according to their ages; all with the uſual Attic elegance; but AEſchines more copiouſly than any of thoſe who preceded him. He reminded Philip of the many acts of kindneſs which the Athenians had done to his predeceſſors the kings of Macedon; to his own family, and to himſelf, when Pauſanias had firſt attempted to uſurp the throne; and of the intereſt and power which Pauſanias had acquired in Macedon; of the weak and diſtreſſed condition of the children of king Amyntas, the ſollicitations of Eurydicè, and the generous interpoſition of Iphicrates. He touched on the ungrateful returns made to Athens by Ptolomy and Perdiccas, in diſputing their pretenſions to Amphipolis; on the greatneſs of mind, which his countrymen had diſcovered, in granting a truce to Perdiccas, notwithſtanding their victories and advantages; and, as it was maliciouſly aſſerted, that Calliſthenes had been put to death for concluding this truce, he declared, that other cauſes had produced this ſentence. He ſpoke of the unreaſonableneſs of thoſe hoſtilities, which Philip himſelf had committed againſt the Athenians; and traced their right to Amphipolis, from the earlieſt ages; a right acknowledged by Amyntas

AEſchin. de fal. Leg. Sect. 12, 13, 14.

[A] THE expreſſion which Demoſthenes is ſaid, by his rival, to have uſed on this occaſion, is in the higheſt degree rude and inſolent, ὥστε ἀποῤῥαῖσαι τὸ Φιλίππου στόμα ὁλοσχοίνῳ ἀδρόχῳ, *that he would ſew up Philip's mouth with a dry bulruſh.*

himſelf in the general aſſembly of the Grecians: he obſerve[illegible] city, which had never been taken in any war againſt Athe[illegible] not poſſibly be held by the right of conqueſt: and that [illegible] really taken an Athenian city from the Amphipolitans, w[illegible] could be conſtrued as an acquiſition won from the Atheni[illegible]

AEſchin. de fal. Leg. Sect. 16.

DEMOSTHENES was the youngeſt, and conſequently the laſt to ſpeak. He now ſtood before a prince, whom he was conſcious he had frequently ſpoken of with the greateſt ſeverity, and who, he knew, was thoroughly informed of every thing ſaid or done at Athens. He was to contend with a compleat maſter in his own art: and the reputation of the great Athenian orator, who was ever lancing the bolts of his eloqunce againſt the king, muſt have raiſed a ſolemn attention in the court: even the ambaſſadors themſelves were curious to hear thoſe irreſiſtible remonſtrances which the orator is ſaid to have promiſed with the greateſt confidence, and which Philip and his courtiers were, by this time, warned to expect. All was ſuſpence and eager curioſity: and every man now waited in ſilence for ſome extraordinary inſtance of force and dignity of ſpeaking. But he who had ſo frequently braved all the tumult and oppoſition of an Athenian aſſembly, was, in this new ſcene, in an inſtant diſconcerted and confounded. He began in a manner utterly unworthy of his reputation, obſcure, ungraceful, and heſitating: his terror and embarraſſment ſtill increaſed: and ſcarcely had he uttered a few broken and interrupted ſentences, when his powers totally failed him; and he ſtood before the aſſembly, utterly unable to proceed. Philip ſaw his diſtreſs, and, with all imaginable politeneſs, endeavoured to relieve it. He told him with that condeſcenſion and good-nature, which he knew ſo well to affect, that, at his court, he need be under no apprehenſions: he was not now before an aſſembly of his countrymen, where he might expect ſome fatal conſequences, if his hearers were not pleaſed: he begged he would take time to recollect himſelf, and purſue his intended diſcourſe. Demoſthenes attempted to proceed; but his confuſion

fuſion ſtill continued; he appeared ſtill embarraſſed, and was ſoon obliged to be again ſilent. The ambaſſadors were then ordered to withdraw.

DEMOSTHENES, mortified, no doubt, by the weakneſs which he had juſt now diſcovered, endeavoured to give vent to his chagrin, by condemning the conduct of the other miniſters. He told AEſchines, with a face of paſſion and vexation, that he had utterly ruined the ſtate and her allies. When this aſſertion was received with general aſtoniſhment, "What, !", ſaid he, "have you forgot the preſent ſtate of Athens: how greatly the people have been harraſſed by war, and how ardently they wiſh for peace? are thoſe magnificent preparations capable of elating you, which have been decreed, but not yet made? you have now ſo irritated Philip, and ſpoken ſo ſeverely, that, inſtead of ending the war by an happy accommodation, you may expect a favourable and pacific diſpoſition changed into the moſt violent and hoſtile reſentment". AEſchin. de fal. Leg. Sect. 15.

BEFORE an anſwer could be given, they were again called in; and Philip now replied to their repreſentations and remonſtrances one by one, with the greateſt order, ſtrength, and perſpicuity. He addreſſed himſelf particularly to AEſchines, and dwelt on his ſpeech with peculiar copiouſneſs and accuracy, but in ſuch a manner, if we may believe this miniſter, as plainly ſhewed, that the king did not conſider him as a fomenter of the war: and that the fears which Demoſthenes expreſſed were groundleſs at leaſt, if not malicious. Any thing which this latter ſpeaker might have repreſented in his ſhort and confuſed addreſs, was either of too little moment to deſerve an anſwer, or was paſſed over by Philip with a contemptuous diſregard, affected on purpoſe to mortify his great enemy, and to remind the world, that the man who had ever inveighed with the utmoſt virulence againſt him, had not been able, on this occaſion, when his allegations were to be delivered without acrimony, to offer any thing Ibid.

which merited the leaſt notice or reply. He concluded with the uſual declarations of his candid intentions, and of his deſire to live for the future in ſtrict amity with Athens. He then invited them to an entertainment (where Demoſthenes is ſaid, by his rival orator, to have ſtill behaved with great weakneſs and confuſion.) And having received many tokens of honour and eſteem, they were diſmiſſed with letters, wherein Philip aſſured the Athenians, that his diſpoſitions were ſincerely pacific; and that, as ſoon as they ſhould conſent to enter into an alliance with him, they ſhould be particularly informed of thoſe inſtances of friendſhip and affection, which they might expect from his real regard and eſteem for Athens.

Dem. de falſa Leg. Sect. 14.

AEſchin. de falſ. Leg. Sect. 17, 18.

THE diſadvantageous manner in which Demoſthenes had now appeared at the court of Macedon, muſt have given him no ſmall uneaſineſs; and, if fully repreſented at Athens, he was ſenſible, muſt ſink him greatly in the opinion of his countrymen. The diſſatisfactions which he had betrayed, and the ſuſpicions which he had expreſſed of his collegues, were now likely to prove highly prejudicial to him, and might reaſonably be expected to irritate them, and to prompt them to give no very favourable account of his late conduct. He therefore now found it neceſſary (if we may give credit to his rival) to make a total alteration in his behaviour. His ſeverity and reſerve were changed to the moſt obliging complaiſance and obſequiouſneſs. To each of the ambaſſadors apart he took occaſion to make a tender of his friendſhip and intereſt at Athens; he propoſed to obtain them favours and employments: and even promiſed acts of kindneſs of a private nature. He complimented AEſchines in particular on the abilities which he had lately diſplayed; on the ſtrength and energy of his ſpeech, and the happineſs of his genius. Such were the arts he is ſaid to have practiſed from the moment of their departure. At Lariſſa he reſumed the diſcourſe of late tranſactions. He freely rallied the confuſion and heſitation into which he had betrayed; and acknowledged the eloquent and maſterly manner in

which the king of Macedon had ſpoken: and in this all the ambaſſadors readily concurred: AEſchines obſerved with what exactneſs and preciſion he had, at once, anſwered all their allegations; and Cteſiphon cried out in tranſport, that, in the courſe of a long life, he had never met with a man of ſo polite and amiable a deportment. Theſe praiſes were by no means pleaſing to Demoſthenes. "He apprehended," he ſaid, "that they could not think it proper to make ſuch "repreſentations to the aſſembly." Thus artfully endeavouring, if we may believe AEſchines, to lead the ambaſſadors to make their report in ſuch a manner as might ſerve him moſt effectually; and even inable him to eſtabliſh his own reputation, by depreciating thoſe of the other deputies: and, if this was his deſign, it was in a good meaſure ſucceſsful. They all agreed to make the ſame report to the people; and AEſchines aſſerts, that Demoſthenes prevailed on him, by the moſt vehement intreaties, to promiſe that he would give a favourable account of his particular conduct, and aſſure the Athenians, that he had ſpoken ſufficiently on the affair of Amphipolis.

THE ambaſſadors were now returned; and firſt appeared in the ſenate to give an account of their ambaſſy, and to deliver Philip's letters. Here Demoſthenes ſpoke loudly in praiſe of his collegues, and, confirming his declarations with a ſolemn oath, he congratulated the ſenate on having choſen ambaſſadors, whoſe integrity and abilities were worthy of the ſtate. AEſchines, in particular, was the object of his encomiums; and he moved, that every one of the miniſters ſhould be honoured with a crown of ſacred Olive, and invited the next day to a public entertainment, according to the cuſtom of Athens. AEſchin. de fal. Leg. Sect. 19.

THEY were, in the next place, to make their report before the popular aſſembly, where Cteſiphon, as the oldeſt miniſter, firſt roſe, and gave the account which had been concerted between them: to which he added many praiſes of the affability, politeneſs, and feſtivity Sect. 20.

of

of the king of Macedon, as well as of the gracefulneſs and dignity of his perſon. AEſchines took notice of his eloquence and memory, of the acuteneſs and readineſs with which he ſpoke to every particular point; and added, as he had promiſed, that Demoſthenes had taken care, as his peculiar province, to diſcuſs the affair of Amphipolis. The people ſeemed pleaſed with the repreſentations of their ambaſſadors, and were particularly warm in their applauſes of AEſchines; when, laſt of all, Demoſthenes aroſe. "I am ſurprized," ſaith he, "both at our miniſters, and at you who have here aſſembled to hear "their report: who can think it worth while to waſte the time of "adviſing and deliberating, in trifles quite foreign to the preſent "purpoſe. This negotiation may be readily and briefly reported. "Here is the decree by which we were commiſſioned. We have "executed this commiſſion. Here are Philip's letters. You hear "his anſwer. You are then only to take it into conſideration."

AEſchin. de fal. Leg. Sect. 21.

THIS ſhort ſpeech raiſed a general murmur in the aſſembly. Some applauded the ſtrength and preciſion of it; others cenſured it as malicious and envious; when Demoſthenes proceeded in this manner: "You ſhall now ſee, how I propoſe to cut off all theſe ſuper-"fluous matters. AEſchines praiſes the memory and eloquence of "Philip. But ſo far am I from agreeing with him, that I appre-"hend any other man, in the ſame rank and circumſtances, would not "be accounted inferior to him in theſe particulars. Cteſiphon praiſes "his perſon: I think my collegue Ariſtodemus has a figure no leſs "graceful. Others tell you of his mirth and gaiety at table: I think "Philocrates is by far the more jovial companion [B]. One man "ſays it was left to me to ſpeak about Amphipolis; but this your "orator would not willingly ſuffer either you or me to ſpeak.—But "this is all trifling. I ſhall draw up a decree for entering into a

[B] IT is obſervable, ſaith Olivier (L. 9. p. 63.) that it was neceſſary to collect together all the accompliſhments of the ſeveral ambaſſadors, in order to have a juſt idea of thoſe of Philip.

"negotiation

" negotiation with Philip's heralds and ambaſſadors, who are now " expected; for convening an aſſembly, within two days after their " arrival, to deliberate both about a peace and an alliance; and for " doing the uſual honours to your miniſters, if you approve of our " conduct."

THIS decree he accordingly moved for: it was then the eighth day of the month Elaphebolion: and the days of deliberation were fixed for the ſeventeenth and eighteenth of the ſame month. In the interim, Philip's three ambaſſadors, Antipater, Eurylochus, and Parmenio, (who had orders to change the ſiege of Halus into a blockade, and to join the other two) arrived at Athens. The merit and character of theſe men added greatly to the luſtre of their ambaſſy. Eurylochus was eminent both for eloquence and valour; and exerted each effectually in the ſervice both of Philip and Alexander. Parmenio joined the merit of an honeſt courtier to that of an able and brave ſoldier. We may judge of the eſteem in which his maſter held him by the following anſwer. He was told, that the Athenians had choſen their ten generals for the year. " A happy people, who " can every year find ten!" ſaid Philip, with his eye fixed on Parmenio: " In my life, I never knew but one." Antipater was the moſt reſpected and revered of all Philip's miniſters. This prince uſed frequently to ſay at table: " Come! let us drink deep! it is enough " for me that Antipater is ſober!" He came into his audience-chamber one morning later than uſual. " I have been long a-bed," ſaid he,— " but it is no matter: Antipater was awake."

AEſch. de fal. Leg. Sect. 22. Demoſth. de fal. Leg. Sect. 20.

Plutarch. Apophth.

THESE men were received at Athens with all the reſpect due to their characters and commiſſion. They were lodged at the houſe of Demoſthenes, who was particularly ſollicitous, that the ſtate ſhould treat them with the utmoſt deference and politeneſs. He procured an order from the aſſembly, that ſeats ſhould be appointed and prepared for them in the theatre, where he appeared remarkably aſſiduous

AEſch. de fal. Leg. Sect. 34. Sect. 21. AEſch. in Ctef. Sect. 28.

aſſiduous to do the honours of the city. This might have been intended as a return for the reſpect and attention paid to the Athenian ambaſſadors at Macedon. The people of that country piqued themſelves on their magnificence, and therefore were to be treated according to their own ideas of politeneſs. And poſſibly he might have thought that, by thus appearing the inſtrument of procuring them public honours, he would give them an opinion of his own importance at Athens. But, whatever were his motives, this his conduct diſguſted the people, who received his officiouſneſs, and public aſſiduity, in obliging the ambaſſadors, and ordering their accommodations in the theatre, with loud expreſſions of deriſion and contempt.

AEſchin. in Ctef. Sect. 28.

WHEN the ambaſſadors had firſt been entertained at a public feaſt, on the next day the aſſembly was convened to give them audience. The repreſentatives of the ſeveral Grecian powers, who were then at Athens, ſaw plainly, that Philip wiſhed only for a ſeparate peace; and thought that matters were hurrying on with a precipitation which might prove fatal to the general intereſt. They therefore had a motion made in the aſſembly of the following purport: That, "whereas the Athenians were now deliberating about a treaty with "the king of Macedon; and that the deputies, ſent to exhort the "Greeks to defend the general cauſe of liberty againſt this prince, "were not yet returned; it ſhould be reſolved, that, on the return "of theſe deputies, two aſſemblies ſhould be appointed to conſider "of a peace; that the determination of the Athenians, on this occa-"ſion, ſhould be regarded as the act of the confederates in general; "and that all they who, within the ſpace of three months, ſhould "think proper to accede to the treaty, ſhould be conſidered as in-"cluded in it, and intitled to all the advantages of it."

AEſchin. de falſa Leg. Sect. 22.

THIS motion, in which no mention at all was made of any alliance, was ſtrongly ſupported by AEſchines. The debate was protracted; and the aſſembly divided between thoſe who urged the

neceſſity of attending to the intereſts of the allies, and thoſe who affected to conſider all delays as highly dangerous. The firſt were only for a ceſſation of arms for the preſent, that the Grecian ſtates might have full leiſure to concur in all further tranſactions, and to unite in concluding ſuch a full and compleat accommodation and alliance with Macedon, as might provide effectually for all their intereſts. The others were for entering immediately into the ſtricteſt connexions with Philip, as the only means of putting a ſtop to his conqueſts, and of ſecuring to the people of Athens thoſe dominions which he had ſtill left unſubdued. Of this latter party Demoſthenes appeared to be a warm eſpouſer, though not without a due attention to the intereſt of the allied ſtates, as * he himſelf repreſents his conduct. The next morning (for the diſpute had been protracted, and the people forced to riſe without coming to a determination) before any other ſpeaker had been heard, he mounted the gallery, and ſpoke with great vehemence for bringing this important affair to an immediate concluſion. He told the people, "that the motion "of the day before, relating to the allies, could have no ſort of effect, "without the concurrence of the Macedonian miniſters; and that "he apprehended it was a new affair, about which they were not "inſtructed or commiſſioned to treat. He could not conceive (he "ſaid) how a peace could poſſibly ſubſiſt, without an alliance; to "rend theſe two aſunder would be a moſt unnatural ſeparation. "He thought it by no means prudent to wait the ſlow proceedings "of the allies; and that they were now only to conſider whether "they would carry on the war alone, or make a peace alone. This "was the only alternative left for them; and, on one or other of "theſe two meaſures, they were now neceſſarily to determine." He then called on Antipater, and interrogated him publicly about the intentions of the king, his maſter. His anſwers were calculated to bring all matters to a ſpeedy iſſue: and Philocrates now propoſed his decree in form for the immediate concluſion of a peace and alliance. The aſſembly ſtill continued greatly diſtracted. The well-known

AEſchin. in Cteſ. Sect. 26.

* de fal. Leg. Sect. 6.

Ibid.

ambitious and enterprizing temper of Philip, the vigour with which he was now actually purſuing his Thracian conqueſts, and the neceſſity of ſtopping his progreſs by the engagements of an equitable treaty, afforded Demoſthenes and Philocrates weighty arguments for the ſupport of their opinion. On the other hand, the propoſition made by Philocrates was attacked with violent animoſity, as calculated to betray the cauſe of Greece, and to ſully the glory of their anceſtors, the great patrons and protectors of liberty. AEſchines, in particular, ſpoke in the following manner:

Dem. de fal. Leg. Sect. 6.

"HAD Philocrates ſtudied to give all poſſible oppoſition to a "peace, had he long laboured and matured his ſcheme, he could "not poſſibly have contrived means more effectual than this decree. "I am, myſelf, perſuaded, that it is highly proper to come to an "accommodation. But ſuch a peace as he has now propoſed I never "ſhould adviſe, while one ſingle citizen of Athens was left alive."

THIS whole day alſo paſſed in oppoſition and debate; and the next morning the ſubject was reſumed with the ſame heat and violence; when AEſchines aroſe, and every man waited in expectation to hear a ſtrong and zealous defence of the motion in favour of their allies, and a ſpirited oppoſition to the ſentiments of Philocrates and Demoſthenes. But his opinion was now quite altered. To the general ſurprize he declared, if we may believe Demoſthenes, that it Ibid. "was an idle vanity to attend to thoſe who entertained and flattered "them with pompous harangues on the conduct and glory of their "anceſtors; or to imagine that they were born for the protection "of every ſtate, that could not maintain their own quarrels: that, "for his part, he was for conſidering only the particular intereſt of "Athens. This peace was their own affair, and ought not to be "affected by the determinations of others. He ſaw, with concern, a "number of inſolent men throwing out their opprobrious invectives "and branding, with the name of Barbarian, a prince of merit and "abilities.

" abilities, devoted to Greece, and particularly attentive to approve " himſelf a friend to Athens; that, in ſhort, he ſhould move them " to confine their care and aſſiſtance to thoſe who had formerly aſſiſted " them." The meaning of which was, that the Phocian intereſt only ſhould be provided for, and their Thracian alliances and connexions all abandoned.

FROM this aera, Demoſthenes dates the corruption of AEſchines: and, if the relation be exactly true, the Macedonian miniſters had, no doubt, tampered with him, and gained him over to their maſter's ſervice.

PHILOCRATES was now triumphant: his decree paſſed without any farther oppoſition; and a clauſe was inſerted, which obliged all the repreſentatives of the allied ſtates to accede immediately to the treaty, which was now ratified, in form, on the part of Athens. To this clauſe AEſchines attributes the deſtruction of Cerſobleptes, who could not, as he aſſerts, take any advantage of the treaty, as he had then no miniſter at Athens: but this clauſe might poſſibly have been underſtood of thoſe ſtates only, whoſe repreſentatives were then preſent: for it appears, from ſeveral particulars in thoſe orations of the two contending orators, where theſe tranſactions are diſcuſſed, that a time muſt have been allowed for the others to accede.

AEſchin. in Cteſ. Sect. 27.

AND now Demoſthenes propoſed, and the aſſembly agreed to, the following reſolution [c]:

Dem. de Corona. Sect. 9.

[c] There is a difficulty in the date of this decree, which may not be unworthy of the learned reader's notice; and which hathnot been obſerved by any interpreter or editor of Demoſthenes, that I have had an opportunity of conſulting.——But before it is ſtated, and to ſave the trouble of turning to other books, I here inſert the Attic months in their order, according to Scaliger:

Hecatombaeon,

"WHEREAS Philip, by his ambaſſadors ſent to Athens, [illegible]
"to treat about a peace, has agreed to, and concluded, t[illegible]
"accommodation: it is RESOLVED by the Senate and P[illegible]
"Athens, in order to bring the peace to an iſſue, which [illegible]
"ſettled in a former aſſembly, that five ambaſſadors be ch[illegible]
"the community of Athens. That the ambaſſadors, thus choſen,
"ſhall depart, and, without delay, repair to that place, where they
"ſhall be informed that Philip reſides, and, with all convenient
"ſpeed, mutually receive and give the neceſſary oaths and ratifica-
"tions of the treaty, concluded as aforeſaid with the people of
"Athens, including the allies on each ſide. The perſons choſen
"for this commiſſion are Eubulus, AEſchines, Cephiſophon, De-
"mocrates, and Cleon."

AESCHINES, who was at the head of this ambaſſy, appears to have now devoted himſelf intirely to ſerve Philip. Eubulus ſeems

Hecatombaeon,	July.	Gamelion,	January.
Metagitnion,	Auguſt.	Antheſterion,	February.
Boedromion,	September.	Elaphebolion,	March.
Puanepſion,	October.	Munichion,	April.
Maemacterion,	November.	Thargelion,	May.
Poſidaeon,	December.	Scirrophorion,	June.

The decree is dated, in all the editions of Demoſthenes, on the nineteenth day of the month HECATOMBAEON. But in Demoſthenes on the ambaſſy (Sect. 20.) we find it expreſsly aſſerted, that the peace was agreed to at Athens on the nineteenth of the month Elaphebolion; and that the ambaſſadors, who were by this decree commiſſioned to receive Philip's oath, were three months abſent on this occaſion, and returned to Athens on the thirteenth of Scirrophorion. If the decree was made in the month Hecatombaeon, the ſettling the terms of accommodation at Athens muſt have been the buſineſs, not of three days, but of four months; and the ambaſſadors muſt have been abroad not three, but twelve months: contrary to the expreſs and particular declarations of Demoſthenes in his oration on the Ambaſſy. I know no other way of getting clear of this difficulty, but by ſuppoſing an antient error in the copies of the oration on the Crown, [illegible] ſtead of Εκατομβαιωνος, (p. 2[illegible] Friend) we ſhould read Ελ[illegible]

to have had all the craft of a politician, without the genius and temper of a true patriot ſtateſman: attentive to eſtabliſh his own intereſt and power at home, he found it more eaſy and more conſiſtent with his ſcheme, to flatter the vices and follies of his countrymen, than to watch over the welfare of his country. Such a man was eaſily elated and influenced by the attention, which a prince or his miniſters might ſhew to him; which, though paid to his power and authority in the aſſembly, his vanity muſt have attributed to his own merit and abilities. Such a man was a moſt convenient inſtrument for the deſigns of Philip; nor do the reſt of the ambaſſadors appear to have been ſufficiently guarded againſt his artifices. His partizans and private agents grew every day more and more powerful in the aſſembly at Athens; and either corruption or deceit eluded all the efforts of the zealous patriots. Before the Macedonian miniſters were departed, a remarkable inſtance appeared of the weakneſs of the Athenian politics. Critobulus, a citizen of Lampſacus, appeared on the part of Cerſobleptes, and demanded that he ſhould be included in the treaty. But this prince, who had purchaſed their friendſhip by ſo many important conceſſions, whom their honour and their intereſt equally obliged them to ſupport, was now abandoned and diſclaimed: his demand was inſtantly rejected, and, if we may credit AEſchines, at the inſtances of Demoſthenes himſelf. Hiſtory hath not given the particular reaſons of a conduct which appears ſo extraordinary. But it ſeems not improbable, that, when the repreſentative of Cerſobleptes appeared, ſome Athenian generals, who had lately commanded in Thrace, and who were now aſſeſſors in the aſſembly, complained of ſome hoſtilities committed by this prince, and repreſented him as an enemy to Athens: (for thus I would underſtand a paſſage in Philip's letter to the Athenians [D];) and

AEſchin. de fal. Leg. Sect. 26.

Sect. 27.

[D] Οἶδα——Κερσοβλεπτην δε τοις παρ' ἐμοῦ πρεσβευταις, ἰδια μεν τους ὁρκους ὀμοσαι προσυμμενον, κωλυθεντα δ' ὑπο των ὑμετερων στρατηγων ἀποφαινοντων αὐτον Αθηναιων ἐχθρον.

know that Cerſobleptes, when he declared himſelf ready (not *to ſwear to a ſeparate treaty with me*, as I confeſs to have inadvertently rendered it in the firſt edition of the Philippic orations.

and that, in conſequence of theſe repreſentations, Cerſobleptes was denied the advantage of being conſidered as an ally, and abandoned intirely to the power of Philip, whoſe ſchemes demanded his ruin, and who had now driven him out of all his territories one by one, and ſhut him, as hath been already obſerved, up in the ſacred mountains. Here, quite cut off from all aſſiſtance, he ſoon found it in vain to contend any longer; ſurrendered himſelf to the conqueror, and gave one of his ſons as an hoſtage for the performance of ſuch ſevere terms as Philip's ſuperiority inabled him to dictate.

AEſchin. de fal. Leg. Sect. 26. 29.

THE news of this unhappy prince's total ruin was ſent to Athens by Chares, who ſtill commanded a fleet on the coaſt of Thrace; and there raiſed the uſual ferment and commotion; which were ſtill increaſed by new attempts of Philip to reduce ſome towns on the Propontis, and the neighbouring iſlands, which were under the protection of Athens: and of which number were Serrium and Doriſcum, two places frequently mentioned in the orations of Demoſthenes. For ſome ſhort time the people ſeemed determined to recommence hoſtilities. Levies, preparations, ſubſidies, were all projected; and vigour and oppoſition, glory and reſolution, became once more the favourite topics. On this occaſion, Demoſthenes pronounced that oration, which Dionyſius Halicarnaſſaeus calls the fifth Philippic, and which is ſuppoſed, by the editors and interpreters of that orator, to be now loſt: but which, the author of this hiſtory is induced to believe, hath been joined to the firſt Philippic, not only from the reaſons which he had occaſion to offer in another work, but particularly as the latter part of the oration, ſo called, mentions facts, which, according to AEſchines, muſt have immediately preceded the preſent treaty; and which, we find from another part of the remains of De-

Epiſt. ad Amm.

orations tranſlated, but) *to accede to the treaty, and to take the neceſſary oaths, in order to be included in it as one of the Athenian allies, in the preſence of my ambaſſadors, was prevented by your generals, who ſhewed that he was an enemy to the Athens.*

moſthenes, happened at the time when Philip attacked the Athenian ſettlements on the Helleſpont; and when the counſels of Athens were fluctuating, and within the ſpace of a few days changed from peace to war, and from war to peace, which we find frequently and remarkably happening from the firſt attack of Olynthus, down to the ratification of the treaty now depending [E].

THIS fit of zeal had been ſuddenly raiſed, and as ſuddenly ſubſided. The conſequence of all their violent commotion was no more than to diſpatch an ambaſſador, named Euclides, to repreſent to Philip that Serrium and Doriſcum were Athenian cities: to which he coldly anſwered, that he had not been ſo inſtructed at the time of the convention which they had held with his miniſters; nor had any mention been made of theſe places in their treaty. And with this anſwer the people ſeemed now contented. Dem. de fal. Leg. Sect. 46, 47. cum Schol.

BUT this inceſſant and indefatigable purſuit of new conqueſts and acquiſitions could not but convince the Athenians of the abſolute neceſſity of obliging Philip to an immediate ratification of the treaty, as the only means of ſtopping the progreſs of an active and reſtleſs ambition. The ambaſſadors, choſen for this purpoſe, ſeemed in no haſte to depart. AEſchines, in particular, was ſuſpected, and perhaps juſtly, of being intirely devoted to the intereſt of Philip, and determined to give him every poſſible opportunity of extending his Thracian conqueſts, by prolonging the interval between the congreſs at Athens, and the ratification of the treaty on the part of Macedon. Demoſthenes looked on this as his real deſign, and for that reaſon, as he aſſerts, procured another decree, to oblige theſe miniſters to repair to Philip without further delay, and to receive his engagements. The error in neglecting the intereſts of Cerſobleptes was perceived when it was too late; and the ambaſſadors were now directed to Dem. de fal. Leg. Sect. 47.

[E] See a note on Book III. Sect. I. p. 25.

adminiſter

adminiſter the oath to that prince, that he might be included in the treaty.

Dem. de fal. Leg. Sect. 52.

AESCHINES, and his collegues, at length prepared for their departure. They imbarked at the port of Athens, coaſted along the Euripus; then landed at Chalcis, and from thence proceeded to Oreum. Here they ſtopped for ſome time, under the pretence of waiting for a convoy. Proxenus, the Athenian admiral, who was ordered to conduct them, at length arrived with his fleet. Still their departure was deferred under various pretences; while Philip purſued his conqueſts with his uſual vigour. In twenty-five days they at laſt arrived at Pella; a journey which might have been accompliſhed in ſix, had they uſed the neceſſary expedition. Here they were joined by Demoſthenes, who, after their departure, had prevailed on the people to add him to their number; in order, as he alledged, to inable him to perform his promiſe to ſome Athenian priſoners, who had been taken in Olynthus, and were ſtill detained at Macedon; and whom, at the time of the former ambaſſy, he had engaged to ranſom at his own expence; and now brought a talent with him for this purpoſe. We find AEſchines treating this deſign of Demoſthenes with the greateſt contempt: he inſiſts, that it was well known, that Philip intended to ſet them all at liberty without any conſideration; and that his talent could not have proved ſufficient for the ranſom of a ſingle citizen of but moderate rank. By the computation of Demoſthenes, however, it muſt have been of much greater ſervice: for he aſſerts, that, immediately after his arrival, he furniſhed ſeveral poor citizens, who were deſirous of purchaſing their freedom, without owing any obligation to Philip, or who doubted the reality of his intentions to releaſe them, ſome with three, ſome with five minae, according to their different circumſtances and conditions.

Sect. 49.

AEſchin. de fal. Leg. Sect. 31.

Dem. de fal. Leg. Sect. 50.

AEſchin. de fal. Leg. Sect. 32. 35.

AT Pella, where the ambaſſadors now waited the return of Philip, who was ſtill in Thrace, they found the deputies of Thebes, whom the

the Phocian affairs had brought to the court of Macedon. Preparations for war were carrying on through that kingdom, and ſome great and ſignal event ſeemed to be in agitation. The real deſigns of Philip were ever an inviolable ſecret, until they came to the very point of execution: but it was univerſally ſuppoſed, that the armaments, he was now making, were intended againſt the Phocians. The circumſtances of this people it is here neceſſary to recal to view.

THE ſacred war had for ſome years paſſed in mutual ravages, the effect and indication of the weakneſs of each party. In the beginning of this preſent * year, the Phocians had ſome ſlight ſucceſs near Hyampolis, but were defeated before Coronaea with a conſiderable loſs. The Thebans, however, were too weak to derive any advantages from this victory, or to recover thoſe cities which the Phocian arms had gained in Boeotia. The enemy ſtill infeſted their territories, and had juſt been reinforced by a conſiderable party of their army, which the Thebans had ſhut up in one of their towns, and which their fellow-ſoldiers delivered, by making themſelves maſters of the place. Thus ſtrengthened and encouraged by their ſucceſs, the Phocians fought out their enemy, and gained a conſiderable victory near Hedyleum. The cavalry of Thebes was not engaged in this action, but was ſoon after broken and defeated.

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 56.

* Olymp. 108. Y. 2.

Dem. de falſa Leg. Sect. 45.

THE Thebans, weakened by theſe their loſſes, and abandoned by their allies, determined to addreſs themſelves for aſſiſtance to Philip, as the perſon to whom the honour of determining this tedious quarrel ſeemed peculiarly reſerved. The Phocians, on their part, were equally exhauſted, and equally diſpirited; their money was waſted, and their forces harraſſed: they ſuſpected the deſigns, and dreaded the power, of Philip; and now began to think ſeriouſly of a peace. They commenced a judicial proceſs againſt Phaleucus, who was accuſed of plundering the ſacred treaſures, convicted, and depoſed; they then named three magiſtrates, who were commiſſioned to

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 58.

Sect. 56.

examine into the ſtate of the temple, and into the depredations which had been there made; and to bring the authors to condign puniſhment. Philon, one of their citizens, who had ſhared largely of the ſpoil, with others of his accomplices, were put to death, and obliged to make reſtitution to the god: and while, by theſe acts of juſtice, they endeavoured to regain the general favour, they had recourſe to the Athenians for aſſiſtance, and, as an inducement to comply with their deſires, offered to give them up Alponus, Thronium, and Nicaea, the three cities which commanded the ſtreights of Thermopylae. The Athenians accepted of the conditions, and granted them a fleet of fifty veſſels, under the command of Proxenus. But theſe veſſels were neither equipped with ſufficient expedition; nor did their general act with the neceſſary vigour.

AEſchin. de fal. Leg. Sect. 41.

PHALEUCUS, though depoſed, ſtill continued at the head of eight thouſand mercenaries, who were abſolutely devoted to him. Theſe he ſupported by ravaging the Theban territory; and, with them, covered Orchomenus, Coronaea, and Tilphoſſeum, the conqueſts of his predeceſſors. At Nicaea he fixed his head quarters, and determined to prevent Proxenus from taking poſſeſſion of the cities of Thermopylae. He even ſeized and threw the deputies into chains, who were ſent to ſummon him to ſurrender theſe towns to Athens, according to the late ſtipulation: while the natural forces of the Phocians were, in the mean time, employed in fortifying the city of Abae.

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 59.

AEſchin. ut ſupra. Dem. de fal. Leg. Sect. 25.

IT was not yet the time for Philip to act effectually againſt Phocis: but, that he might not appear to neglect the cauſe of the god, he ſent the Thebans ſome reinforcements, which inabled them to attack the Phocians at Abae, where they defeated and purſued them with conſiderable ſlaughter. The Phocians diſperſed in their flight; ſome found refuge in the neighbouring towns: a party of five hundred took refuge in the temple of the Abaean Apollo. They pitched

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 58.

pitched their tents along the porticoes, and made their lodgment to the beſt advantage in their power. Their beds were of dried herbs, ſtraw, and the like inflammable materials. An accidental fire, began in one of their tents, was inſtantly communicated through the whole number; ſpread itſelf round the adjacent apartments; and raged with a fury which could not be extinguiſhed. Part of the temple was conſumed; and the wretched Phocians, who had taken ſhelter there, were all either ſtifled, or reduced to aſhes.

THIS accident was generally repreſented as the apparent judgment of the deity on thoſe ſacrilegious men, who had preſumed to expect protection in his temple, and filled all the Phocians with conſternation and deſpair. They diſpatched their deputies to Archidamus, to deſire the aſſiſtance of Sparta: while the Thebans, on their part, ſent ambaſſadors to Philip to ſollicit freſh ſuccours. Theſe now attended at Pella; whither miniſters from Lacedaemon alſo repaired. This ſtate ſaw the preſent diſtreſſed condition of Phocis, and thought it a favourable opportunity to revive an old claim to the temple, which they inſiſted belonged originally to the Dorians. And, as it plainly appeared that the Phocians could not long keep poſſeſſion of it, their miniſters were inſtructed to repreſent and aſſert this their claim at Macedon.

Diod. L. 16. Sect. 59.

Schol. in Dem. de fal. Leg. Sect. 25.

WHEN the Athenian deputies had reſided twenty-five days at Pella, Philip returned; and received the repreſentatives of the ſeveral ſtates with his uſual politeneſs. He affected the greateſt attention to the remonſtrances of the Lacedaemonians; and gave ſuch anſwers, as effectually prevented them from penetrating into his real intentions. The Theban miniſters he alſo treated with the appearance of the utmoſt friendſhip and reſpect. Repeated attempts were made to gain them by magnificent preſents, but theſe were all rejected: and, on this occaſion, Philon, one of thoſe miniſters, made the following

Demoſth. de falſa Leg. Sect. 43.

anſwer to his declarations of affection, which Demoſthenes extols as rather worthy of the ſtate of Athens:

Dem. de fal. Leg. Sect. 43.

"IT is with the utmoſt delight and ſatisfaction I obſerve that "greatneſs and goodneſs of mind expreſſed in this your generous "treatment of the Theban miniſters. We have already been ho- "noured with ſufficient aſſurances, that we are conſidered as your "friends, and worthy of all the rights of hoſpitality. But let this "benevolence be directed to our ſtate, and to its intereſts, now in- "truſted to us. So ſhall you act worthy of Philip, and worthy of "Thebes: and ſo ſhall we, and our country, be ever inviolably at- "tached to the king of Macedon."

Sect. 49.

CARESSES, promiſes, and preſents, were alſo employed towards the ambaſſadors of Athens. Every one of them was privately and particularly tempted by large ſums. But Demoſthenes himſelf bears witneſs to the general integrity of his collegues on this occaſion, and declares, that theſe magnificent offers were rejected. A grand preſent was then prepared for the whole body, as the beſt method of ſcreening the corruption of any particular man. This was alſo declined by Demoſthenes; who took the liberty of repreſenting, that this money might be more honourably and advantageouſly employed, in purchaſing the freedom of the Athenian priſoners. To this Philip anſwered, that, as his gueſts and friends, they were fully intitled to this ſmall acknowledgment of his regard; that their acceptance of it could not at all affect the priſoners, or retard their releaſe; theſe he intended to ſend, as a compliment, to the Athenians, at their approaching feſtival in honour of Minerva. Demoſthenes, as he hath repreſented his own conduct, ſtill continued to reſiſt the alluring temptation: the other miniſters were not poſſeſſed of equal reſolution; but, either dazzled by the magnificence of his preſent, or convinced of the fairneſs of his intentions, accepted and divided it among them.

BEFORE

BEFORE their public audience, they conſulted among themſelves in what manner they were to proceed, and how they might beſt execute their commiſſion. On this occaſion, AEſchines took notice of the preparations for war, now carrying on in Macedon; which plainly diſcovered that Philip was determined to ſtrike ſome important blow. There could be no doubt, he ſaid, that this prince intended to march to the ſtreights. All Greece was in ſuſpence and expectation. He therefore thought it the duty of the ambaſſy not to be confined to the buſineſs of receiving Philip's oath; but that, as they had full power to act, in every particular, as they deemed moſt advantageous to the ſtate, they were now to endeavour to detach Philip from the Theban intereſt, and to perſuade him to reſtore thoſe cities of Boeotia which had been demoliſhed by Thebes. Demoſthenes, on the contrary, declared, that he apprehended it the ſafeſt method to confine themſelves to the letter of their commiſſion: he ſaw, as plainly as any man, that Philip intended to march to Thermopylae; but that he had not that boldneſs which could prompt him to meddle in any matters that might be productive of contention, and of which he might find it difficult to give a ſatisfactory account to his countrymen. He, no doubt, ſaw what would prove the conſequence of all theſe tranſactions: and therefore determined to act, with all imaginable caution, in an affair which would be undoubtedly canvaſſed and examined with the ſtricteſt ſcrutiny hereafter. The real deſign of his appearing now at Macedon, probably was no other than to watch the conduct of AEſchines, and to have an opportunity of detecting thoſe ſecret practices and correſpondences which lie, at leaſt, ſuſpected: it was therefore moſt conſiſtent with his ſcheme, as well as the ſafeſt method, to act no farther in this negociation than was ſtrictly and abſolutely required by the commiſſion.

AEſchin. de fal. Leg. Sect. 32.

THEY were now admitted to an audience: on which occaſion Demoſthenes was the firſt to ſpeak. And the ſubſtance of his ſpeech is thus recorded by his rival orator:

Sect. 34.

"HIS

" His collegues, he obſerved, were intirely divided in their views " and ſentiments. His were ſtrictly conſonant to thoſe of Philip. " He had, in the firſt place, laboured to ſupport the decree of Philo- " crates; then, both in the ſenate and in the aſſembly, he had promo- " ted and accelerated the peace and alliance; and this in ſuch a man- " ner, as effectually to fruſtrate all oppoſition. At Athens he had " procured all poſſible honours for the Macedonian miniſters, and, " by this means, expoſed himſelf to all the diſtraction and anxi- " ety which the malice and envy of his enemies could raiſe within " his mind. He had eſcorted theſe miniſters publicly as far as to " Thebes, with all the marks and declarations of reſpect. He was " ſenſible, he ſaid, that he had been maligned and miſrepreſented " in Macedon. He had indeed denied Philip the praiſe of beauty; " for, in this, he muſt confeſs that woman far ſurpaſſed him. He " had not diſplayed his potency in drinking, the excellence of a " ſponge. Nor had he ſpoken in high terms of his memory, the " qualification of an hireling rhetorician, rather than that of a " mighty prince."

Longinus. DEMOSTHENES, though he ſometimes affected, yet was of all men leaſt capable of gaiety and ridicule: naturally gloomy and ſevere, poſſeſſed of none of the lively paſſions, and therefore unable to excite them. If he ever made his hearers laugh, it was the mirth raiſed by abſurdity and weakneſs, not the applauſe extorted by the poignancy of wit, or the delicacy of humour. On this occaſion, his attempts to give a light and ridiculous turn to the encomiums which the ambaſſadors had lately laviſhed on Philip, were intirely unſucceſsful. His collegues held down their heads, in confuſion, while the courtiers loudly expreſſed their deriſion. It was ſome time before the reſpect due to the preſence of their prince could prevail: but at length AEſchines was admitted to addreſs himſelf to Philip. The court of Macedon, he ſaid, was not the place for the Athenian miniſters to defend, or to praiſe themſelves; they had been deemed worthy

AEſchin. de fal. Leg. Sect. 34.

Sect. 35, 36.

worthy of their commiſſion at home; and there they were to account for their conduct. Their preſent buſineſs was to receive Philip's oath, conformably to the treaty already concluded on the part of Athens. The preparations for war now carrying on, plainly declared that the king intended to march againſt the Phocians. But he intreated him to remember the ties and engagements which united thoſe ſeveral ſtates, of which was formed the great Hellenic body. Their diſputes were, if poſſible, to be determined judicially; if not their rights, their privileges, their religion, he hoped, would find the due attention and reſpect. The antient laws of Greece demanded, that all ſacrilegious violaters and ſpoilers of the Delphic temple ſhould be puniſhed with ſeverity; but, at the ſame time, forbid the ſubverſion of any of theſe cities which are intitled to ſend repreſentatives to the great Amphictyonic council; and the members of this council he proceeded to enumerate, and to explain the nature of their rights and privileges. The cities of Boeotia, he obſerved, were deſtroyed, and the Phocians threatened. The reſpect due to the great council of Greece, not to mention the treaty, muſt determine him to reſtore the one, and to ſpare the other: the particulars, who had violated the ſanctity of the temple, might have their puniſhment ſufficiently determined at the approaching aſſembly of Amphictyons: but their cities were, by the moſt ſolemn laws and inſtitutions, intitled to full ſecurity: and if any partiality to the Thebans, or the influence of their repreſentations, ſhould induce him to act in oppoſition to theſe, while he raiſed himſelf a number of enemies, he would find them equally falſe and ungrateful as they had formerly proved to Athens.

THESE remonſtrances were probably calculated for recommending the ſpeaker's zeal to the Athenians, not for influencing the perſon to whom they were addreſſed. At leaſt, Philip was too politic to come to any explicit declaration of his intentions. He confined himſelf to vague profeſſions of his affection and reſpect to Athens; promiſed

promiſed to give up the priſoners, and obligingly deſired that the ambaſſadors might not yet leave him; for that he wiſhed to ſettle ſome affairs in Theſſaly in their preſence, and with their aſſiſtance. To this country he now directed his march, accompanied by the deputies of Athens and Thebes, who were all treated with the utmoſt appearance of affection and confidence. The deputies of each ſtate always found an eaſy admiſſion to the king, who ever ſpoke of their affairs with ſuch apparent eaſe and candour, ſuch ſeeming affection and regard, that the moſt cautious could not ſuſpect his artifice, nor could the moſt penetrating diſcover it. To the Thebans he inveighed in private againſt the obſtinacy and the impiety of Phocis; and aſſured them of his reſolution to inflict exemplary puniſhment on this ſtate. To the Athenians he expreſſed the utmoſt commiſeration of that unhappy people. He lamented his connexions which obliged him to appear among their enemies; he took occaſions to hint, that if he ſhould be obliged to decide this tedious quarrel, his real intentions were to protect them againſt all ſeverity; he ſpoke, with concern, of the tyranny and cruelty of Thebes; and of the neceſſity of reſtoring the cities of Boeotia to their independence. Every article, that was agreeable to the views and intereſts of Athens, he frequently mentioned with an apparently firm conviction of their juſtice and reaſonableneſs; and, without directly and formally promiſing, perſuaded the deputies, that it was his real purpoſe to make moſt important conceſſions to the Athenians; and fully to indemnify them for any inconvenience they might ſuffer by his keeping poſſeſſion of Amphipolis. And, while he thus amuſed the ſeveral deputies in private, he every day entertained them all at his table with the utmoſt gaiety and condeſcenſion. On one of theſe occaſions, the young Alexander, who, from his earlieſt years, diſcovered a particular taſte for muſic, ſang, or repeated ſome verſes for the entertainment of the company: and Demoſthenes is ſaid to have deſcended, at his return to Athens, to repeat and ridicule thoſe faults in pronunciation, which the prince committed.

Dem. de fal. Leg. Sect. 47. & alib.

Dem. de Pace Sect. 3. Phil. 2. Sect. 6.

AEſchin. in Timarch. p. 193.

FROM

FROM Theſſaly, Philip addreſſed a letter to the Athenians, expreſſing his eſteem for the ſtate, and its ambaſſadors, declaring, that he ſhould omit no opportunity of demonſtrating his regard for them, and earneſtly deſiring, that the means might be pointed out to him; not hinting, as before, at any particular good offices which he intended to confer; but profeſſing a total ignorance of the manner in which he might gratify this people: and only declaring his general good diſpoſition, and deſire to approve himſelf their friend. He concluded with intreating them not to be offended at his detaining their ambaſſadors, for that he wiſhed to take the advantage of their eloquence and wiſdom, to bring the people of Halus to reaſonable terms. AEſchines is accuſed by his rival orator of having held nocturnal interviews with Philip, and having dictated this letter himſelf. But this inſinuation he treats with great contempt, and inſiſts on the glaring abſurdity of ſuppoſing that Philip could not have compoſed it, or might not have employed Python or Leoſthenes, two able ſpeakers, who then reſided at his court.

Dem. de fal. Leg. Sect. 13, 14.

Ibid. Sect. 13.

AEſchin. de fal. Leg. Sect. 40.

BUT whether AEſchines concurred or no in theſe arts of protracting the treaty, or whether he ſuggeſted any means of amuſing the Athenians, it ſeems pretty clear, at leaſt, that he (if not his collegues alſo) was rather ſtudious to recommend himſelf to Philip, than to ſerve his country. Nay, to ſuch ſhameful adulation and proſtitution are theſe miniſters ſaid to have proceeded, as even to betray the weakneſs of their ſtate to its mortal enemy, and to point out the means of ſubverting it. They repreſented to Philip, that the people of Athens was weak, fluctuating, and inconſtant, like the waves of a tumultuous ſea, toſſed about by the winds and accidental ſtorms: that all public ſpirit was loſt among them; that the community and its intereſts were never regarded, never aſſerted, never remembered; that it was his buſineſs to gain a few friends among them, who might direct all their councils, and conduct all their affairs, in the manner moſt agreeable to his deſigns: and that this would inable him to command

Dem. de fal. Leg. Sect. 42.

them abſolutely, and to effect whatever he pleaſed at Athens. Demoſthenes aſſerts poſitively, that he accuſed them, in the aſſembly, of having given this ſhocking and flagitious advice; and that they were utterly unable to contradict him. But Philip wanted neither their inſtruction nor directions. He was perfectly acquainted with the temper and diſpoſitions of his antagoniſts, and had long practiſed thoſe arts which theſe men are ſaid to have recommended to him.

He had now no longer occaſion to affect delays. He had already compleated his Thracian conqueſts, and was fully prepared for the execution of his other deſigns. He was advanced to the very borders of Greece; and an uninterrupted paſſage through Thermopylae was the only difficulty now remaining. The Athenians were in the firſt place to be ſatisfied; and therefore, juſt as he was ready to depart from Pherae, he took the oath which they required, and concluded the treaty which had been ſo long depending. The ceremony was performed in a place adjoining to the temple of Pollux, which Demoſthenes calls a tavern. The terms of his engagement were, that "he concluded a peace with the Athenians and their allies," without any explicit exception or reſervation. A ſtate of the allies, on each ſide, was ſettled and drawn up. The Cardians were included on the part of Philip, ſo as to leave him perpetual occaſion of fomenting diviſions in the Cherſoneſus. On the part of the Athenians, Cerſobleptes was omitted. Philocrates had endeavoured, at Athens, to have the Halians and the Phocians expreſſly excepted out of the treaty. This the people abſolutely refuſed; but now Philip contrived to have their names alſo omitted in the liſt of the Athenian allies. Halus, he ſaid, he was abſolutely engaged to give up to the Pharſalians, who had ever ſerved him with the greateſt zeal and affection. As to the Phocians, he publicly declared, that he could not think of comprehending in this treaty, or of honouring with the name of allies, a people polluted by ſacrilege, and condemned by the general voice of the great and auguſt council of the Amphyctions. But, at the ſame

Dem. de fal. Leg. Sect. 47.

Sect. 52.

Sect. 47.

Aliud Arg. in Orat. de fal. Leg.

Dem. de fal. Leg. Sect. 89.

ſame time, he privately aſſured the Athenian miniſters, that he had determined to act in ſuch a manner as ſhould give general ſatisfaction to Greece; that he would take no meaſures without the concurrence and conſent of the Phocians themſelves; but that he had his own reaſons for not entering into a particular explanation of his intentions, in the preſence of the Theban deputies.

THUS this momentous affair, which engaged the attention of all Greece, and from which every ſtate flattered themſelves with the hopes of ſuch conſequences as ſuited their particular views and intereſts, was delayed juſt as long as Philip's ſchemes required, and concluded at the time and in the manner beſt ſuited to his purpoſes. The ambaſſadors of every ſtate imagined that they only ſaw through his real intentions: but theſe were, in effect, equally concealed from them all. The great ſchemes of his ambition were the ſole objects of his real regard; and theſe he was now prepared to execute.

HALUS was taken; for the united forces of Philip and Parmenio were not to be reſiſted. And this important place, which, by its ſituation, covered all the Pthiotis, Philip gave up to the Pharſalians, who razed the town, and diſperſed the inhabitants. A conceſſion which augmented the reputation of his diſintereſtedneſs, and inſpired the Greeks with ſuch favourable ſentiments of Philip, as greatly facilitated his deſign of deciding the Phocian war.

Dem. de fal. Leg. Sect. 14. Orat. in Epiſt. Sect. 1.

BOOK III. SECTION III.

CONTENTS.

THE Athenian ambaſſadors return.—The repreſentations of Demoſthenes in the ſenate.—Their effect.—Conteſts in the popular aſſembly.—Demoſthenes inſulted.—The treaty finally ratified.—Philip amuſes the Phocians.—Defeats the deſigns of Lacedaemon.—Confirms the Athenians in their pacific diſpoſitions.—A third ambaſſy ſent from Athens to Philip.—The deputies of each ſtate effectually deceived.—Philip treats with Phaleucus,—who is ſuffered to retire.—Philip gains the important paſs of Thermopylae.—The Phocians ſubmit.—The decree of the Amphictyons,—is executed with ſeverity.—Athens alarmed at Philip's paſſing through Thermopylae.—The flattering aſſurances of AEſchines.—The Athenians are informed of the deſtruction of Phocis.—Their conſternation.—Their decree.—Philip's letter to the Athenians.—AEſchines repairs to Philip.—His pretence for this journey.—The Amphictyons aſſemble.—The power of Thebes eſtabliſhed.—Athens invited to concur in the late reſolutions of the Amphictyons; and to acknowledge Philip as a member

of this body.—The oration of Demoſthenes on the peace.—Summary of the Philippic oration of Iſocrates.—Compleat ſettlement of the Grecian affairs by Philip.—His abilities diſplayed in the late tranſactions.—The fate of Phaleucus.

BOOK the THIRD.

SECTION III.

WHILE the king of Macedon continued his progreſs, and was advancing gradually towards the paſs of Thermopylae, the Athenian miniſters returned, and appeared before the ſenate of five hundred, to report the ſucceſs of their negotiation. Suſpence and expectation poſſeſſed the mind of every citizen in Athens; and the ſenate-houſe was inſtantly crowded with vaſt numbers, impatient to be made acquainted with the reſult of this important tranſaction. Thoſe of the ambaſſadors who had yielded to the influence of Macedonian gold, or who imagined that their future reputation would be determined, in a great meaſure, by the general opinion of their addreſs and abilities, on this occaſion, diſplayed their ſervices in a pompous manner, and endeavoured to inſpire their countrymen with the moſt favourable ſentiments of Philip. Demoſthenes, on the other hand, inveighed loudly againſt the conduct of all thoſe who had been intruſted with any ſhare in the management of this treaty: he enumerated minutely all the ſeveral inſtances of their artifice and inſincerity, which, he peremptorily declared, were bringing down ruin on the ſtate, and on its allies, which nothing could avert,

Dem. de fal. Leg. Sect. 7.

avert, but the utmoſt caution and vigour on the part of Athens. He inſiſted, with all his uſual vehemence, that the people of Phocis were devoted as a ſacrifice to the ambition of the Macedonian; that the ſpecious, but dangerous, promiſes and aſſurances of his collegues were really calculated for the utter deſtruction of that unhappy ſtate; and that univerſal confuſion and diſorder muſt ſpeedily prove the conſequence of that fatal ſecurity, with which they were now endeavouring to poſſeſs the Athenians. The king of Macedon, he obſerved, was now upon the confines of Greece, ready to pour in his armies, and to overwhelm that whole nation; and the laſt and ſole reſource now left, the laſt and only means of preſerving the liberty of Greece, and the being of Athens, was inſtantly to defend the country of Phocis, and once more to poſſeſs themſelves of the important paſs of Thermopylae: the leaſt degree of irreſolution, the delay of one hour, muſt inevitably prove fatal to the liberty of Greece.

Dem. de fal. Leg. Sect. 11.

FACTION, clamour, and prejudice had not the ſame influence among thoſe ſage and experienced counſellors, as in the popular aſſemblies. Demoſthenes was heard with approbation; and ſo unfavourable to theſe ambaſſadors was the final reſolution of the ſenate, that they were even denied the uſual compliments and public honours paid to every man who had ever been intruſted with the like commiſſion. Nor doth the ſenate ſeem to have been intirely ſatisfied with the conduct of Demoſthenes. The acrimony and diſſenſion which appeared among the deputies, might have perſuaded them, that all were in ſome degree to be condemned. The men whom Demoſthenes accuſed, were, on their part, as violent in inforcing every objection which lay againſt his conduct: and the ſenate was ſo far influenced by their repreſentations, or ſo much diſpleaſed by what they themſelves obſerved, that no diſtinction was made between the ambaſſadors, but Demoſthenes himſelf involved in the general diſgrace.

Ibid.

Sect. 12.

Bur

BUT now they appeared before the aſſembly of the people; and here they were aſſiſted by their partizans, and favoured by the general indolent and pacific diſpoſition. AEſchines aroſe, and repeated the declarations and aſſurances which he had already made in the ſenate. Dem. de falſa Leg. Sect. 8.

" I have had the happineſs," ſaid he, " of perſuading Philip to every " meaſure which may be advantageous and agreeable to the ſtate. " Nothing, but an impatient and intemperate heat, on your part, can " prevent the happy effects of this my negotiation. Do you but " continue quiet, and, in three or four days, you will find the Boeo- " tian cities freed from the oppreſſive domination of Thebes, and " Thebes itſelf inveſted by a powerful army. Theſpia and Platea " will be raiſed from their ruins, and reſtored to their antient " ſtrength, and ſplendor, and independence: the Thebans them- " ſelves will be obliged to pay the fine impoſed on the Phocians, " and to repair all the effects of ſacrilege and profanation. They " were, themſelves, the real authors of the Phocian war: they had, " themſelves, entertained a deſign of ſeizing the temple; and, as I eaſily " convinced Philip, are not therefore the leſs culpable, though they " have failed in the execution. So ſenſible is this people of the effects " of my remonſtrances, and ſo much irritated by their ſucceſs, that " they have, in revenge, devoted me to deſtruction, and actually ſet " a price upon my head. The people of Euboea look on our ac- " commodation with Philip with the greateſt terror and conſter- " nation. " We know," ſay they, "" on what conditions this peace "" has been concluded. We know, that Amphipolis is to be given "" up to Philip; and Euboea to be delivered intirely into the power "" of Athens as an equivalent."—Theſe are the important advantages " which may be expected from our negotiation. But theſe are not " the only advantages. Another point, of high and intimate con- " cernment to the public, hath been effectually ſecured, which I " ſhall take another opportunity of diſplaying fully. At preſent, I " perceive the envy and malignity of certain perſons ready to break

"forth; and therefore ſhall avoid every occaſion of conteſt and al-
"tercation."

Dem. de fal. Leg. Sect. 8.

THAT point, which he now hinted at, was the reſtitution of the city of Oropus; which the Athenians, as I had occaſion to obſerve, were very ſollicitous to obtain, and which the Thebans ſtill kept poſſeſſion of, in manifeſt oppoſition to all right and juſtice.

Sect. 9.

AESCHINES finiſhed his flattering harangue with the univerſal acclamation and applauſe of the aſſembly. The place reſounded with tumultuous praiſes of his abilities, both as a ſpeaker, and as a public miniſter; and it appeared plainly, that any other ſentiments muſt be received with reſentment and diſguſt. As ſoon as he could command attention, Demoſthenes aroſe. He declared that, for his part, he knew nothing of all thoſe magnificent advantages which AEſchines ſo confidently promiſed; he knew nothing of any aſſurances, or declarations of this nature, made by Philip; he had no reaſon to believe, nor did he expect to ſee them fulfilled; and then began to utter the ſame ſentiments of caution, ſuſpicion, and vigilance, which he had before delivered in the ſenate. But he was quickly interrupted by the loud expreſſions of contempt and indignation, which inſtantly burſt forth from Philocrates and AEſchines. The general voice of the aſſembly favoured their inſidious deſign of ſuppreſſing all inquiry, and diſpaſſionate examination of their conduct, and, in an inſtant, all was confuſion, noiſe, abuſe, ridicule, and reſentment. Demoſthenes found it in vain to ſtrive againſt the preſent torrent of popular clamour and odium, and the prejudices and paſſions of a people, violent and impatient in their reſentment againſt the man who had endeavoured to mortify their moſt pleaſing hopes.

Sect. 16.

"Well, my countrymen!" ſaid he, "I ſee your diſpoſitions: but,
"if any one of theſe fine promiſes are performed, I renounce all re-
"compence due to my faithful ſervices. Let my collegues only
"ſhare your favour: honour them: reward them: crown them: if
"you

" you are diſappointed, let them only be objects of your diſpleaſure; " let me be conſidered as having no ſhare in this buſineſs."—"' Not "' ſo,"' ſaid AEſchines; "' rather prepare to defend your conduct, "' when the event hath proved your malice."' " I ſhall ever be " ready," cried Demoſthenes, " like an honeſt citizen, to ſubmit " my actions to the public."

THE ſpirit and apparent candor of this ſpeaker gave the oppoſite party reaſon to apprehend, that he might at laſt be heard with leſs diſguſt: when Philocrates, dreading the conſequences of all further explanations, ſtarted up. " Men of Athens!" ſaid he, " it " is no wonder that Demoſthenes and I differ in opinion. He is a " moroſe and peeviſh water-drinker: my heart is opened and dilated " with good wine and jollity." This ridiculous jeſt was received with loud ſhouts of laughter and applauſe; and, in this ſerious and momentous affair, unhappily had a greater effect, than the moſt ſolid arguments, and ſpirited remonſtrances. The ſuſpicions of Demoſthenes were again inſulted, deſpiſed, and derided; and, without farther delay or difficulty, a decree was made for the ratification of a perpetual peace and alliance with Philip and his deſcendants. It enacted, that public thanks ſhould be given to this prince, for his kind and equitable conduct and intentions towards the ſtate; that the Phocians ſhould be obliged to deliver up the temple, and ſubmit to the determination of the Amphictyonic council; and that, in caſe of any oppoſition to theſe demands, the Athenians ſhould ſend an army to inforce the execution of this their decree.

Dem. de fal. Leg. Sect. 16.

Sect. 17.

AMBASSADORS from Phocis were then at Athens, and preſent at theſe reſolutions: and Philip took care that it ſhould be repreſented to them, that the Athenians had a very juſt dependence on his declarations; that they could never think of delivering up Phocis into his power, were they not confident of his intentions; and that the Phocians might be well aſſured, that they could not ſuffer,

Sect. 20.

by ſubmitting their fate to the determination of the king of Macedon. This management intirely defeated the ſchemes of Lacedaemon. For, when Archidamus found that he could effect nothing by treating with Philip, his ambaſſadors retired, and an army was raiſed, and led into Phocis, to oppoſe the attempts of Macedon, or rather to ſeize the temple. But the Phocians now hoped that their fate was not yet deſperate: the confidence which the Athenians ſeemed to repoſe in Philip, muſt, as they imagined, have a juſt foundation: or, if any of them ſtill entertained ſuſpicions of this prince, their apprehenſions of Athens, and their fear of finding a new enemy in that ſtate, (ſhould they attempt any oppoſition) determined them to wait the final event in quiet. They ſaw through the pretended zeal of Archidamus: and, when he offered his ſervices and protection, and expreſſed his apprehenſions of the approaching danger, they anſwered, with a real or affected eaſe, that "the Phocians feared for Sparta "much more than for themſelves." His aſſiſtance was rejected, and his forces marched baek to Lacedaemon.

Dem. de fal. Leg. Sect. 19.

AEſchin. de fal. Leg. Sect. 41.

Dem. de fal. Leg. Sect. 18.

* HAVING thus defeated the deſigns of Archidamus, Philip's next care was to confirm the Athenians in their preſent diſpoſitions. He well knew the temper of this people, and ſtill dreaded their inconſtancy. Their general, Proxenus, was now ſtationed near the ſtreights, where he might, with eaſe, not only oppoſe his paſſage through Thermopylae, but cut off his proviſions, which were all ſupplied by ſea, as Phocis, and the frontier of Theſſaly, had lain intirely uncultivated amidſt the confuſion and diſorder of war. In order, therefore, to perſuade the Athenians to a full reliance on the candor and ſincerity of his intentions, to quiet all ſuſpicions, and to inſpire them with that ſecurity and confidence which his intereſts required at this critical conjuncture, he addreſſed a letter to their ſtate conceived with all the artifice which refined and conſummate policy could dictate, acknowledging the friendſhip which the decree lately made in his favour had expreſſed; deſiring, that they themſelves might appear and be witneſſes

Ibid.

Sect. 39.

Sect. 18.

of

of the equity of his conduct, and that a deputation of their citizens might be ſent to him, that, in their preſence, and with their aſſiſtance, he might make a final deciſion of the Phocian affairs. To give this letter the greater weight, his emiſſaries were buſily employed to magnify the declarations of Philip as a full and perfect proof of his reſolution to attach himſelf intirely to the intereſts and views of Athens, rather than to thoſe of Thebes.

HIS letter could not poſſibly have arrived more ſeaſonably. Scarcely had the treaty been ratified on the part of Macedon, when advices were received, that Proxenus had been refuſed admittance into the cities which commanded Thermopylae. Phaleucus had partly diſcovered his intentions of coming to a treaty with Philip: and the effects of ſuch a conjunction were uncertain. The people were in a ferment: the aſſembly divided between hopes and apprehenſions: but the letter inſtantly quieted all their commotions; and it was reſolved to ſend an ambaſſy to Philip, to aſſiſt, as was pretended, in the deliberations about the affairs of Phocis, but, in reality, to watch the motions of the king of Macedon, and, if poſſible, to gain further aſſurances of his reſolution to perform his promiſes to Athens. AEſchines and Demoſthenes were both deputed as ambaſſadors on this occaſion. The partizans and friends of the Macedonian intereſt knew the danger of giving Demoſthenes any opportunity of rouſing the people from their ſecurity; while this ſtateſman, on the other hand, ſaw through their deſigns, and determined that they ſhould not remove him from Athens at this critical time. To their great diſappointment, he declined the commiſſion; and, as it was neceſſary to leave ſome friend behind, who might watch his motions, and counteract his ſchemes, AEſchines pleaded ſickneſs, and procured his brother to be ſent ambaſſador in his place.

AEſchin. de fal. Leg. Sect. 41.

Dem. de fal. Leg. Sect. 39.

ATTENTION and ſuſpence now poſſeſſed all Greece. The ſtorm was gathering; and no one knew, with certainty, where it was to fall.

Phil. 3. Sect. 4. AEſchin. de fal. Leg. Sect. 41.

fall. The Phocians, whoſe deputies attended upon Philip, flattered themſelves with the faireſt hopes of ſecurity and protection. The Thebans felt, or at leaſt affected to feel, ſome apprehenſions. They began to raiſe levies, and to fortify their towns: and Philip, to magnify the danger, and with an appearance of ſincerity capable of deceiving the moſt guarded, intreated the Athenians, in a ſecond letter, to hold their forces in readineſs, and to march out to aſſiſt him in the ſupport of juſtice. The Meſſenians, the Argians, and Megalopolitans, who had dreaded the effects of Philip's tranſactions with the Lacedaemonian miniſters, when theſe miniſters were obliged to depart without ſucceſs, muſt naturally have encouraged themſelves with expectations of protection and aſſiſtance; and that the king of Macedon would inable them to ſhake off the Spartan yoke, and aſſert their antient independence.

Dem. Phil. 2. Sect. 4. De Pace Sect. 5. Luccheſini in Phil. 2.

PHILIP, in the mean time, marched on, making the faireſt and moſt favourable declarations to the deputies of every ſtate, who ſeverally preſſed him to come to an explanation of his deſigns. To the Theſſalians he promiſed to give up the cities which commanded Thermopylae, and to reſtore thoſe rights in the Amphictyonic council, together with ſome pecuniary advantages (of which we have but obſcure accounts) which the Phocians had wreſted from them, by keeping poſſeſſion of the temple. To the Thebans he gave aſſurances, that he would make them maſters of thoſe Boeotian cities which the Phocians had conquered, and that the intire territory of Phocis ſhould be at their diſpoſal. To the Athenians he repeated his aſſurances of his favourable intentions to their ſtate; of his averſion to the inſolence and tyranny of Thebes; and his reſolution to circumſcribe its power by eſtabliſhing the Boeotian cities in a condition of ſtrength and independence. Thus, by the deepeſt and moſt conſummate diſſimulation, which he dignified by the name of policy, did Philip compleatly deceive all thoſe perſons who were employed to watch his motions with ſtrict attention; and who ſeverally exulted

in

in their own ſuperior penetration, and ſpoke with pity and contempt of the blind and fatal ſecurity of all the other deputies. One difficulty now only remained to retard the great deſign which this prince was ſo happily conducting. Phaleucus was ſtill ſtationed at Nicaea with his eight thouſand men. Such a force muſt have proved ineffectual againſt the united powers of Macedon, Theſſaly, and Boeotia; yet ſtill a vigorous oppoſition, aided by the extraordinary advantage of ſituation which Thermopylae afforded, might occaſion a dangerous delay. The Macedonian, earneſt to ſeize the preſent favourable moment, when Greece in general was lulled into full confidence and ſupine dependence on his promiſes, ſeemed well diſpoſed to treat with this chief. And, as Phaleucus could have no reaſonable hopes of aſſiſtance from Athens, and as it appeared abſolutely neceſſary for his ſafety to come to immediate terms with Philip, he, on his part, readily attended to the overtures propoſed; and, on condition that the town ſhould be given up, he was permitted to retire with his troops into Peloponneſus.

AEſchin. de fal. Leg. Sect. 41.

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 59.

THUS did this politic and enterprizing prince gain what was juſtly called the key to Greece, and paſs the famous ſtreights without oppoſition or difficulty: an attempt which, in former times, would have been received with horror and indignation; which, but a few years ſince, was conſidered as highly dangerous and audacious: and whoſe ſucceſs muſt have, even now, been deemed exceedingly doubtful and precarious, as the intereſt of the ſeveral ſtates, however oppoſite in their different views and ſentiments, called on them all equally to guard againſt it, as its ſucceſs left their ſeveral territories abſolutely expoſed to the arms of Macedon. But the art and addreſs of Philip were as conſummate as his ambition was vaſt. He knew how to make the paſſions, intereſts, and inclinations, of every particular people the inſtruments of his deſigns: and thus, by the aſſiſtance of ſome, and the connivance of others, he was entered into the very heart of Greece, at the head of a powerful army, ready to

decide

decide the conteſts of that country, where no other king of Macedon had ever been conſidered in any other light but that of an humble tributary, or ally, favoured and honoured by the protection which he received, or the connexions to which he was admitted.

Dem. de fal. Leg. Sect. 21.

THE Phocians, now totally abandoned, in a ſtate of terrible uncertainty, ſtill amuſed with hopes, yet trembling for the event, were obliged to ſubmit implicitly to Philip; and inſtantly concluded a treaty for that purpoſe, which he, on his part, engaged to have approved of and confirmed by the Amphictyons. The article of moſt importance was this, that the ſtate itſelf ſhould be ſpared; and that puniſhment ſhould be extended no farther than to thoſe who had ſhared in the guilt of ſacrilege. The Amphictyons aſſembled to determine particularly about the fate of Phocis. The deputies of the Theſſalians, Locrians, and Boeotians only were preſent on this occaſion; all devoted to Philip, and ready to enact whatever he might dictate, particularly againſt a people who had, for ſo many years, and with ſuch obſtinate valour, maintained a bloody war againſt them. A decree was framed, of which theſe were the principal articles,

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 59.

Sect. 60.

I. THAT the Phocians ſhould be for ever deprived of the right of ſending repreſentatives to the council of Amphictyons: which ſhould be transferred to Philip, and enjoyed by him, and his deſcendants, ſucceſſors to the throne of Macedon.

II. THAT the three principal cities of Phocis, which ſent repreſentatives to the Amphictyonic council, ſhould be diſmantled; and for ever deprived of all their former privileges; and excluded from all intercourſe with the temple, and the great council [A].

[A] SEE the preliminary diſſertation on the council of Amphictyons, in which the reader will find this article enlarged upon, which has exerciſed the commentators on Diodorus.

III. THAT

III. THAT the Phocians ſhould be obliged to deliver up their arms and horſes: and that they ſhould not be permitted the uſe of either of theſe until they had diſcharged the fine originally impoſed on them, and made full reſtitution to the god for the depredations committed in his temple.

IV. THAT ſuch of the Phocians, as had ſhared in the ſacrilege, ſhould be regarded and treated as impious perſons, excluded from all rights of ſociety, and denied all protection or aſylum in their country.

V. THAT all the cities of Phocis (thoſe three mentioned in the ſecond article only excepted) ſhould be demoliſhed and reduced to diſtinct hamlets, containing no more than ſixty houſes each, at the diſtance of a ſtadium from each other.

VI. THAT the Phocians ſhould be permitted to cultivate their lands, from the produce of which they ſhould pay every year ſixty talents to Apollo, until they compleatly indemnified the temple.

VII. [B] THAT the Corinthians, who, with the other ſtates of inferior note, had united with the Phocians in the ſacred war,

[B] A LEARNED commentator on Diodorus hath taken notice of ſome difficulties in this article, which have eſcaped the obſervations of thoſe writers who have had occaſion to treat of theſe affairs. Hiſtory, as he obſerves, is ſilent as to the privilege which the article ſuppoſes the Corinthians poſſeſſed, or rather ſeems to contradict ſuch ſuppoſition. Nor is this people mentioned in the former part of Diodorus among the allies of Phocis. No mention is here made of any puniſhment inflicted on Lacedaemon: and yet we are told by Pauſanias (L. 10. c. 8.) that they were alſo deprived of the right of aſſiſting in the Amphictyonic aſſembly. For theſe reaſons he ſuppoſes that the article has deſcended to us imperfect and mutilated.

SEE the Note on Diod. V. 2. p. 129. Edit. Weſſel.

as a punishment for the assistance and support which they had granted to sacrilege, should lose their privilege of presiding at the Pythian games: which privilege should, for the future, be enjoyed by Philip, in conjunction with the Boeotians and Thessalians: together with the right of superintending the oracle.

Dem. Phil. 3. Sect. 8.

VIII. That the arms of the Phocians should be broken in pieces and burnt; and their horses sold by auction, the produce to be appropriated to the indemnification of the temple.

IX. That it should be the care of the Amphictyons to procure all the expiations and reparations due to the god and to his temple.

X. That they should exert themselves, with all due diligence, to make such regulations as might re-establish the peace and tranquillity of Greece.

And now the enemies of Phocis, irritated by antient animosities, by the toils, and dangers, and distresses of a bloody and obstinate war of ten years, with all the unrelenting fury of men who regarded themselves as the instruments of divine justice, prepared to execute the terrible decree; while the wretched Phocians submitted with that dismay and consternation which so momentous an event must naturally have produced. Some cities indeed, drove to despair by finding all their hopes cruelly disappointed, and justly dreading the remorseless severity of their adversaries, discovered a disposition to resist, but were instantly stormed; razed to their foundations; and the inhabitants reduced to slavery. Lileum, Hyampolis, Anticyra, Parapotamia, Panopèa, and Daulis, eminent cities even from the earliest ages, whose names were perpetually resounding in the ears of the Grecians, celebrated and consigned to immortal fame by the

Dem. de Cor. Sect. 12.

Pausan. in Phoc.

verse

verſe of Homer, their great and darling poet, were all treated with the greateſt ſeverities. Erochus, Charadra, Amphiclea, Neonè, Tethronium, and Drymèa, cities which had been expoſed to all the calamities, and ſuſtained all the fury, of the Perſian war, with others of leſs note, were now, without regard to their antient ſufferings or merit, involved in the general ravage. Where revenge and cruelty were not exerted in their full force, the miſerable ſufferers looked on without daring to drop a tear, or breathe a ſigh, while their walls, their public edifices, their temples, and the tombs of their anceſtors, were ſubverted and demoliſhed. Nor were they long ſuffered to lament over the ruins of their former greatneſs; but, like herds of brute creatures, driven by their inſulting enemies from their ſettlements, and proudly commanded to repair, without delay, to the habitations appointed for them. The tranquillity, the order, and the ſilence, with which all this ſeverity was executed, heightened the diſtreſs, and formed a ſpectacle more affecting than the outrages of a bloody war.

Dem. de falſa Leg. Sect. 22.

AT Athens, every account of Philip's motions was received with an eager and inquiſitive impatience, and, according to the different repreſentations made by the public ſpeakers, elevated the hopes, or awakened the fears, of that miſguided people. The news of his having paſſed through the ſtreights began to create uneaſineſs and apprehenſions: but theſe were ſpeedily allayed by the inſinuations and aſſurances of thoſe popular leaders, who were either the dupes or the creatures of the king of Macedon. "My countrymen," cried AEſchines, "be not alarmed, nor fear any dangerous conſequences from Philip's marching through Thermopylae: beware of all heat and impatience; and reſt aſſured, that every thing will ſucceed agreeably to your warmeſt wiſhes. In a few days you will hear that Philip hath declared himſelf a friend to thoſe againſt whom he now marches with all the appearance of hoſtilities; and that they who now regard him as their firmeſt ally,

Dem. de Corona Sect. 12.

"ally, will immediately find him their declared and inveterate "enemy. Appearances and profeſſions are deceitful: the ſureſt bond "of friendſhip is an union of intereſts: and it is equally the intereſt "both of Philip, and of the Phocians, to be delivered from the in-"ſolence and ſtupidity of the Thebans."

Dem. de fal. Leg. Sect. 20.

By ſuch fallacious aſſurances did this abuſed and miſguided people ſuffer themſelves to be deceived into an unreſerved confidence and ſecurity; when, in five days after the deſtruction of Phocis, and the decree of the Amphictyonic council, the news of theſe important events was brought to Athens. The Athenians were, at that time, aſſembled at the Piraeus, their famous port, on ſome affairs relating to their navy, full of expectations and fair proſpects, implicitly depending on the profeſſions of Philip, and the repreſentations of his creatures. In a moment aſtoniſhment and conſternation were ſpread through the city; all was tumult and confuſion: they now found their great rival on their confines, united with Thebes: and every man expected a powerful and formidable force, formed by the union of two ſuch dangerous adverſaries, to appear inſtantly before their walls. As their hopes had been ſanguine, their diſappointment was, in proportion, terrible. The following decree was inſtantly made, which plainly ſhews that they regarded their condition as in the utmoſt degree alarming and perplexing.

Ibid.

"In the archonſhip of Mneſiphilus, on the twenty-firſt day "of the month Maemacterion, at an aſſembly extraordinary, con-"vened by the authority of the generals, prytanes, and ſenate. At "the motion of Calliſthenes, it is RESOLVED,

"That no citizen of Athens, on any pretence whatſoever, be "permitted to paſs the night in the country. But that every man "ſhall be confined within the city, or the precincts of the Piraeus, "excepting only ſuch perſons as may be appointed to the defence

"of

" of ſome poſt. That every ſuch perſon ſhall be obliged to main-
" tain his ſtation, without preſuming to abſent himſelf either by
" night or day. That whoever refuſes to pay due obedience to
" this reſolution and decree, ſhall incur the penalties ordained for
" traitors, unleſs he can alledge ſome neceſſary cauſe, to be approved
" of by the general immediately in command, the treaſurer, and the
" ſecretary of the ſenate, who ſhall have the ſole power of judg-
" ing of ſuch allegations. That all effects, now in the country, ſhall
" be inſtantly removed; thoſe within the diſtance of * one hundred
" and twenty ſtadia, into the city or the Piræus: thoſe at any
" greater diſtance, to Eleuſis, Phyle, Aphidna, Rhamnuſium, and
" Sunium."

* About twelve miles.

WHEN the firſt ſurprize was over, and their terror, in ſome degree, diſſipated, reſentment and indignation ſucceeded, and poſſeſſed them with equal violence. They called loudly for arms; levies were prepared for the relief of Phocis; and Proxenus, their admiral, was ordered to direct his courſe towards that country. But Philip, who was duly attentive to allay this heat, now addreſſed a letter to the Athenians, conceived in the following terms:

Demoſth. de fal. Leg. Sect. 20.

" PHILIP king of Macedon, to the ſenate and people of Athens,
" health."

" KNOW ye, that we have paſſed the ſtreights of Thermopylae, and
" reduced Phocis. We have ſtationed our garriſons in ſuch towns as
" have ſubmitted, and acknowledged our authority. And thoſe, which
" have preſumed to reſiſt our force, we have taken by aſſault, reduced
" the inhabitants to ſlavery, and razed their habitations to the ground.
" But, being informed that you are making diſpoſitions for the ſup-
" port of theſe people, we, by theſe preſents, recommend to you to
" ſpare yourſelves the pains of ſuch an ineffectual attempt. Your
" conduct muſt certainly appear extremely inequitable and extrava-
" gant,

"gant, in arming againſt us, with whom you have ſo lately concluded "a treaty. If you have determined to ſhew no regard to your "engagements, we ſhall only wait for the commencement of "hoſtilities, to exert a reſolution, on our part, no leſs vigorous and "formidable."

THIS letter, thus expreſſed with a royal and commanding brevity, had the effect which the king of Macedon juſtly expected from the variable diſpoſitions of this people. Their terror had been ſucceeded by reſentment; and this reſentment was equally tranſient, and now gave way to confuſion and vexation. The brother of AEſchines, and his collegues, arrived at the ſame time. They had been informed, in Euboea, of the fate of Phocis; that the two and twenty cities, which compoſed this ſtate, had been deſtroyed in leſs than two and twenty days; and therefore, deeming it to no purpoſe to continue their progreſs, returned immediately home, where, in the preſent diſpoſitions of the people, they were received with ſufficient diſſatisfaction.

Demoſth. de fal. Leg. Sect. 39.

Aliud Arg. in Orat. eand. Luccheſini Not. in Orat. de Pace.

THE popular leaders at Athens, they who were in the Macedonian intereſt, and they who oppoſed it, had now an ample field for haranguing, and were buſily employed in ſoothing, or inflaming; in accuſing others, or defending themſelves. But the partizans of Philip were viſibly ſinking in their credit and influence, and obliged to make uſe of every artifice to preſerve any remains of popularity. AEſchines no longer affected ſickneſs: he forgot all his fears of the Theban reſentment; and, without any public character, or commiſſion from the ſtate, without regard to the late decree which forbad any man to ſtir from within the walls of Athens, he now repaired to Philip. As he had no demands to make, he pretended that the ſole object of this journey was to employ his credit and abilities in favour of the wretched Phocians, and to prevail on Philip to mitigate their ſeverities. The Oeteans, a people bordering on Theſſaly, and who, according to AEſchines,

Demoſth. de fal. Leg. Sect. 40.

AEſch. de fal. Leg. Sect. 44.

AEſchines, had a right to aſſiſt in the council of Amphictyons, irritated by ſome particular injuries, or earneſt to expreſs a peculiar zeal againſt profanation, urged vehemently that the Phocians ſhould ſuffer the whole rigour of the law againſt ſacrilege, which ordained, that all thoſe who had arrived at the years of puberty, and had ſhared in the guilt, ſhould be precipitated from rocks without mercy. AEſchines, as if commiſſioned by his ſtate, ſpoke in favour of the Phocians, was heard with attention, and eaſily prevailed to have this bloody ſentence averted. Thus he acted a part, whoſe merit he might magnify at home, and gave Philip an opportunity of appearing to oblige the Athenians, when neither his intereſt demanded, nor his natural diſpoſitions prompted him to, any unneceſſary outrageous barbarities.

THE members and aſſeſſors in the Amphictyonic council were now aſſembled in the preſence of Philip, to the number of two hundred, who entertained them at a magnificent feaſt, where AEſchines was alſo preſent. The gueſts ſounded the praiſes of the great, the brave, the pious king of Macedon, chaunted his victories, and hymned forth their prayers to the gods for his future proſperity. In theſe, many of them were intirely ſincere; yet ſome would afterwards have gladly retracted. The Thebans were, of all others, moſt ardent in their applauſe; and with good reaſon. Orchomenus, Corſia, Coronaea, Hyampolis, and Tilphoſaeum, the conqueſts lately made by the Phocians in Boeotia, were all given up to them; and the affairs of Boeotia determined intirely in the manner moſt agreeable to their intereſts. Here they now began to give a free courſe to their inſolence and tyranny; ſo that the inhabitants of Orchomenus, who had ever been averſe to their government, thought it neceſſary to ſecure the ſafety of their perſons, by a ſtipulation, in which they conſented to quit their preſent ſettlement; while others of the Boeotians, who had ſhared in the guilt and puniſhment of Phocis, or now found the Tyranny of Thebes intolerable, ſought an aſylum in Athens, where they

Demoſth. de falſa Leg. Sect. 40.

AEſchin. de fal. Leg. Sect. 43. Dem. de Pace Sect. 5. they were received with the utmoſt kindneſs. Philip, in order to increaſe his popularity, ſeems to have eſpouſed the cauſe of the oppreſſed in a manner by no means pleaſing to Thebes, and to have, with ſome difficulty, prevailed on them to treat their dependent ſtates with greater moderation. Some diſputes ſeem to have thus ariſen between the king of Macedon and the Thebans concerning the ſettlement of Boeotia; and appearances were managed with ſo much art, that the partizans of Philip were not aſhamed to declare to the Athenians, that this prince was really forced into thoſe meaſures which ſeemed to prove his attachment to Thebes; and that, ſurrounded as he was by the Theban and Theſſalian forces, he could not, with ſafety, oppoſe the demands of theſe people.

Phil. 2. Sect. 3.

Olymp. 108. Y. 3. Demoſth. Orat. de Pace. THE great council of Amphictyons was now convened at Delphi, where Philip appeared [c], and appointed his repreſentatives to ſit and vote in that aſſembly, in the place of the Phocians. All the Amphictyons, then preſent, acknowledged him as their collegue by a formal decree; in which was inſerted the treaty of general pacification; and all the acts againſt the wretched Phocians, and their adherents, ratified and confirmed. As the council was formed intirely of thoſe who had been particularly favoured by the king of Macedon, and were intirely devoted to his intereſt; every thing that he could dictate; every thing that could be ſuppoſed agreeable to him, was readily enacted. But, in an affair of ſuch conſequence as a

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 60.

[c] WHILE Philip was now reſident at Delphi, he there met a man called Arcadion, who had affected to expreſs ſome particular reſentment to him, and had induſtriouſly avoided all intercourſe with him. The king, who perhaps knew what uſe might be made of this man, accoſted him with aſking, how far he was determined to fly from him? to which Arcadion anſwered by a parody on a line of Homer:

Ev'n to that Land where Philip ne'er was known.

The appoſite and ſprightly anſwer made his peace at once. The king ſmiled, invited him to ſupper, and all animoſities ceaſed. ATHENAE. L. 6. p. 249.

change

change in the Grecian body, and the introduction of a new member, Philip juſtly reſolved to remove all pretences of future altercation; and, for this purpoſe, circular letters were diſpatched to all the abſent ſtates who had a right to ſhare in the proceedings of the great council, inviting them to appear, and demanding their concurrence in all the late tranſactions [D]. The Athenians affected to expreſs their grief for the fate of Phocis, by refuſing to ſend their uſual deputies to the Pythian games, (which were juſt now celebrated, and to which Philip ſent ſome of his courtiers to preſide) or their repreſentatives to the preſent council of Amphictyons. But, however they might have been pleaſed to avoid all appearance of concurring in tranſactions calculated to oblige and aggrandize the Macedonian, it ſoon became neceſſary for them publicly to declare their opinion of the late acts of the Amphictyons; for they, among the others, received the invitation to accede to Philip's election, and to acknowledge Macedon as a member of the Hellenic body.

Demoſth. de falſa Leg. Sect. 40.

THE people now aſſembled to conſider of this demand; ſtung with vexation and diſappointment, ſenſible of their weak and miſtaken conduct, ſtill fired with their national vanity, and mortified at the view of that power which they themſelves had permitted their rival to acquire. Philip's deputies were introduced, and their letters read: the aſſembly, as uſual, was diſtracted and inflamed: levies, ſubſidies, and armaments, were ſpoken of; and loud invectives uttered againſt the inſolence of Philip's demand. AEſchines, who appeared, and ſtrenuouſly pleaded the cauſe of Macedon, was received with loud ſhouts of reſentment and indignation. With an affected eaſe and contempt he turned to the Macedonian envoys who ſtood near him: "You ſee," ſaid this abandoned flatterer, "thoſe num-

Dem. de Pace Sect. 1—8.

Dem. de fal. Leg. Sect. 36.

[D] THE Lacedaemonians, ſaith the French writer of the life of Philip, (V. 2. p. 126) abſolutely refuſed their concurrence. But, if we are to believe Pauſanias, they were deprived of all right of ſending deputies to the council of Amphictyons; and therefore could not have been at all applied to. See note [B] on this ſection.

"bers, how bold, how clamorous at home! notwithſtanding all this "violence, believe me, there is ſcarcely a man among them who "would act with any vigour in the field!"

DEMOSTHENES ſeems, on this occaſion, to have been affected deeply by the view of Philip's cloſe attachment to the other ſtates of Greece, which appeared, to him, to render it a thing impracticable for Athens to contend alone with their united powers. They, who only conſider him as a vehement ſpeaker, who uſually exerted all the force and art of eloquence to warm his hearers with reſolution, and to animate them againſt the daring attempts of the Macedonian, are inclined to believe, that the oration, intitled, *on the Peace*, aſcribed to Demoſthenes, was not pronounced on this occaſion: but they who conſider him as a ſtateſman and a patriot, as well as a popular leader, inſiſt, that a due attention to the difference of circumſtances and conjunctures, and a due regard to the ſafety and tranquillity of his country, muſt have prompted him to ſuppreſs an untimely zeal; to moderate and correct, as well as, on other occaſions, to animate and inflame. Notwithſtanding all his fears of the Macedonian power, notwithſtanding all his uſual oppoſition, how ſincere, and how violent ſoever, ſtill he might have juſtly thought, that the Athenians had already made Philip too many and too important conceſſions to enter into an unequal conteſt with him at this time about what he calls an empty title. It is objected by Libanius, in his argument to this oration, that he afterwards accuſes AEſchines of having propoſed to the aſſembly to acknowledge Philip as an Amphictyon, a motion which even Philocrates himſelf, though the boldeſt and moſt violent partizan of Macedon, yet never dared to make. Could Demoſthenes, therefore, have ventured to accuſe his rival, if he himſelf had afforded him an opportunity of retorting the accuſation: it may be obſerved in anſwer to this, that whoever reads over the oration on the Peace with attention, will find that it contains no formal motion or propoſal of any kind; nay, that it expreſſly guards againſt theſe: let us hear

De Pace in fin.
Dem. de fal. Leg. Sect. 36.

the

the orator himſelf, in the concluſion of his harangue: "What then," ſaith ſome one, "ſhall theſe apprehenſions make us yield to his de-"mands? Is this your motion?—Not at all!" And, when he afterwards came to accuſe AEſchines, he might have thought it convenient to urge a point, which was likely to load him with popular odium, whatever his own opinion had been on the ſame occaſion. The leaſt reſtriction or reſerve on his ſide, improved and repreſented as the diſtance of time would permit, might have effectually obviated any recrimination. And the ſilence of AEſchines is at leaſt as good a proof, that this oration did not afford him a pretence for retorting the accuſation on his rival, as that it was not at all delivered.

BUT one point moſt critics are agreed in; that the oration on the Peace is at leaſt the genuine compoſition of Demoſthenes. And it is particularly worthy of attention, as it points out one part of his character, which is not generally conſidered with due regard; that of a ſage and conſummate politician, perfectly acquainted with the characters, ſentiments, intereſts, and diſpoſitions of all the ſeveral powers and ſtates, by whoſe motions Athens might be affected. The beginning of his addreſs is artfully calculated to guard againſt all ſuſpicions of his ſincerity; to remind the people of the integrity and reſolution with which the orator had delivered his ſentiments on former occaſions; and thus gradually to prepare his hearers to receive an opinion as the true effect of public ſpirit, which, in their preſent diſpoſitions, they ſeemed ſufficiently inclined to reject as diſhonourable, and apparently inconſiſtent with the uſual vehemence of the ſpeaker. He then proceeds more directly to the object of their preſent deliberation:

"AND now to give my ſentiments on the preſent occaſion: whe-"ther ſubſidies, or alliances, or whatever ſchemes are concerting for "the public good, one point muſt be ſecured; the continuance of "the preſent peace. Not that it is ſo very excellent, or ſo worthy

" of you: but, of what kind ſoever it may be, it were more for the " intereſt of your affairs that it had never been concluded, than that " now, when it is concluded, you ſhould infringe it: for we have " ſuffered ourſelves to be deprived of many advantages, which would " have given our arms much more ſecurity and ſtrength.

" In the next place, we muſt be careful not to drive thoſe to ex- " tremities, who are now aſſembled, and call themſelves the coun- " cil of Amphictyons; nor to afford them a pretence for a general " war againſt us. Were we again engaged with Philip for Amphi- " polis, or any ſuch private matter of diſpute, in which neither " Theſſalians, nor Argians, nor Thebans, were concerned; in my " opinion, none of theſe would join againſt us; and leaſt of all— " let me be heard out without interruption—the Thebans: not that " they wiſh well to us, or would not willingly recommend them- " ſelves to Philip: but they are perfectly ſenſible (however mean " their underſtandings may be thought) that, were they to engage " in a war with you, the evils would all fall on them; the advantages " others would lie ready to intercept. They will, therefore, never " be betrayed into ſuch a quarrel, unleſs the cauſe be general. In " like manner, another war with the Thebans for Oropus, or any " ſuch private cauſe, could not, I think, diſtreſs us: for there are " thoſe who would join either with us, or them, to repel an invaſion, " but in offenſive meaſures would concur with neither. This is the " true nature, the very ſpirit, of alliances. There are none ſo much " attached to us or Thebes, as to deſire that we ſhould maintain our " own power, and triumph over our competitor. To be ſecure they " would all wiſh us for their own ſakes, but that either of us ſhould " reduce the other to ſubjection, and ſo be inabled to give law to " them, not one would bear.

" Where then lies the danger, what are you to guard againſt? " that general pretence for uniting againſt us, which the war now in " agitation

" agitation may afford the ſtates. For if the Argians, and the Meſſe-
" nians, and the Megalopolitans, and ſuch other of the Peloponne-
" ſians as are in the ſame intereſt, ſhould make it a cauſe of quarrel,
" that we have ſought a treaty with the Lacedaemonians, and ſeem
" to have favoured their deſigns: if the Thebans, incenſed as they
" are ſaid to be at preſent, ſhould become yet more incenſed at our
" harbouring their exiles, and taking every occaſion of declaring our-
" ſelves implacably averſe to them: if the Theſſalians ſhould reſent
" our reception of the fugitive Phocians: and Philip our oppoſing
" his admiſſion into the council of Amphictyons: I fear, that, to re-
" venge thoſe private quarrels, they may uſe the authority of this
" council, to give ſanction to a general war againſt us; and, in the
" violence of reſentment, forget even their own intereſt, as it hap-
" pened in the Phocian war. You are not ignorant that the Thebans,
" and Philip, and the Theſſalians, although they had by no means
" the ſame views, have yet all conſpired to the very ſame purpoſes.
" The Thebans, for inſtance, were not able to hinder Philip from
" paſſing and becoming maſter of Thermopylae, nor from coming
" in, after all their toils, and depriving them of the glory; (for as
" to poſſeſſions, and the acquiſition of territories, the Thebans have
" ſucceeded happily; but, in point of honour and reputation, they
" have ſuffered moſt ſhamefully.) If Philip did not paſs, they were
" to expect nothing: it was highly diſagreeable to them; yet, for
" the ſake of Orchomenus and Coronaea, which they greatly deſired,
" but were not able to take, they choſe to endure all this. And yet
" there are perſons who dare to aſſert, that Philip did not ſurrender
" theſe cities to the Thebans freely, but was compelled. Away with
" ſuch pretences! I am ſatisfied, that this was equally his concern,
" with the gaining the ſtreights, the glory of the war, the honour of
" deciding it, and the direction of the Pythian games; and theſe
" were the greateſt objects of his moſt earneſt wiſhes. As to the
" Theſſalians, they neither deſired to ſee the Thebans aggrandized,
" nor Philip, (for in their power they ſaw danger to themſelves;) but

" two

"two things they greatly deſired, a ſeat in the council of Amphicty-
"ons, and the wealth of Delphos; and thence were they induced
"to join in the confederacy. Thus you may obſerve, that private
"intereſt oftentimes engages men in meaſures quite oppoſite to their
"inclinations. And therefore it is your part to proceed with the
"utmoſt caution.

"WHAT then," ſaith ſome one, "ſhall theſe apprehenſions make
"us yield to his demands? is this your motion? Not at all! I only
"mean to ſhew you, how you may maintain your dignity, avoid a
"war, and approve your moderation and juſtice to the world. As
"to thoſe violent men, who think we ſhould brave all dangers, nor
"foreſee the difficulties attending upon arms, I wiſh them to con-
"ſider this. We allow the Thebans to poſſeſs Oropus: ſhould we
"be aſked the motive, we would anſwer to avoid a war. In like
"manner, by the preſent treaty, we yield Amphipolis to Philip;
"we ſuffer the Cardians to be diſtinguiſhed from the other inhabi-
"tants of the Cherſoneſus; the king of Caria to poſſeſs Chios, and
"Cos, and Rhodes; and the Byzantines to cruize for prizes: and
"this, becauſe we think that peace and tranquillity will produce
"more advantages than violence and conteſts about theſe points.
"And, if we are thus directed in our conduct towards each par-
"ticular ſtate, and where our intereſt is highly and intimately con-
"cerned, it would be perfect weakneſs and abſurdity to provoke
"the reſentment of them all for a ſhadow."

THE final determination of the aſſembly was agreeable to theſe his ſentiments. It was reſolved to acknowledge Philip as an Amphictyon, and to accede to all the diſpoſitions made in the late council at Delphos. And now it was that Iſocrates addreſſed his famous diſcourſe to Philip, in which he exhorts him to unite with the ſtates of Greece, and to lead them againſt their common enemy the Perſian.

To

To give a juſt idea of this performance, it may be ſufficient to copy the abſtract of it by Monſieur * Rollin, and thoſe reflections which it ſuggeſted to that grave hiſtorian:

* Hiſtoire de Phil.

" THE ſcope of this diſcourſe was to exhort Philip to take ad-
" vantage of the peace he had juſt before concluded, in order to re-
" concile all the Grecian ſtates, and afterwards to turn his arms
" againſt the king of Perſia. The buſineſs was to engage in this
" plan four cities, on which all the reſt depended, Athens, Sparta,
" Thebes, and Argos. He confeſſes, that had Sparta or Athens
" been as powerful as formerly, he ſhould have been far from making
" ſuch a propoſal, which he was ſenſible they would never approve;
" and which the pride of thoſe two republics, while ſuſtained and
" augmented by ſucceſs, would reject with diſdain. But that now,
" as the moſt powerful cities of Greece, wearied out and exhauſted
" by long wars, and humbled, in their turns, by fatal reverſes of
" fortune, have equally an intereſt in laying down their arms, and
" living in peace, purſuant to the example which the Athenians had
" began to ſet them; the preſent is the moſt favourable opportunity
" Philip could have, to reconcile and unite the ſeveral cities of Greece.

" IN caſe he (Philip) ſhould be ſo happy as to ſucceed in ſuch a
" project, ſo glorious and beneficial a ſucceſs would raiſe him above
" whatever had appeared moſt auguſt in Greece. But this project
" in itſelf, though it ſhould not have ſo happy an effect as he might
" expect from it, would yet infallibly gain him the eſteem, the
" affection, and confidence, of all the ſtates of Greece; advantages
" infinitely preferable to the taking of cities, and all the conqueſts
" he might hope to obtain.

" SOME perſons indeed, who were prejudiced againſt Philip, re-
" preſent and exclaim againſt him as a crafty prince, who gives a
" ſpecious pretext to his actions, but, at the ſame time, has in reality

" no

" no other object in view but the enſlaving of Greece. Iſocrates, " either from a too great credulity, or from a deſire of bringing " Philip into his views, ſuppoſes, that rumours, ſo injurious as theſe, " have no manner of foundation; it not being probable that a prince, " who glories in being deſcended from Hercules, the deliverer of " Greece, ſhould think of invading and poſſeſſing himſelf of it. But " theſe very reports, which are ſo capable of blackening his name, " and of ſullying all his glory, ſhould prompt him to demonſtrate " the falſity of them, in the preſence of all Greece, by the leaſt ſuſ- " picious of proofs; by leaving and maintaining each city in the " full poſſeſſion of its laws and liberties; by removing, with the " utmoſt care, all ſuſpicions of partiality; in not eſpouſing the in- " tereſt of one people againſt another; in winning the confi- " dence of all men by a noble diſintereſtedneſs, and an invariable " love of juſtice; in fine, by aſpiring at no other title than that of " the reconciler of the diviſions of Greece, a title far more glorious " than that of conqueror.

" It is in the king of Perſia's dominions he ought to merit this " laſt title. The conqueſt of it is open and ſure to him, in caſe he " ſhould ſucceed in pacifying the troubles of Greece. He ſhould " call to mind, that Ageſilaus, with no other forces than thoſe of " Sparta, ſhook the Perſian throne; and would infallibly have ſub- " verted it, had he not been recalled into Greece by the inteſtine " diviſions which then broke out. The ſignal victory of the ten " thouſand under Clearchus, and their triumphant retreat, in the " ſight of innumerable armies, prove what might be expected from " the joint forces of the Macedonians and Greeks, when com- " manded by Philip, againſt a prince inferior in every reſpect to him, " whom Cyrus had endeavoured to dethrone.

" Isocrates concludes with declaring, that one would believe " the gods had hitherto granted Philip ſo long a train of ſucceſſes,

" with

" with no other view but that he might be inabled to form and exe-
" ecute the glorious enterprize, the plan of which he laid before
" him. He reduces the counſel he gives to three heads: that this
" prince ſhould govern his own empire with wiſdom and juſtice;
" ſhould heal the diviſions between the neighbouring nations and all
" Greece, without deſiring to poſſeſs any part of it himſelf; and,
" this being done, that he ſhould turn his victorious arms againſt a
" country, which, from all ages, had been the enemy of Greece,
" and had often vowed their deſtruction. It muſt be confeſſed,
" that this is a moſt noble plan, and highly worthy of a great prince.
" But Iſocrates had a very falſe idea of Philip, if he thought this
" monarch would ever put it in execution. Philip did not poſſeſs
" the equity, moderation, or diſintereſtedneſs, which ſuch a project
" required. He really intended to attack Perſia, but was perſuaded
" that it was his buſineſs to ſecure himſelf firſt of Greece, which
" indeed he was determined to do, not by ſervices but force. He
" did not endeavour either to win over or to perſuade nations, but
" to ſubject and reduce them. As, on his ſide, he had no manner
" of regard for alliances and treaties, he judged of others by him-
" ſelf, and was for aſſuring himſelf of them by much ſtronger ties
" than thoſe of friendſhip, gratitude, and ſincerity."

THESE are the ſentiments of the French writer; and we may ſecurely concur with him in affirming, that the virtuous ſimplicity of the rhetorician did by no means ſuit with the active and vigorous ambition, and the ſubtle and deſigning policy, of the king of Macedon. He was now ſailing in the full tide of popularity, univerſally honoured, admired, and celebrated. The Amphictyons decreed a ſtatue to their new collegue, which was erected in the Delphian temple, above that of Archidamus; and, by an accident ſufficiently ſingular, the golden ſtatue of Phrynè, the celebrated courtezan, erected, as Crates the Cynic expreſſed it, by the intemperance of the Greeks, was ſituated in the middle between the figures of thoſe two

Athenae. L. 13. p. 591.

illuſtrious princes: as it were to mortify their pride, and to remind them how little ſuch public honours were to be valued, which an infamous and contemptible proſtitute was thus allowed to ſhare with them.

THUS did Philip, with ſo much eaſe and ſucceſs, decide a conteſt which had ſo long raged in Greece, and laid the foundation of the final ſubjection of that nation, under pretence of aſſerting the cauſe of Apollo. He committed to the Theſſalians the care of the temple of Delphi, and the adminiſtration of all its revenues; which they were to employ in repairing the effects of the late confuſion and depredation. Pompous ſacrifices were made to expreſs his grateful acknowledgements to the god. But the politicians of Greece were ſenſible that Apollo was more indebted to Philip, than Philip himſelf was to Apollo. For the reduction of Phocis was, in reality, a maſterpiece of addreſs and policy, which this prince alone could have effected. To this it was neceſſary, that the Thebans, the Theſſalians, and the Locrians, three ſtates oppoſite in their views and diſpoſitions, ſhould all act in concert. The Athenians and Lacedaemonians were to be kept in ſuſpence and inaction, and amuſed by promiſes rather ſpecious than ſincere, and which were to be obſerved juſt ſo far as convenience permitted: the name of Phocis was to be deſtroyed; the people ſuffered to ſubſiſt. He was to ſeize the paſs of Thermopylae as it were without deſign, while the ſtates of Greece, both allies and enemies, were all equally intereſted, and many of them inclined to oppoſe him. In ſhort, he was to ſecure the concurrence both of thoſe he puniſhed, and thoſe whoſe cauſe he ſupported and avenged. Theſe means, which, in the hands of a leſs able maſter of intrigue, muſt have proved inconſiſtent with each other, were all reconciled in his, and all conſpired to the great end he had ſo long meditated, and to which he now ſucceſsfully attained.

Dem. Phil. 3. Sect. 8.

Dem. de fal. Leg. Sect. 40.

Oliv. L. 10. p. 133.

IN

In all this the people of Greece ſaw nothing but the vengeance of the god inflicted on the ſacrilegious prophaners of his temple: they laviſhed their encomiums on the prince who was now preparing chains for them, as the inſtrument of divine juſtice, and the pious and zealous aſſertor of the honour of Apollo; and looked with ſatisfaction on every misfortune of every inhabitant of Phocis, as a manifeſt declaration of the diſpleaſure, and the execution of the juſt wrath, of heaven. Grave and judicious hiſtorians have not thought it beneath them to obſerve, that even the women, who ſhared in the national guilt, ſhared alſo in the puniſhment. A lady of Phocis, ſay they, young and beautiful, and till then virtuous, having accepted, as a preſent from her huſband, the necklace of Hellen, which was dedicated to Apollo, became inamoured with a youth of Locris, abandoned herſelf to his ſenſuality, and died in a ſtate of moſt ſhameful proſtitution. She who had received the bracelet of Eriphylè, another ſacred depoſit, entered into a conſpiracy againſt her huſband, and was conſumed in the flames of her houſe, to which her ſon ſet fire. Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 64.

The wretched fate of the three firſt chiefs of Phocis in the late war, Philomelus, Onomarchus, and Phayllus, have afforded to hiſtorians ample matter of religious reflection. Nor have they failed to obſerve, that the ſame divine juſtice, which deſtroyed theſe leaders, purſued their ſucceſſor Phaleucus.

He imbarked at Corinth, with a deſign of paſſing into Italy: making his forces believe that he had been invited by the Lucanians. But his officers, who were not ſatisfied as to his real intentions, obliged him, by force, to make a deſcent on the coaſt of Peloponneſus. From hence he perſuaded them to re-imbark, and, paſſing into Crete, ſeized the city of Lyctus, a Spartan colony, from whence he was driven out by Archidamus. He then proceeded to lay ſiege to Cydonia, where he periſhed by the flames of ſome of his machines, which were ſet on fire by lightning; or, according to other writers, Sect. 62, 63.

was aſſaſſinated by a ſoldier, in revenge of ſome ſeverities which he had inflicted on him. His army was purſued by the beſieged with great ſlaughter; they who ſurvived the defeat paſſed into Peloponneſus, where they entered into the ſervice of ſome Eleans, who had been baniſhed on account of having ſhared in the guilt of Phocis, and were attempting to regain their native ſettlement by force of arms. The inhabitants of Elis called the Arcadians to their aſſiſtance. The exiles were defeated, and four thouſand of their auxiliaries taken priſoners, and divided between the Arcadians and Eleans. They whom the Arcadians led away were reduced to ſlavery and periſhed in chains. They who remained in the hands of the Eleans were condemned to death as ſacrilegious perſons, and ſhot with arrows, or precipitated from rocks. And Demoſthenes imputes this maſſacre to Philip, and inveighs againſt it as a notorious inſtance of his inſincerity and cruelty. Thoſe of the Phocian army, who eſcaped from this laſt defeat, periſhed in Sicily, in a ſedition which they had excited againſt Timoleon.

Phil. 4. Sect. 3.

Diod. ut ſupra.

SUCH was the end of Phaleucus and his eight thouſand ſoldiers. They periſhed unpitied and unlamented; while every ſevere ſtroke, which fell upon them, ſerved to increaſe the veneration with which the great king of Macedon, the avenger of Apollo, was now univerſally beheld.

END of the THIRD BOOK.

THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE AND REIGN OF *PHILIP* KING of MACEDON.

BOOK THE FOURTH.

BOOK IV. SECTION I.

CONTENTS.

PHILIP protects the remains of the Phocians.—Returns to Macedon.—Regulations made in that kingdom.—Cabylè and Poneropolis peopled.—The diſpoſitions of the Athenians, and their conduct towards Philip.—The ambaſſy of Hegeſippus to Pella.—His reception.—Philip marches into Illyria.—Alexander entertains the Perſian ambaſſadors.—New diſorders in Theſſaly.—Philip appears in that country.—His regulations and inſtitutions.—His power eſtabliſhed there.—Affairs of Megara.—Philip ſends ſome forces thither.—They are withdrawn.—Affairs of Euboea.—Philiſtides oppoſed in Oreum by Euphraeus,—who is impriſoned.—Diſorders in Peloponneſus.—Philip eſpouſes the cauſe of the Meſſenians and Argians.—His letter to Archidamus.—The anſwer.—Athens alarmed.—Corinth threatened by Philip,—prepares for war.—Diogenes derides them.—The Athenians ſend an ambaſſy into Peloponneſus.—Demoſthenes harangues the Meſſenians.—The effects of his negociations.—The ſeveral powers ſend their deputies to Athens.—Second Philippic oration of Demoſthenes,—its effect.

effect.—Philocrates retires.—AEſchines accuſed by Timarchus,—eludes the proſecution.--Philip enters Peloponneſus,--takes Trinaſus,--terrifies Sparta.—Noble anſwer of a Spartan.—Agis ſent ambaſſador to Philip.—Their conference.—The affairs of Peloponneſus ſettled.—Obſervation of Antiochus.—Philip prepares to return home.—His reception at Corinth.—He overlooks a public inſult.—His attention to the education of Alexander.—The tutors and courſe of ſtudy of this prince.—Letter of Iſocrates to Alexander.—Philip's expedition into Thrace.—Deudras and Machetas ſubdued.—Machetas injured, and redreſſed by Philip,—who marches to ſupport the Cardians.—Eumenes recommends himſelf to his patronage.—The death of Arymbas.—He is ſucceeded by Alexander, the ſon of Neoptolemus,—who is favoured by Philip.—His ſtratagem againſt the Illyrians.—His death.—The Athenians ſtill alarmed.—They endeavour to excite the Greeks to take up arms againſt Philip,—who attempts to allay their ferment,—addreſſes a letter to them.--The oration on the Haloneſus.—Demoſthenes brings an accuſation againſt AEſchines for fraud and corruption in his ambaſſy.

THE LIFE and REIGN OF PHILIP King of MACEDON.

BOOK the FOURTH.

SECTION I.

PHILIP had now amply fulfilled his engagements to the Thebans and Theſſalians, and even gratified their revenge to a degree of ſeverity, to which his own natural temper, uninfluenced by motives of intereſt or convenience, was by no means inclined; and which could not but prove diſpleaſing to the other ſtates, who were ſtill, if poſſible, to be amuſed, and might, with good reaſon, expect ſomething from all thoſe magnificent promiſes which had lately been laviſhed upon them. He therefore now affected to ſhew ſome pity to the fate of the miſerable Phocians. A garriſon, compoſed of Macedonians, had been ſtationed at Nicaea, to ſecure, on any future occaſion, his peaceable paſſage through the ſtreights; and this garriſon was ſaid to be directed to protect the remains of the Phocian ſtate, and to do them every act of kindneſs which might be afforded, without

Dem. Orat. in Liter. Sect. 2.

Oliv. L. 11. p. 142. Dem. Phil. 2. Sect. 3.

giving umbrage to their enemies. Having thus made ſuch diſpoſitions as were deemed neceſſary for his honour and his intereſt, he marched back to Macedon, elated by the conſciouſneſs of the power and reputation he had acquired; and meditating ſtill greater and more extenſive enterprizes.

Olymp. 108. Y. 4. Juſt. L. 8. C. 5.

HERE he was, for ſome time, employed in fortifying and embelliſhing his dominions. He changed the ſituation of ſome cities, transferred the inhabitants from one ſettlement to another, and made all ſuch alterations and diſpoſitions as the facility and convenience of commerce, or the ſecurity of his frontier, demanded, without regard to the murmurings or complaints of his ſubjects, whoſe affections were fixed to their antient habitations: and however Juſtin may inveigh againſt theſe tranſactions, however pathetically he may lament the hard fate of thoſe who were thus removed; ſuch diſpoſitions wiſe and equitable princes have often deemed by no means cruel or unwarrantable. It may alſo be ſuppoſed that the people, thus removed, had been conquered in war, or had forfeited the rights of ſubjects by their rebellion, or other crimes. And Philip ſometimes puniſhed the guilty, by tranſporting them to diſtant habitations, where the opportunities for their evil practices were leſs frequent, and the contagion leſs likely to be diffuſed. Two cities in Thrace he thus peopled with colonies formed of the moſt abandoned among his ſubjects, to whom he is ſaid to have added thoſe of the Phocians, whoſe peculiar guilt had reduced them to the condition of ſlaves, and who had been given up to his abſolute diſpoſal. One of theſe cities, built among the people called Aſti, was known by the name of Cabylè or Calybè: the other, ſituated under mount Rhodopè, was called Poneropolis, *the city of villains:* which diſgraceful title was afterwards loſt in that of Philippolis. Its ſituation gave it alſo the name of Trimontium, *the three hills.* The manners of its inhabitants improved by degrees, till the ſcandal of its origin was intirely forgotten: and, in after times, it had the honour, not

Berneccerus in Juſt. loc. cit.

Oliv. L. 10. p. 118.

Strabo, L. 7. p. 320.

Plin. Hiſt. Nat. L. 4. C. 18. Suid. in Δεσλων πολις.

of

of giving birth to Marcian, the husband of Pulcheria, as * Olivier hath asserted, but of reckoning that emperor among its adopted citizens. To Thasus also Philip, in like manner, sent a colony composed of those of his subjects, by whose absence his kingdom might be purged; and made use of the ships of Athens to transport them. That state had this year equipped a magnificent fleet, with what design doth not appear; whether to keep their soldiers and mariners in action, or to display their force and greatness. Their conduct towards Philip was equivocal at least, if not inconsistent, in consequence of the alliance they had lately concluded; they lent him their vessels to transport his exiles; yet the consciousness of their own weak conduct so soured their dispositions, and the view of Philip's power and honours filled them with so much envy, and raised such apprehensions in their minds, that they took every occasion that presented itself of traversing and perplexing his designs, and of opposing and affronting his allies. Mutual dissatisfactions, complaints and remonstrances, were the natural consequences of these their motions; and they soon found it necessary to send an ambassy to Macedon, to justify their conduct, to recriminate in their turn, and to demand an explanation and amendment of several articles in the late treaty. On this occasion, Philip did not think it necessary to make use of his usual dissimulation: he avowed his resentment, and rejected their apologies with disdain; and even banished from his court the poet Xenoclides, who, at this time, resided at Pella, and had entertained the orator Hegesippus (who was at the head of this ambassy) together with his collegues, with the affection due to his countrymen.

* L. 10. p. 118. Evagrii Hist. Eccl. L. 2. C. 1. Orat. de Haloneso, p. 31.

Dem. de Halon.

Dem. de fal. Leg. Sect. 92.

But though Philip resented, yet he did not fear, the attempts of Athens; nor could any motions of that state interrupt his schemes. He now carried his arms into Illyria and Dardania, possibly to convince the Grecians that he had no farther designs on any of their states, or to repress some commotions which might have arisen among

Just. L. 8. C. 6.

theſe his barbarous neighbours, and to puniſh ſome attempts againſt the peace of Macedon. While he was engaged in this expedition, extending his dominions, and ſpreading the terror of his arms, Ochus, king of Perſia, alarmed by magnificent reports of the greatneſs and glory of the king of Macedon, and terrified with various rumours of his intentions to invade Aſia, ſent an ambaſſy to Pella, to ſeek this prince's friendſhip, or rather to gain a juſt information of the real extent of his power. On this occaſion, the young prince Alexander did the honours of the court in the abſence of his father. Inſtead of entertaining the Perſians with boyiſh and frivolous diſcourſes of pleaſures, gaiety, and amuſements; inſtead of inquiring with a puerile curioſity into the riches of the Perſian court, its plantanes of gold, its golden vine with cluſters of emeralds and rubies; his converſations were ſolid and manly, and expreſſed that ardor for glory and greatneſs, which was afterwards inflamed to ſuch a degree of extravagance. He was ever inquiring into the nature of the Perſian government, polity, and art of war; the genius and character of the great king; the diſtance of his capital from the coaſt; the roads which led to it; and other like particulars; which plainly ſhewed, that a boundleſs ambition had already taken poſſeſſion of his infant mind; and that even now he meditated thoſe great deſigns which he afterwards ſo wonderfully executed. The ambaſſadors heard him with aſtoniſhment, and, in raptures, cried out, "Ours is an opulent king: "this is the truly great prince."

Plutarch. in Vit. Alex. de Fortuna Alex. p. 342.

From Illyria Philip returned into his own kingdom, laden with the ſpoils of his enemies; and, after ſome ſhort interval of retirement, found it neceſſary to make an excurſion into Theſſaly. By the natural fickleneſs of the people, and the intrigues of the leading citizens, who either oppoſed or favoured the Macedonian intereſt, new commotions began to ariſe, and new pretences were afforded to Philip's creatures, to invite this prince to appear once more in Theſſaly, and to maintain the tranquillity of this country. Eudicus and Simo, two citizens

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 69.

Olymp. 109. Y. 1.

Dem. de Corona, Sect. 15.

zens of Lariſſa, his creatures and corrupted partizans, who poſſibly had fomented theſe diſorders on purpoſe to oblige their maſter, were now the moſt earneſt with him to march into Theſſaly, and to ſupport his authority. At their requeſt, and for their ſupport, he threw a body of ſoldiers into Lariſſa, to keep his enemies in awe, under the pretence of ſuppreſſing faction and ſedition; while he was at the ſame time employed in ſettling a plan of government, in appearance intended to eſtabliſh the peace of Theſſaly, but, in reality, calculated to put it for ever out of the power of the people to give the leaſt oppoſition to the deſigns of Macedon. He took to himſelf the charge of the public revenues, and directed the application of them: and then divided the whole country into four diſtricts, in each of which he eſtabliſhed a magiſtracy compoſed of ten eminent Theſſalians, who were abſolutely devoted to him, and ready to conduct and direct all affairs, as he ſhould find it convenient to preſcribe [A]. The Theſſalians had ever appeared remarkably attached to their national cuſtoms, and were always flattered by any conformity and deference which foreigners might pay to theſe. Philip, the better to ſecure their adherence, was determined to indulge this their vanity, and affected to imitate their manners and cuſtoms, and to ſhew every inſtance of reſpect to Theſſaly. He had already two Theſſalian miſtreſſes. As they were fond of the pleaſures of ſociety, he inſtituted public feaſts, and honoured them with his own preſence. All the nobles of his court were ordered to treat thoſe of Theſſaly with all poſſible politeneſs and deference; and he himſelf ſet the example. A Theſſalian, called Agathocles, more noted for his jovial courſe of life, than for any military abilities, and who is ſaid to have recommended himſelf, by flattering and diverting the king, was intruſted with the command of

Dem. Phil. 2. Sect. 4.

Phil. 3. Sect. 6.

Athen. L. 14. p. 624.

Ibid. L. 6. p. 260.

p. 259.

[A] THE government which now Philip eſtabliſhed in Theſſaly, is called a government of ten in the ſecond Philippic of Demoſthenes; and, in the third, a government of four. The manner in which I have here repreſented it, and which I have borrowed from Olivier, ſeems to clear up this difficulty, without obliging us to recur to the ſuppoſition of an error in the copies of Demoſthenes.

one

one of his armies, and conducted an expedition againſt the Perrhiboeans. The Theſſalians had ever been pretenders to wit, and ſprightly ſallies of fancy and pleaſantry, though without the leaſt ſhare of true taſte or delicacy. And this might poſſibly have determined Philip to beſtow a ſmall government, in Theſſaly, on Thraſidaeus, a man whoſe genius might have recommended him to this particular diſpoſition of the Theſſalians; but whoſe merit, at the court of Macedon, is ſaid to be no other than the peculiar art and addreſs with which he flattered Philip.

Galen. de ſanit. tuend. L. 3.

Athen. L. 6. p. 249.

BUT while he thus laboured, by indirect ways, to ſecure the affections of this country, the more forcible and effectual methods of eſtabliſhing his power and authority were not omitted. He ſtill continued to keep poſſeſſion of Pherae, of Echinus, Pagaſae, Magneſia, and Lariſſa, and purchaſed the town of Antron, whoſe citadel commanded the Euripus of Chalcis.

Dem. Phil. 3. Sect. 7. Phil. 4. Sect. 3.

NOR was he leſs attentive to enlarge his influence and power in other parts. The Megareans were a people, who, after various viciſſitudes of fortune, ſometimes being ſubjected to Athens, ſometimes to Lacedaemon, according to the different viciſſitudes of power which theſe ſtates experienced, now lived independent, and preſerved a moſt inveterate hatred of both. Theſe he determined, if poſſible, to gain over to his party, and began, according to his uſual cuſtom, to practiſe ſecretly with the leading members of the ſtate. They had ſent an ambaſſador to Macedon, named Pteodorus, who returned highly flattered by the reſpect and affection with which he had been received, and abſolutely devoted to Philip, as was the general caſe of thoſe who were ſent in ſuch characters to the court of Macedon. At his return to Megara, he found the people engaged in a judicial proceſs againſt one Perilaüs, who was accuſed of being corrupted by Philip. Pteodorus, who was the moſt conſiderable member of the ſtate by his birth, riches, and intereſt, undertook this man's defence, and

Oliv. L. 11. p. 152.

Dem. de fal. Leg. Sect. 83.

and prevailed on the ſenate of three hundred to acquit him. But, fearing ſome future attempts from thoſe who oppoſed the Macedonian intereſt, he diſpatched Perilaüs to Macedon, in order to concert the means of promoting the deſigns and intereſts of Philip. A body of troops, ſecretly in this prince's pay, was ſent to Megara, and admitted by the contrivance of Pteodorus, under pretence of defending the city, and of guarding it againſt all internal commotions. By means of theſe the partizans of Macedon were inabled to command their fellow-citizens, and to remove thoſe who attempted to give them any oppoſition. But whether it was, that Philip feared that too open and avowed an attempt on the liberty of Megara might give umbrage to the neighbouring ſtates, or that he thought himſelf ſufficiently aſſured of the affections of that people, theſe troops were ſoon withdrawn; which gives * Demoſthenes occaſion of repreſenting his attempt on Megara as unſucceſsful.

* Phil. 4. Sect. 3. Phil. 3. Sect. 4.

In Euboea his agents were as buſily engaged in concerting every means to weaken the Athenian intereſt, and to reduce the iſland intirely to the power of Macedon. Philiſtides, whom Philip had placed at the head of affairs in Oreum, was implicitly obedient to the dictates of his maſter, and indefatigably induſtrious in favouring and aſſiſting his deſigns. All his acts of government were calculated to eſtabliſh the power of Philip, to diſcountenance all oppoſition, to intimidate and to oppreſs thoſe who affected a zeal for the independency of the ſtate, or who regarded the Athenian intereſt as moſt favourable to their liberty. Euphraeus, a citizen of eminence, who had for ſome time reſided at Athens, and poſſibly had there contracted ſtrong prejudices in favour of that ſtate, ſet himſelf at the head of the oppoſite party, and was ever inſpiring his countrymen with ſuſpicions of Philiſtides and his adherents. As he had too much reſolution to ſink under the diſcouragements of a powerful oppoſition, or the weight of popular odium, with which the artifices of his antagoniſts contrived to load him, he, at length, proceeded to a formal impeachment of Philiſtides,

Phil. 3. Sect. 14.

Philiſtides, and the other leaders of the Macedonian party, whom he accuſed of a traiterous deſign of ſubjecting their country to a foreign power. But Philip's agents were too politic, and too well ſupported, to be ſhaken by his ineffectual efforts: they were ſurrounded by a ſtanding army, which was maintained by Philip for their ſupport; they were aſſiſted by the popular favour, which every artifice had been exerted to obtain. And, thus armed, they boldly retorted the accuſation of treaſon on Euphraeus, they called him incendiary, diſturber of the public peace, and rebellious enemy to the juſt meaſures of government; and this brave and honeſt citizen, deſerted by his friends, and inſulted by the blinded populace, was ſeized and committed to priſon: the partizans of Macedon were left at full liberty to purſue their ſchemes, and all their enemies terrified and confounded by this remarkable inſtance of their vigour and ſeverity.

Dem. de Pace. Sect. 5.

BUT the moſt important object of Philip's preſent attention was the ſtate of Peloponneſus, and the conteſts in that country. Athens had lately entered into a treaty of alliance with Lacedaemon, as the only means now left to guard againſt the increaſing power of Macedon. The Thebans, on the other hand, inſolent and arrogant in their preſent ſtate of exaltation, and ſtill cheriſhing an inveterate hatred and jealouſy of their old rivals the Lacedaemonians, were now eager in purſuit of every means to mortify that people, and to reduce their power to the loweſt ebb. The Argians, Meſſenians, and other Peloponneſians, readily liſtened to the ſuggeſtions of Thebes; were well inclined to renew their former conteſts with Sparta; and impatient to aſſert their antient freedom and independence. Philip, now the great umpire in all the conteſts and diſputes of Greece, was ſollicited, and willingly agreed to ſupport the cauſe of theſe ſtates; and, as the defender of the oppreſſed, wrote an haughty letter to Archidamus, in which he demanded that Lacedaemon ſhould inſtantly renounce all claim of ſuperiority and juriſdiction over thoſe cities. He concluded his letter with a menace, inſpired by a conſciouſneſs

Phil. 2. Tour. Sommaire.

conſciouſneſs of his preſent power: "I ſhall find a way to oblige "you to pay the due attention to this juſt demand, if once I enter "into Peloponneſus." To which Archidamus, as yet undiſmayed, anſwered, with a brevity ſtrictly Laconic, by the repetition of the ſingle particle IF [B]. Plutarch. de Garrulitate, p. 511.

THE people of Athens had too great acuteneſs and penetration not to ſee through Philip's real deſign in eſpouſing the cauſe of the cities in Peloponneſus, and fomenting the diſorders of this country: nor were his attempts in other parts of Greece leſs alarming, or leſs manifeſt indications of a reſtleſs and dangerous ambition. Whilſt he threatened the Lacedaemonians with an invaſion, he at the ſame time aſſumed the power of deciding the conteſts of ſome other leſs diſtinguiſhed ſtates. The Achaeans and AEtolians ſeem to have ſubmitted a diſpute concerning the city of Naupactus to his determination: the firſt of theſe he declared againſt: promiſed to put the AEtolians in poſſeſſion of the town; but, in the mean time, kept it in his own hands. Leucas, a city of Acharnania, and Ambracia in Epirus, both colonies of Dem. Phil. 3. Sect. 7.

[B] IT had been the boaſt of Epaminondas, that he had compelled the Spartans to extend their monoſyllables. And this people now ſeems to have particularly affected to convince the pupil of Epaminondas, that they ſtill retained this mark of their antient dignity. To a long and inſulting letter they anſwered him by two words very capable of inſpiring him with a lively ſenſe of the ſtrange viciſſitudes of fortune to which greatneſs was ſubject: DIONYSIUS AT CORINTH. To another letter, demanding admiſſion into their territory, they anſwered by a ſingle negative, expreſſed in the extremity of Spartan conciſeneſs: not by the particle OR, according to Plutarch, (in loc. cit.) but by the letter O, which had at this time the force of the negative particle, as Auſonius relates:

Una fuit tantum, qua reſpondere Lacones,
Litera, et irato regi placuere negantes. EPIST. XXV. 36.

IN like manner, the anſwer mentioned in the text ſeems to have been expreſſed only by the letter E: which was pronounced as the conditional Greek particle EI, as we learn from Athenaeus, L. xi. p. 230.——See the commentary on the Sandwich marble, by the learned and accurate Doctor Taylor.

the Corinthians, and, by their ſituation, of conſiderable importance, were the next to feel the terror of his arms: he firſt corrupted ſome of their citizens, and then attacked them openly. The people of Corinth, alarmed at the danger with which their ſettlements were threatened, and fired with indignation at the inceſſant attempts of Macedon to extend its conqueſts, began to prepare for war with a ſpirit ill ſuited to their own weakneſs and the ſuperiority of their enemy. The city became a ſcene of general commotion; arms of all kinds were forged; their walls and fortifications were repaired; and all proviſions made for their own defence, and for repelling their enemy; while Diogenes, the Cynic philoſopher, who then reſided at Corinth, and looked with a juſt contempt on all this tumult, began, with a ridiculous affectation of hurry and engagement, to roll about his tub into different poſtures and ſituations, that (as he obſerved) he might not be the only perſon unemployed in a city ſo full of buſineſs.

Lucian. de Conſcrib. Hiſt. p. 347, 348.

THESE attempts upon the Grecian cities, and particularly Philip's practices in Peloponneſus, were diſplayed with all poſſible addreſs and energy by the popular leaders at Athens, who oppoſed the Macedonian intereſt. By their repreſentations the people were inſpired with a violent fit of zeal and indignation; and an ambaſſy was now ſent into Peloponneſus, as the firſt great means to check the ambitious deſigns of Philip, in order, if poſſible, to detach the Argians and Meſſenians from their connexions with this ſubtle and deſigning prince. Demoſthenes was at the head of this ambaſſy; and we may judge of the ſpirit and eloquence which he exerted on this occaſion, by the following extract from his ſpeech to the Meſſenians, which is preſerved in his ſecond Philippic oration:

Dem. Phil. 2. Sect. 3.

Phil. 3. Sect. 15.

Phil. 2. Sect. 4.

"YE Meſſenians! how highly, think ye, would the Olynthians "have been offended, if any man had ſpoken againſt Philip at that "time, when he gave them up Anthemus, a city which the former

"kings

" kings of Macedon had ever claimed: when he drove out the " Athenian colony, and gave them Potidaea: when he took all our " reſentment on himſelf, and left them to enjoy our dominions? " did they expect to have ſuffered thus? had it been foretold, would " they have believed it? you cannot think it! yet, after a ſhort en- " joyment of the territories of others, they have been for ever de- " ſpoiled of their own, by this man. Inglorious hath been their " fall, not conquered only, but betrayed and ſold by one another. " For thoſe intimate correſpondences with tyrants ever portend " miſchief to free ſtates. Turn your eyes to the Theſſalians! think " ye, that when he firſt expelled their tyrants, when he then gave " them up Nicaea and Magneſia, that they expected ever to have " been ſubjected to thoſe governors now impoſed on them? or that " the man, who reſtored them to their ſeat in the Amphictyonic " council, would have deprived them of their own proper revenues? " yet, that ſuch was the event, the world can teſtify. In like man- " ner you now behold Philip laviſhing his gifts and promiſes upon " you. If you are wiſe, you will pray that he may never appear to " have deceived and abuſed you. Various are the contrivances for " the defence and ſecurity of cities: as battlements, and walls, and " trenches, and every other kind of fortification: all which are the " effects of labour, and attended with continual expence. But there " is one common bulwark, with which men of prudence are natu- " rally provided, the guard and ſecurity of all people, particularly " of free ſtates againſt the aſſaults of tyrants. What is this? diſ- " truſt. Of this be mindful: to this adhere: preſerve this care- " fully, and no calamity can affect you. What is it you ſeek? " liberty? and do ye not perceive that nothing can be more averſe " to this than the very titles of Philip? every monarch, every tyrant, " is an enemy to liberty, and the oppoſer of laws. Will ye not " then be careful, leſt, while ye ſeek to be freed from war, ye find " yourſelves his ſlaves."

THESE negotiations of the Athenians for ſome time ſuſpended the deſigns of Philip; if we may believe * Demoſthenes, ſaved Ambracia, and prevented his marching directly into Peloponneſus. It appears, however, that he found means of ſending in ſome forces for the ſupport of the Argians and Meſſenians, who received them as their guardians and deliverers; as the proſpect of intirely ſhaking off the ſevere yoke of Sparta, the flattering aſſurances of Philip, and the zealous ſollicitations of Thebes, had much more weight with theſe people than the imaginary dangers which Demoſthenes, and the other ambaſſadors Hegeſippus, Lycurgus, and the reſt, all eminent popular leaders, now preſented to their view. Thus was Peloponneſus threatened with a bloody war; and each party laboured vigorouſly to ſtrengthen their intereſt, and to ſupport their cauſe. The Lacedaemonians inſtantly diſpatched their deputies to Athens, to repreſent their danger, and to deſire aſſiſtance: and they were heard, with all poſſible deference and favour, by a people who could not look on with indifference, while the jealouſies and animoſities of the Greeks, and the ambition and artifice of Philip, were exciting ſuch commotions, as it were, on the very borders of their ſtate. Yet, on the other hand, Philip was too formidable for them to enter into any raſh meaſures. The peace lately concluded muſt give any oppoſition to his arms the appearance of perfidy, however neceſſary for their ſafety: all the reaſons which could poſſibly be urged to deter them from any engagements with Lacedaemon, were repreſented in their full force by the ambaſſadors of Macedon, Thebes, Argos, and Meſſenè, who alſo now appeared in the aſſembly: Philip's miniſters called on them to adhere ſtrictly to their treaty; expatiated on the integrity and candor of their maſter; obviated all the objections of deceit and breach of promiſe on his part; and appealed to the terms of the treaty, to which his conduct had been ſtrictly conformable. If he had continued to adhere to the intereſt of Thebes, no aſſurances made, no engagements entered into by him, forbad ſuch attachment. If the Athenians had entertained unwarrantable expectations,

*Phil. 3. Sect. 15.

Phil. 2. Sect. 3.

Tourr. Sommaire Phil. 2.

expectations, their diſappointment was only to be attributed to themſelves, or to thoſe miniſters who have deceived them, and abuſed the king of Macedon by their miſrepreſentations.

THE ambaſſadors of Thebes, Argos, and Meſſenè, inveighed loudly againſt the Athenians on account of the favour and ſupport which they had already granted to Lacedaemon, under whoſe tyranny all their neighbours groaned, who had long proved the ſcourge of Greece, and who, notwithſtanding the repeated and ſucceſsful efforts to reduce their power, were ſtill inſolent and arrogant, and impatient to make Greece feel the full ſeverity of their rigorous and arbitrary ſway. The Athenians, who called themſelves the patrons and protectors of liberty, ſurely could not, conſiſtently with their principles, oppoſe a reaſonable attempt to reſtore their natural and original rights and liberties to a people oppreſſed and harraſſed by a power ſupported but by violence, and authorized by no right but that of ſuperior force. Tourr. Sommaire Phil. 2.

THE ambaſſadors of Lacedaemon, on the other hand, aided by thoſe public leaders, who hated the ambition, and dreaded the vigour and policy, of Philip, endeavoured to lay open to the people all the artifices of this intriguing prince; the inſtances in which he had already deceived thoſe with whom he had held the leaſt intercourſe; and the dangers to be ſtill dreaded from a king, who made diſſimulation, perfidy, and corruption, the inſtruments of his greatneſs; whoſe ambition was inſatiable, and his vigour indefatigable. A regard to juſtice, and a tender concern for the happineſs and independence of others, have ever been his pretences, but the vanity of ſuch pretences never were more apparent than in the preſent caſe. If it be juſt and reaſonable that every ſingle city ſhould enjoy an abſolute freedom and independence, why are the cities of Boeotia given up intirely by Philip into the power of Thebes? If Thebes may juſtly claim the abſolute ſovereignty of Boeotia, muſt not the pretenſions of Lacedaemon Ibid. Phil. 2. Sect. 3. Tourr. Not. in Loc.

daemon be tried by the ſame rule of juſtice; and may not ſhe, with equal reaſon, aſſert her pretenſions to the ſovereignty of Peloponneſus. But, in truth, the revenge and jealouſy of Thebes, as well as Philip's grand deſign of ſubjecting all Greece to the power of Macedon, demands the immediate ruin of Lacedaemon: that of Athens muſt neceſſarily enſue; and nothing but a vigorous reſolution, on the part of this ſtate, can poſſibly avert that deſolation with which Greece is now threatened by the inſatiable and malignant paſſions both of her ſecret and avowed enemies.

THERE was now a noble field for the abilities of Demoſthenes; and theſe appear to have been eminently exerted in that oration which is commonly called the ſecond Philippic. In this addreſs, the artifices and deſigns of Philip are fully diſplayed; every motive to caution, vigilance, and reſolution, urged with due force; the glory and dignity of Athens repreſented with particular art and delicacy; and the corruption and perfidy of thoſe, who had been intruſted with the conduct of the late public tranſactions, attacked with ſuch warmth, as could ſcarcely fail to inſpire his hearers with the moſt violent indignation and reſentment. It is not poſſible to make any extract from this admirable piece: to give a juſt idea of it, it would be neceſſary to inſert it intire: nor is it without reaſon that * Olivier ſuppoſes, that it was to this oration particularly Philip gave that honourable teſtimony mentioned in a life of Demoſthenes, compiled by Plutarch: "Had "I been preſent to hear theſe ſpirited remonſtrances, I myſelf muſt "have given my voice for declaring war againſt the king of "Macedon."

* L. 11. p. 155.

Plut. Vit. 10. Orat. in Demoſth.

NOR were the Athenians inſenſible to the force and energy of their public leader. Demoſthenes was appointed to anſwer the ambaſſadors. It was determined to ſupport the cauſe of Peloponneſus; and thoſe who managed the late treaty were expoſed to all the reſentment of an inraged and diſappointed people. A judicial proceſs

was

was commenced againſt Philocrates, and managed with conſiderable zeal by Hyperides, the celebrated orator, who violently oppoſed the Macedonian party. Demoſthenes, on this occaſion, warmly contended, that all the other ambaſſadors had been equally guilty, and ſhould be involved in this proſecution. But the people ſeemed contented with making one victim to public juſtice: and Philocrates, who juſtly dreaded the event of a trial, found it the ſafeſt and beſt expedient to withdraw from Athens. As Philip's partizans were now apparently in the decline of their power, their enemies determined to purſue their victory. A formal accuſation was alſo brought againſt AEſchines by one Timarchus, a citizen of eminence, who had frequently been heard with attention in the aſſembly. He had propoſed many decrees, and particularly that which made it capital to ſupply Philip with arms or military ſtores. But AEſchines prevented him on this occaſion, and proved that Timarchus was unworthy to propoſe any thing to the people, as he had juſtly merited infamy by his abandoned and diſſolute life: who was accordingly declared unworthy of interfering in any matter of public concernment. Thus did AEſchines, for this time, evade the general reſentment, with a ſort of triumph over his enemies; while, at the ſame time, he avoided all explanations of his conduct.

Dem. de fal. Leg. Sect. 38.

AEſchin. in Ctef. Sect. 30.

Arg. in AEſch. Orat. in Timarch.

WHILE the Athenians were thus employed in accuſing, trying, and condemning or acquitting thoſe who had been intruſted with their affairs, the uſual conſequence of weak and miſguided politics in a corrupted and diſordered ſtate, Philip purſued the ſchemes of his ambition with his accuſtomed vigour. He directed his courſe towards Laconia, in order, as he pretended, to ſupport the liberty of the people of Peloponneſus; and, without any interruption from the Athenians, or from Sparta, which was immediately threatened by his arms, landed his forces at the cape of Tenarus. The Peloponneſians crowded to his ſtandard with the warmeſt zeal and acknowledgement of his friendſhip; and thus he found himſelf at the head

of

of a numerous army, which threatened deſtruction to all thoſe who ſhould preſume to oppoſe him. With theſe formidable powers he marched forward, and began with forming the ſiege of Trinaſus.

Frontin. L. 3. C. 8. 1.

THIS place was by its ſituation ſtrong, and well provided for an obſtinate and vigorous reſiſtance. It was of the utmoſt moment to make himſelf maſter of it, before the Lacedaemonians could have time to collect their forces and march to its relief: and for this purpoſe he had now recourſe to a ſtratagem. In the night he cauſed a large quantity of earth to be laid at a ſmall diſtance from the walls: and, having engaged the beſieged in an interview, he ſhewed them the heap, and aſked whether they could now think of reſiſtance any longer. His artifice ſucceeded: the inhabitants, imagining that their town was now undermined, immediately reſolved on a capitulation.

THE firſt accounts of Philip's invaſion had raiſed a conſiderable commotion in Lacedaemon; and the taking of Trinaſus added greatly to the general conſternation which now ſpread through that ſtate, and all its allied powers. An extraordinary meteor appeared in the air; and, for ſeveral days, the heavens aſſumed an horrid duſky redneſs. This accident was received by the people, at this critical time, as an ominous warning of that deſtruction which ſeemed juſt impending. A young Spartan, who appeared unmoved amidſt the general terror, was aſked, with ſurprize, whether he did not really fear Philip? "Why ſhould I fear him," cried the gallant youth, "he cannot hinder us from dying for our coun-"try."

Plin. Hiſt. Nat. L. 2. C. 36.

Frontin. L. 4. C. 5. 12.

WHILE moſt of the adjacent ſtates and cities of Peloponneſus declared for Philip, the Lacedaemonians found themſelves abandoned by their allies, and utterly unable to ſupport the quarrel by the force of arms. They were therefore obliged to make Philip himſelf

the

the arbiter of their diſpute; and Agis, the ſon of king Archidamus, was ſent as an ambaſſador to conclude a treaty with the king of Macedon, on ſuch terms as he ſhould preſcribe. The Spartan prince, agreeably to the ſimplicity of his country, appeared, on this occaſion, totally unattended: and when Philip thus expreſſed his ſurprize, "What! have the Spartans ſent but one?" "Am not I to meet one?" ſaid Agis, with a true Laconic pride. The king of Macedon ſeems to have been mortified with the boldneſs of this anſwer, and to have forgot his uſual politeneſs in this interview. "I ſhall take care," ſaid he, with a good degree of heat, "to prevent the Spartans from "ſetting foot in any part of Greece." "It is well!" returned Agis. "We have a country of our own, and can live there." Plut. Apophth. Lac. Ibid.

After ſome altercation and remonſtrances, theſe princes proceeded to ſettle the boundaries between Lacedaemon and Argos, in which all matters were adjuſted in the manner moſt favourable to this latter ſtate: Meſſene was declared a free ſtate. The inhabitants were eſtabliſhed in their old habitations, and confirmed in all the privileges they had enjoyed, and all the lands they had poſſeſſed when they were conquered by Lacedaemon, three hundred and thirty-five years before. Antiochus, one of the ephori who ſigned this treaty, could not contain himſelf from obſerving, "that Philip had indeed "given theſe lands to the Meſſenians, but had not, at the ſame "time, given the means of defending them." But, to this end, Philip, having formed a confederacy with the ſtates that had attended him, obliged them to give him ſecurities for the execution of all the terms of their treaty; and, on his part, engaged to afford them the neceſſary aſſiſtance on all occaſions. And, the more effectually to ſecure the continuance of thoſe diſpoſitions which he had now made, he took care to place, at the head of all the allied cities, a number of men intirely devoted to his intereſt [c]. Thus reducing them, Strabo L. 8. p. 361. Ibid. Dem. de Coron. Sect. 91.

[c] The names of many of theſe Demoſthenes hath preſerved, in his oration on the Crown; and branded them as the betrayers of their countries, and the peſts of

them, in reality, to an abſolute dependence on Macedon, at the ſame time that he affected a moſt diſintereſted regard to their liberties. Theſe were the artifices and pretences which the leading powers of Greece had employed to eſtabliſh their own intereſt, and to depreſs their neighbours and rivals: theſe firſt divided, weakened, and corrupted the Greeks: and now their own unreaſonable ambition encouraged, inabled, and taught their common enemy the means to gain an influence in Greece, and to eſtabliſh his power on their general ruin.

[D] PHILIP now returned, and paſſed through Arcadia, in order to detach ſome cities that had not yet declared themſelves from the intereſt of Lacedaemon. He was ſo far ſucceſsful, that he, for a time, engaged them to his party. And many of thoſe cities erected ſtatues, and decreed crowns of gold, to their deliverer. In the days of Pauſanias, they pointed out a piece of ground in Arcadia adjoining to a fountain, which was called Philip's camp, and which, poſſibly, had been applied to that purpoſe at this time.

Pauſan. in Arcad.

FROM Arcadia he proceeded to Corinth, and lodged at the houſe of Demaratus, a man devoted to his ſervice, and who owed to Philip

of Greece. Polybius indeed (in Excerpt.) endeavours to reſcue the memory of theſe men from infamy, poſſibly from regard to Megalopolis, his native city. This hiſtorian inſiſts, that, in their attachment to Philip, they were influenced only by a true regard to the freedom of their ſtates, and a juſt averſion to the tyranny of Sparta. But it was a thing well known in Greece, and which was tranſmitted down even to the time of Pauſanias; that when Philip made his attempts on the liberties of Greece, Sparta was the only ſtate which proved inacceſſible to his gold, and incapable of corruption. PAUSAN. in Achaicis.

[D] THIS invaſion of Peloponneſus, together with the particulars which have been here related, the French writer places much earlier, in the one hundred and ſeventh Olympiad. But I could not think it ſafe to follow his authority, as the reader, who will take the trouble of turning to Demoſthenes, de falſa Leg. Sect. 29. and Phil. 2. Sect. 7, will find it expreſsly aſſerted, that Philip never did nor could enter Peloponneſus, until he became maſter of Thermopylae.

his

his influence in that city. Public games and ſpectacles were, at this time, celebrated at Corinth, where numbers of the Peloponneſians were collected. At theſe games Philip appeared; and the people, who found themſelves now governed by his creatures, and, by this time, had many juſt reaſons to ſuſpect the ſincerity of his intentions, received him with loud expreſſions of diſguſt. His courtiers, earneſt in their zeal for the honour of their maſter, preſſed him to puniſh thoſe inſolent men who made ſuch ungrateful returns to his good offices. But Philip well knew when to diſſemble and paſs over ſuch affronts unnoticed. "By no means," ſaid he, "if they are ſo "inſolent now, how would they behave, ſhould we do them any "ill offices?" Thus we find that this prince, according to the expreſſion of Theopompus, which Longinus hath preſerved, could, with eaſe, ſwallow injuries and affronts. His policy ſupplied the place of true meekneſs; or, which is the ſame, true greatneſs of mind. He heard, with an affected unconcern, of thoſe opprobrious invectives which were ſometimes dealt to him in the Athenian aſſembly. "I "am much indebted," ſaid he, "to thoſe orators who make me "acquainted with my faults." Inſtead of puniſhing his revilers, when they were abſolutely in his power, he wiſely choſe to gain them by good offices. "Hath Nicanor ſpoken evil of me?" ſaid he: "perhaps he hath had reaſon. I have neglected his merit: let him "have ſome mark of my friendſhip." This had the due effect: the Macedonian changed his language; and the king obſerved to thoſe who had recommended ſeverities, "You ſee it is in our own power "to be well or ill ſpoken of."

Plutarch. in Apophth.

Ibid.

Ibid.

AT his return to Macedon, the education of his young ſon Alexander became the immediate object of his regard. The prince had, from his infancy, diſcovered a remarkable nobleneſs and greatneſs of ſentiment, and a genius ſuſceptible of the higheſt improvements and accompliſhments. He was the apparent heir to the kingdom, the power, and the fame of his illuſtrious father. The philoſopher Ariſtotle was therefore invited to the court of Macedon, and to him

Plut. in Vit. Alex.

was committed the important charge of ſuperintending the education of this prince, "that he may be taught," ſaid Philip, "to avoid "thoſe errors which I have committed, and of which I now repent." To engage him more effectually to a faithful and diligent diſcharge of this great truſt, Philip loaded Ariſtotle with favours worthy of the generoſity of the king, and the merit of the philoſopher. He cauſed Stagira, the city which gave birth to Ariſtotle, and which had ſhared the common fate of the Olynthian territories, to be rebuilt, and the inhabitants, who were now ſlaves or fugitives, to be reſtored to their original ſettlements and privileges: and there ſet apart a ſpacious park, laid out into ſhady walks, and ornamented with ſtatues and ſeats of marble, for the uſe of the Peripatetic ſages, who were there at full liberty to purſue thoſe exerciſes which gave the title to their ſect. Hiſtory has thought it worthy to tranſmit to us an account of all the perſons concerned in the nurture and education of this prince. Hellanica, the nurſe of Alexander, hath not been forgotten, the ſiſter of Clitus, a woman to whom the grateful prince ſhewed the utmoſt attention in the midſt of all his conqueſts. A governor, named Leonidas, had ever attended him; a man naturally auſtere, but virtuous and brave; rigidly ſcrupulous, and careful of the moſt minute particulars relating to his charge. Nothing ſuperfluous, nothing that adminiſtered to vanity or luxury, was ever ſuffered to approach the prince's apartment by this exact inſpector. In ſome religious rite, Alexander was obſerved by Leonidas to make uſe of more incenſe than ſeemed neceſſary on the occaſion, and told, with ſome ſeverity, "that it would be time enough to be thus laviſh of perfumes, when "he was maſter of the country that produced them:" which occaſioned the prince, when he had afterwards conquered Arabia, to ſend Leonidas a large quantity of theſe perfumes, "to engage him," (as he ſaid) "to make his offerings to the gods with a more liberal "hand." He had another governor, Lyſimachus of Acharnania, who ſeems to have been recommended by his age and attachment to his pupil. He called Alexander Achilles, Philip, Peleus, and himſelf

Plut. in Apophth.

Plut. in Vit. Alex.

Oliv. L. 11. p. 160.

Plut. in Alex.

Ibid.

ſelf Phoenix. This flattering application recommended and endeared him to the king of Macedon, who had that paternal tenderneſs which made him feel a ſenſible delight in all preſages that ſeemed to promiſe that his ſon ſhould ſurpaſs him in the glory of his actions. Ariſtotle, on his part, laboured to improve and adorn the mind of Alexander with every kind of knowledge ſuitable to a prince. That logic, for which his ſect was famous, was neither wholly neglected, nor minutely inculcated. What the philoſopher more inſiſted on, was to give the prince a perfect knowledge of the human mind, to explain all the objects which affect it, and the motives by which it is determined. The three books of Rhetoric, which he afterwards dedicated to Alexander, were an abridgment of thoſe lectures on Eloquence, which he had given to the prince, to compleat him in that branch of knowledge, of which he had already received the rudiments from Anaximenes of Lampſacus. Thus the firſt care of his teachers, was to form this prince to ſpeak with grace, propriety, and force. Nor is it probable, that they had leſs attention to teach him an equal propriety of action and conduct in the elevated ſtation in which he was at ſome time to appear. But thoſe ſtudies, which might inſpire him with great and exalted ideas of glory and heroiſm, ſeem to have been the particular delight of Alexander, if we may judge from that remarkable veneration which he ever expreſſed for the works of Homer.

Iſocrat. Lit. ad Alex.

Oliv. L. II. p. 162.

As Ariſtotle was the ſon of a phyſician, doubtleſs, a natural partiality in favour of the art determined him, ſaith Olivier, to labour to give his pupil an extenſive knowledge in medicine. If it is allowed to indulge conjecture, he might be ſuppoſed to have taken the hint from Lyſimachus, and to have flattered his pupil, by imitating the education of Achilles, and appearing in a character ſimilar to that of Chiron. But the deference due to the judgment of Milton, who, in his tractate on Education, recommends this branch of knowledge as of great uſe to military men, ſhould induce us to conclude, that

Ibid.

Plut. in Alex.

that the philoſopher was directed by the juſt rules of reaſon and good ſenſe, in teaching this pupil the means of preſerving the health of thoſe numbers, who might hereafter march under his guidance and command. The prince ſeems to have received theſe his inſtructions with pleaſure: he afterwards wrote ſeveral directions and receipts for the uſe of his ſick friends; and, poſſibly, the opinion of his own ſkill determined him to cauſe the phyſicians of Hephaeſtion to be hanged, who might not have treated his favourite according to thoſe rules in which he had been inſtructed. We may preſume, that mathematics were not neglected by Ariſtotle; though we learn from * Seneca, that Alexander ſtudied geometry without any great ſucceſs. But another branch of literature, which the philoſopher ſeems to have inculcated with particular attention, was the knowledge of being, conſidered in itſelf, and of intelligent ſubſtances. And how greatly his pupil valued himſelf on this knowledge, may appear from the following letter, occaſioned by Ariſtotle's publiſhing a treatiſe of theſe metaphyſical diſquiſitions:

Oliv. L. 11. p. 163.

* Epiſt. 91.

Plut. in Alex.

Ibid. "ALEXANDER, to Ariſtotle, health!

"YOU have by no means acted rightly in publiſhing thoſe treatiſes "of knowledge, to be communicated only to particular hearers. "How ſhall I excel others, if thoſe things, which I have been taught, "be now divulged to the world? I am ever better pleaſed to appear "ſuperior to the reſt of mankind, in the knowledge of excellent "things, than in power. Farewell!"

Ibid. THE anſwer of the philoſopher, on this occaſion, is well known, "that theſe diſquiſitions were publiſhed, and not publiſhed; being "written in ſuch a manner as to be ſtill totally inacceſſible to the "vulgar." And, if we may judge by thoſe metaphyſical works, which have been tranſmitted to us as the works of Ariſtotle, the prince's complaint was ill-founded, and the philoſopher's anſwer extremely juſt.

Oliv. L. 11. p. 164.

THE

THE greatneſs of mind which now began to dawn in this young hero, the attention and aſſiduity with which he received all inſtruction and improvement, and his general lovelineſs of manners, the effect of a natural good diſpoſition, aided and inlivened by an exact and well conducted education, now began to be a ſubject of praiſe and admiration in all the poliſhed and refined ſtates. The venerable Iſocrates, who prided himſelf in that regard with which he was ever honoured by Philip, received ſuch accounts with the joy natural to a man of his years and diſpoſition; and, about this time, wrote a letter to Alexander, conceived in the following terms:

"ISOCRATES, to Alexander, health!"

"As I have addreſſed a letter to your father, and, as you are "reſident in the ſame place, I ſhould have condemned myſelf of the "utmoſt impropriety, had I neglected thus to expreſs my reſpect to "you, and, by this means, to convince thoſe who are unacquainted "with me, that my age hath not yet reduced me to a ſtate of per-"fect dotage; but that the remains of genius, which I ſtill poſſeſs, "are not unworthy of thoſe powers, with which my former years were "favoured. I am aſſured, from the concurring teſtimony of all men, "of that affection which you have ever expreſſed to mankind, of your "particular regard to Athens, of your love to learning, and of that "prudence and juſtneſs of ſentiment which appear in all your con-"duct. I have a ſtrong proof of this in the accounts which I "receive of your delicacy in the choice of thoſe Athenians who "are admitted to your confidence. Who are not of the number of "thoſe who blindly abandon themſelves to wicked purſuits: but "men, whoſe converſation cannot offend, and whoſe ſociety can "neither prove injurious to you, nor prompt you to act injuriouſly "to others: men with whom the wiſe muſt ever chuſe to aſſociate. "It is ſaid, that, among the various branches of learning, you do "not intirely reject that which is converſant about diſputation. This "you eſteem as advantageous in private life, but not ſo well fitted

"to

" to thoſe who are to govern ſocieties, and born to kingly power: " as it is neither convenient nor decent for men of elevated minds to " engage in controverſy with their ſubjects, or to ſuffer them, in the " violence of diſpute, to forget the difference of their ſtations. This " kind of learning, therefore, you do not paſſionately admire, but " have rather choſen to devote your chief attention to the ſtudy of " eloquence. A ſtudy, whoſe high importance we experience daily " in all our public tranſactions, and which inables us to deliberate " on all affairs of ſtate: by which you too have diſcovered no incon- " ſiderable ſhare of wiſdom, in directing and preſcribing to your ſub- " jects, in judging of what is truly noble and equitable, and what " is contrary to theſe, and in diſpenſing puniſhments and rewards, " according to thoſe unerring rules derived from this important " knowledge. Theſe ſtudies prove your true diſcernment, and give " the moſt favourable aſſurance both to your father, and to others, " that, by a due perſeverance in ſuch laudable purſuits, at a maturer " time of life, you will arrive at the ſame diſtinguiſhed eminence in " true wiſdom, which your father confeſſedly enjoys at preſent."

About this time Philip was obliged to quit his kingdom and march into Thrace, where the ſtruggles between the Athenian and Macedonian intereſt had raiſed new commotions. Cerſobleptes, as hath been already obſerved, was obliged to diveſt him of the ſovereignty, and to give up his ſon to Philip as an hoſtage. And there is reaſon to conclude, that he himſelf was forced to commit himſelf into the hands of Philip, and to ſubmit implicitly to his diſpoſal: yet *Diodorus makes him appear in † this year at the head of an army, prepared to defend himſelf againſt the Macedonian: from whence we are to conclude, that he found the means of reſuming his dominions. Poſſibly Diodorus may have been miſtaken in the preciſe time in which Cerſobleptes was made a priſoner; but, however this may be, it is yet certain that Philip made a campaign in Thrace in the eighteenth year of his reign. His arrival ſpread a general

* Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 71.

† Olymp. 109. Y. 2.

terror

terror through the country. As the inhabitants did not dare to wait his approach in a body, they ſeparated their forces, which obliged him, on his part, to diſpoſe his troops in ſuch a manner, as that they might act in ſeveral places, ſo that he gained various advantages at the ſame time.

DEUDRAS and Machetas, two brothers, who had ſucceeded as joint heirs to the ſovereignty of their father, at firſt united their forces, and determined to oppoſe the king of Macedon. But this union did not laſt for any conſiderable time: they ſoon began to quarrel among themſelves, and were at length obliged to ſubmit their conteſts to Philip, and to conſtitute him their umpire; who ſoon decided their quarrel, by reducing them both equally to a ſtate of dependence on his pleaſure; and is ſaid to have taken their ſiſter into the number of his concubines. Paul. Oroſ. Val. Max. Athen. L. 13. p. 557.

MACHETAS afterwards followed him to the court of Macedon. And here he was the occaſion of diſplaying Philip's greatneſs of mind, in ſubmitting to juſt cenſure, and generouſly acknowledging and correcting his own errors. Machetas had a judicial controverſy which Philip heard at a time when he had indulged too far in jollity and revelling. His judgment being blinded and weakened by exceſs, his deciſion was manifeſtly capricious and unjuſt. Machetas, with that vexation which the conſciouſneſs of the integrity of his cauſe, thus deſpiſed and injured, muſt naturally have raiſed, boldly urged his wrongs: "I appeal," ſaid he. "What! replied Philip, from your "king: where is that power to whom you can appeal?" "I appeal," returned Machetas, "from Philip fluſtered with wine, to Philip "cool and temperate." The boldneſs of this remonſtrance ſet the king's levity and injuſtice all full in his view; he re-heard the cauſe the next day, and, although he would not reverſe his former ſentence, he made Machetas full amends for the injury he had received by his precipitation. Plut. Apophth.

Athenae. L. 13. p. 557.

FROM reducing theſe two princes, Philip proceeded to invade the dominions of Cithelas, another petty ſovereign of Thrace. But, as this prince was too inconſiderable to give him any effectual oppoſition, a peace was ſoon concluded; and the ſiſter of Cithelas, a woman of remarkable beauty, was given up to Philip, in order to preſerve a ſhadow of ſovereignty to her brother. To ſecure the attachment of all thoſe diſtricts, which he thus ſubdued, Philip choſe the moſt advantageous ſituations, where he erected forts; and theſe he garriſoned with Macedonians. The people were obliged to pay him a tribute, which amounted to a tenth part of their revenue, while his ſoldiers awed, oppreſſed, and harraſſed them [E].

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 71.

Orat. de Haloneſo.

FROM Thrace Philip paſſed into the Cherſoneſus, whither he was invited by the people of Cardia, who, when the reſt of that peninſula was given up to Athens, refuſed to acknowledge the juriſdiction of that ſtate; and, encouraged by the aſſurances of aſſiſtance which they received from Macedon, aſſerted their independency, and either fought, or were neceſſarily involved in, various conteſts about their boundaries [F] with the Athenian colony which was now ſettled in Cherſoneſus.

PHILIP

[E] SOME few of Philip's actions in Thrace, of leſs moment, are mentioned in Frontinus, Polyaenus, and ſome other writers, which the author chuſes to paſs over in ſilence, as he finds it impoſſible to connect them with the hiſtory, or to aſcertain their dates.—Among theſe is the conqueſt of Abdera, which the French writer fixes to this period.—At one time when Philip had ſailed on an expedition to this city and its neighbourhood, he found occaſion for his artifice, in order to avoid an engagement with Chares, the Athenian admiral. This commander was ſtationed with twenty ſhips in the Strymonic bay, near the city of Neapolis, ready to attack the Macedonian fleet at its return. Philip choſe out four of his beſt ſailing veſſels, which he ordered to cruize in view of the Athenians. Chares was tempted out to purſue theſe with all his force: and, while he ſuffered himſelf to be engaged in a fruitleſs chace, the Macedonians paſſed by unmoleſted.

POLYAEN. L. 4. C. 2. Str. 22.

[F] THESE boundaries were ſaid to be diſtinctly marked out by an altar ſacred to Jupiter, whoſe ſituation is deſcribed in the oration on the Haloneſus: and here Philip

PHILIP appeared, and declared his intentions of aſſiſting his allies the Cardians, and ſupporting them in their juſt pretenſions. In this city he reſided for a while, and, at ſome times, was a ſpectator of thoſe public exerciſes in which the youth of Cardia were engaged. On one of theſe occaſions, he is ſaid to have taken particular notice of one young man, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf among his fellows by his agility and ſtrength of body. When the games were concluded, he engaged in diſcourſe with him, and ſoon found that he was endowed with qualities infinitely ſuperior to thoſe which he had juſt diſplayed. He learned, with joy, that this extraordinary youth was the ſon of a man to whom he had been intimately and affectionately attached; he immediately invited him to his court, and placed him about the young prince Alexander, whom he afterwards ſerved in the quality of a ſecretary. Plut. in Vita Eumenis.

THIS was that Eumenes, who was one of the ſucceſſors of Alexander, and whoſe genius and abilities were confeſſedly ſuperior to all the others. Penetration and acuteneſs, elevation of thought and rectitude of intention, firmneſs, eloquence, and affability, were all united in Eumenes. He was diſtinguiſhed from all the other chiefs, by his attachment to his maſter's family, and by a diſintereſtedneſs which was beyond example. But he fell by the treachery of his own ſoldiers, who baſely delivered up their general in chains into the hands of his mortal enemy; ſo totally had luxury and wanton proſperity debauched their minds, and obliterated all ſenſe of duty. Plut. in Eumen.

WHILE Philip was thus engaged in the affairs of Thrace, he received an account of the death of Arymbas, king of Epirus, and Olymp. 109. Y. 3. Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 72.

Philip (among other flattering aſſurances which he laviſhed on the Greeks, while the late treaty was depending) promiſed to cut through the iſthmus, at his own expence, for the convenience and ſecurity of commerce, which was frequently interrupted by the length of time required in doubling mount Athos, and ſailing round the Cherſoneſus, or by contrary winds.

DEM. Phil 2. Sect. 6.

uncle to Olympias. This prince left a ſon named AEacides, who was father to Pyrrhus. But Philip exerted his influence and power in favour of his brother-in-law, and engaged the nobility of Epirus to place Alexander, the ſon of Neoptolemus, on the throne, and to acknowledge him as rightful ſucceſſor. If Neoptolemus and Arymbas had been in joint poſſeſſion of the throne, a form of government which Ariſtotle, in his Politics, mentions to have been eſtabliſhed at Epirus, then Alexander had a right to his ſhare of the ſovereignty, and Philip muſt have been guilty of a very inequitable partiality in extending his power to the prejudice of the other family. But it is unaccountable why the abbreviator of Trogus ſhould ſo far diſtort the hiſtory of theſe tranſactions, as to ſuppoſe that Philip, after having acknowledged Arymbas as ſovereign of Epirus, proceeded afterwards to dethrone him, and to ſubſtitute the brother of Olympias in his room: for Arymbas certainly died in peaceable poſſeſſion of the kingdom, after a reign of ten years, as * Diodorus expreſſly aſſerts.

Juſtin, L. 8. C. 6.

* L. 16. Sect. 72.

THIS injuſtice of that author may induce us to ſuſpect the truth of what he has advanced of the connexions between Philip and his brother-in-law. This Alexander was then but twenty years old. He had learned, at the court of Philip, all that could form a great king and an able general; and Philip, who ſeems to have had a ſincere friendſhip for him, added to the crown of Epirus a preſent of four cities, which are mentioned in the oration intitled, *an the Haloneſus*, and ſaid to be Elean colonies, which poſſibly Philip might have given away with the conſent of Elis, where his power and influence were in effect abſolute. The conduct of this prince ſeems to have done no diſhonour to Philip's friendſhip. In the beginning of his reign, he found himſelf obliged to maintain a war againſt the Illyrians, whom he ſubdued by a ſtratagem, which ſeems to have been copied from the artful and ſubtle king of Macedon. The Illyrians expected a reinforcement, of whoſe number Alexander was informed. He armed an equal body of Epirotes, after the Illyrian manner; and, to prevent

Frontin. L. 2. C. 5. Strat. 10.

prevent all ſuſpicion of deceit, ordered them to ravage and lay waſte his own territories. The Illyrians, deceived by this appearance, marched in full confidence to join theſe pretended ſuccours; and, in an inſtant, were ſurprized, attacked, and cut to pieces.

THIS prince died afterwards in Italy, where he met with more reſiſtance than his nephew found in Perſia. He conquered the Brutii, the Lucani, and even the Samnites (whoſe valour had ſo often exerciſed the Romans) and afterwards made a peace with the Romans; incertum qua fide culturus, ſaith the hiſtorian * Livy, ſi caetera proceſſiſſent. * L. 8. C. 17.

BUT to return to Philip; his Thracian conqueſts inflamed the jealouſy of the Athenians; and the diſputes in the Cherſoneſus afforded them a pretence for venting their diſſatisfaction. Ever ready to oppoſe the intereſts of Philip, when this might be effected by negotiation, and now favoured by the opportunity of his abſence, they diſpatched ambaſſadors to the Grecian ſtates, to endeavour to inſpire thoſe who united with Philip and accepted of his protection, and thoſe who ſtill wavered, with ſuſpicions of this prince's ſincerity, and apprehenſions of his enterprizing and boundleſs ambition. All their old complaints, and all the late cauſes of diſſatisfaction, were, on this occaſion, urged with the utmoſt force and vehemence. His injuſtice in wreſting Potidaea from the Athenians; his inſincere and even treacherous conduct in relation to Amphipolis; the inſtances of his deceit in all the tranſactions relative to the late treaty; his keeping poſſeſſion of Haloneſus, (an iſland, which one Soſtratus, a pirate, had ſome time ſince taken from them, and which Philip, having driven out this pirate, now claimed as his property) in defiance of the juſt pretenſions and acknowledged right of Athens; the hardſhips and oppreſſion under which the Athenian colony in the Cherſoneſus now laboured, and his partial ſupport of the Cardians in their unjuſt demands; the fate of thoſe people whom he had ſubverted and deſtroyed, Dem. de Cherſ. Sect. 9. Epiſt. Phil.

ſtroyed, was recalled to view; all his inſidious favours and promiſes; all the various artifices by which he had at firſt gained the confidence of theſe people to their own undoing; in a word, every repreſentation, that could poſſibly raiſe diſtruſt and indignation, was now made to the Grecians with all the force and addreſs of the moſt eminent orators and ſtateſmen of Athens. Every ſtate was ſeparately exhorted to unite againſt a prince, who was really their common enemy, whatever appearances he aſſumed, or whatever ſentiments he expreſſed. The Athenians, on their part, (the miniſters declared) were ready to unite with their brethren and friends, and to exert that zeal againſt the aſpiring Macedonian, which they had ever diſcovered for the defence of liberty, and the glorious cauſe of Greece.

THESE practices of the Athenians could not poſſibly be regarded by Philip with indifference. His ſucceſſes had gradually elevated his views, and the great deſign which he had now formed, of marching into Aſia at the head of all the Greeks, plainly required that he ſhould, if poſſible, calm all jealouſies and ſuſpicions in the Athenians; or, at leaſt, prevent them from alienating the affections of the other ſtates, and detaching them from their connexions with Macedon.

Orat. de Haloneſo.

FOR this purpoſe, he had, ſome time ſince, when complaints aroſe of his infractions of the treaty, diſpatched Python the Byzantine to Athens, to calm the jealouſies of that ſtate, and to obviate all objections to the ſincerity and integrity of his conduct. This emiſſary was well fitted to influence popular aſſemblies. His manner of addreſs was ſuited to his corpulence and bulk; loud, bold, and forcible, with that paſſionate vehemence which ſeems to ariſe from conviction and ſincerity, though it is frequently but the effect of an heated imagination, or a particular violence of temper and conſtitution; and ſometimes no more than artifice and diſguiſe. Whatever impreſſions his remonſtrances might have made, Philip now found it expedient

Athen. L. 12. p. 550. Dem. de Coron. Sect. 43.

to

to addreſs a letter to the Athenians, in which he repeated all the apologies that his conduct admitted of, and endeavoured to poſſeſs the Athenians in particular, and the Greeks in general, to whom his letter could not be long a ſecret, with a favourable opinion of the candor and integrity of his intentions. This letter, among other pieces of the ſame kind, which might have done honour to the abilities of the king of Macedon, is unhappily loſt to poſterity: but the principal articles of it are preſerved in that oration which we find among the remains of Demoſthenes, intitled, *on the Haloneſus*, and which is generally ſuppoſed to be the work of the orator Hegeſippus.

He began with mentioning their complaints with relation to the iſland of Haloneſus; which (as he alledged) he fairly won from the pirates who had ſettled there, and which he was ready to give up freely to the Athenians; and to ſubmit all other conteſts about the iſlands to a fair and equitable arbitration. The ſecond article relates to ſome diſputes between the merchants of each country, of which we have but obſcure hints. In the next place, he called on the Athenians to concur with him in ſuppreſſing piracy, and clearing the ſeas from all obſtructions to commerce. In the late treaty, he obſerved, there was an article inſerted, which the Athenian miniſters had not mentioned to the people, that each party ſhould keep what they were then in poſſeſſion of: and that, by virtue of this article, the Athenians had no farther claim to Amphipolis. Another clauſe he obſerved had been added to the treaty, that the Grecian ſtates, which were not comprized in it, ſhould continue free and unmoleſted; and, in caſe of any attack, ſhould be protected by thoſe who had engaged in the treaty: and to this, he inſiſted, he had readily ſubſcribed. As to any breach of promiſe, he appealed to the terms of their treaty, which muſt demonſtrate, that he had entered into no ſuch engagements as the Athenians imputed to him. As to the acquiſitions made by his arms ſince the peace, the equity of ſuch proceedings he offered to ſubmit to umpires. He put them in mind, that all the

Athenian

Athenian priſoners had been given up; and concluded with declaring, that all diſputes, between the Cardians and the Athenian colony in the Cherſoneſus, ſhould be decided by an arbitration; and that the Cardians were ready to ſubmit to ſuch deciſion. And, while he thus endeavoured to ſet his conduct in the faireſt point of view, he remonſtrated againſt the inſolence of the Athenian orators, and called on the people to guard againſt their inſidious and malicious repreſentations.

In the above-mentioned oration, all theſe ſeveral articles are particularly diſcuſſed. The ſpeaker, among other particulars, inſiſts, that the Athenians could not, conſiſtently with their honour, accept of Haloneſus as a free gift, but ſhould reſume it as reſtored to the lawful proprietors. The method of arbitration he repreſents as ſhameful and dangerous; aſſerts the dignity of Athens, and ſpeaks with contempt of Macedon and Philip. His pretence of ſuppreſſing piracy, he repreſents as a deſign to gain the ſovereignty of the ſeas. He reminds his hearers of the letter in which Philip acknowledged their right to Amphipolis, when he formerly laid ſiege to it. His attempts to clear up all objections to his ſincerity, all ſuſpicions of breach of promiſe, he treats with contempt. Inſtead of leaving the Grecian cities free, he obſerves, that he had delivered up three cities in the Caſſiopea (Pandoſia, Buceta, and Elatia, the property of the Eleans) to Alexander of Epirus; inſtead of delivering up their priſoners, he had even refuſed them the body of one of their hoſts and agents who had died in Macedon, and which they had demanded by three different deputations. He concludes, with repreſenting Philip's injuſtice and oppreſſion of the Athenian colony in the Cherſoneſus; and inſiſts, that it is an inſult to the Athenians to propoſe an arbitration, and to engage that the Cardians ſhould be determined by it, as if Athens could not, by force of arms, reduce that turbulent people within the bounds of reaſon and equity.

THE author of this oration takes notice of his having gone on an ambaſſy to Macedon, in order to explain and amend the articles of the late treaty. He alſo mentions his having brought an accuſation againſt one Callipus, who, by a decree which he propoſed, acknowledged and favoured the pretenſions of the Cardians. Both which circumſtances agree to Hegeſippus, and have induced the critics and commentators to aſcribe this performance to that orator. It is certain, that Demoſthenes alſo ſpoke on this occaſion. He inſiſted on the diſtinction between accepting and reſuming the Haloneſus: he declared violently againſt an arbitration (as we are informed by AEſchines:) becauſe no impartial mediating ſtate could be found (as he aſſerted) ſo totally were the minds of all men corrupted by the Macedonian. The character of his ambaſſadors he treated with great freedom, and declared, that they were no other than ſpies: neither of which latter circumſtances are found in the oration above-mentioned, which, it may be at leaſt affirmed, doth not appear well calculated to produce any conſiderable effect. Something more violent, forcible, and pathetic, ſeems to have been demanded by the occaſion, by the abilities of Philip, and the natural temper of the Athenians. But, whatever may have been the reaſon, whether the ſtrength of their repreſentations who oppoſed the Macedonian, or the preſent diſpoſitions of the Athenians, the deputies, who preſented Philip's letter, were diſmiſſed without any ſatisfactory anſwer.

Liban. Arg. in Orat. de Halon.

AEſchin. in Ctef. Sect. 30.

BY the reception which theſe deputies now found at Athens, and the eagerneſs with which the people liſtened to the popular leaders who oppoſed the Macedonian intereſt, it appeared plainly, that the influence of Philip's partizans was declining in this ſtate. This was then a favourable time for bringing the conduct of thoſe who had contributed to deceive the people, and had favoured the deſigns of the king of Macedon, to a judicial examination: and, accordingly, Demoſthenes choſe this opportunity of preferring an accuſation againſt AEſchines, for fraud and corruption in his late conduct of the treaty;

which occaſioned the two orations on the ſubject of their Ambaſſy, worthy the reputation of theſe rival orators; and ſecond only to thoſe pronounced in the cauſe of Cteſiphon.

Oliv. L. 11, p. 188. AEſchin. Epiſt. 12.

THE oration of Demoſthenes for Cteſiphon is ſuperior to that of AEſchines, even in the judgment of AEſchines himſelf. But this doth not ſeem to be the caſe in the orations on the Ambaſſy. That of AEſchines appears more varied, and more pathetic; nor is it ſurprizing that he ſhould have exerted the utmoſt efforts of his genius for the defence of his life and of his honour: his peroration is exceedingly affecting, and the moſt exquiſite addreſs appears under that air of abaſement and languor that runs through the whole of it. The different ſucceſſes of theſe two orations, thoſe on the Ambaſſy, and thoſe in the cauſe of Cteſiphon, may, in ſome ſort, inable us to decide on their different merit; for the Athenians were frequently determined more by the eloquence of the ſpeaker than by the goodneſs of the cauſe.

Suidas in voce Αισχινης.

ON the preſent occaſion, AEſchines was, with great difficulty, acquitted but by thirty voices, and this, as is ſaid, by the intrigues of his friend Eubulus. * Plutarch, indeed, ſeems to doubt whether this cauſe was ever heard; as neither Demoſthenes nor AEſchines take any notice of the deciſion in their orations on the Crown. But the diſappointment of Demoſthenes, who was the accuſer, and the great difficulty, or perhaps the manner, of AEſchines's eſcape, may account for the ſilence both of one and the other. † In a letter addreſſed by AEſchines to the ſenate and people of Athens, in the time of his exile, he takes notice of his acquittal, on this occaſion, as an inconteſtable proof of his innocence.

* In Vit. Demoſthen.

† Epiſt. 12.

AS to the merits of the cauſe, I do not think it proper to enter into a minute diſcuſſion of them; it is ſufficient to have repreſented the conduct of theſe two ſtateſmen, in their ambaſſies, as fully and impartially as I could, without preſuming to direct the judgment of the reader.

BOOK

BOOK IV. SECTION II.

CONTENTS.

DIOPITHES ſent to ſupport the Athenian colony in the Cherſoneſus.—His hoſtilities againſt Philip.—Philip's diſcourſe with Antipater.—His remonſtrances at Athens.—Commotions in the aſſembly.—The oration of Demoſthenes on the ſtate of the Cherſoneſus.—Its effect.—Philip continues his Thracian conqueſts.—Alexander tames Bucephalus.—His temper and diſpoſition.—Philip's attention to correct his errors.—The Peparethians ſieze Haloneſus.—Are ſeverely puniſhed.—Affairs of Euboea,—Eretria,—Oreum.—Callias, the Chalcidian, encourages the Athenians to oppoſe the Macedonian intereſt in Euboea.—Is aſſiſted by Demoſthenes.—Artifice of this leader.—Callias and Demoſthenes addreſs the aſſembly.—The third Philippic of Demoſthenes.—Phocion ſent into Euboea.—His ſucceſs.—Remarkable anecdote preſerved by AEſchines.—Decree in favour of Demoſthenes.—Philip beſieges Perinthus.—Obſtinate valour of the beſieged.—They are ſupported by the Byzantines.—Receive unexpected relief from Perſia.—Philip defeated in his attempt.—

Marches towards Byzantium.—Leon, the Byzantine, deputed to demand ſuccours at Athens.—The fourth Philippic oration of Demoſthenes.—Amyntas ſeizes the Athenian ſhips at Selymbria.—The decrees of the aſſembly on this occaſion, and Philip's letter.—Leon admitted to propoſe his demands to the aſſembly.—Effect of his appearance.—Succours decreed for Byzantium.—Chares appointed commander.

BOOK the FOURTH.

SECTION II.

WHILE the Athenians were venting their reſentment and indignation at home, againſt thoſe who were regarded as the partizans of Macedon; they ſeemed alſo diſpoſed to exert ſome degree of vigour abroad. Their general Diopithes was ſent to the Helleſpont to ſupport the Athenian colony in the Cherſoneſus, and to repreſs the incroachments of the Cardians; and his ſecret inſtructions were to neglect no occaſion of diſtreſſing Philip. His arrival in the Cherſoneſus could not but greatly alarm the inhabitants of Cardia. They inſtantly ſent to acquaint Philip, who was now in the upper Thrace, of this important event, earneſtly imploring his ſuccour, and offering to ſubmit themſelves intirely to the government and juriſdiction of Macedon. Diopithes, on his part, having encouraged and provided for the defence of the Athenian ſettlements in the Cherſoneſus, determined to act agreeably to what he deemed the ſpirit of his commiſſion; and, taking the favourable advantage of Philip's abſence, who was now engaged in a conteſt with Amadocus, the brother of Cerſobleptes and king of the Odryſians, he made an inroad on thoſe territories of the Macedonian, which lay in the maritime parts of Thrace, where he ſtormed two cities, Crobylè and Tiriſtaſis,

Olymp. 109. Y. 3.

Liban. Arg. in Orat. de Cherſ.

Epiſt. Phil.

riſtaſis, and carried off a conſiderable booty, and a number of priſoners; all which he lodged ſafely in the Cherſoneſus. Amphilochus, a Macedonian of ſome eminence, was diſpatched on this occaſion to his camp, in quality of an ambaſſador, to treat about the ranſom of thoſe priſoners. But the Athenian general, fluſhed with his ſucceſs, not only refuſed him an audience, but cauſed him to be ſeized, contrary to the law of arms, and caſt into priſon: from whence, after a confinement ſufficiently ſevere, he was obliged to purchaſe his releaſe at the expence of nine talents. In this excurſion of Diopithes, an herald, charged with packets for Macedon, was alſo ſeized, who was thrown into chains, and his letters ſent to Athens, where they were read in a full aſſembly.

Lucian Enom. Dem.

THESE hoſtilities could not fail to alarm all the Macedonian ſettlements upon the coaſt. A courier was inſtantly diſpatched to Philip with a full relation of thoſe motions of Diopithes, on which Antipater enlarged with the zeal of a faithful miniſter, expreſſed his apprehenſions of the conſequences, and urged Philip to an immediate oppoſition. But this prince reſolved, that no petty hoſtilities or depredations ſhould divert him from his main deſigns; thoſe he knew he could revenge at leiſure, and therefore determined to purſue his preſent expedition, and to compleat the conqueſt of the Odryſian Thrace.

Ibid.

HE is ſaid to have anſwered Antipater with a ſmile, in the following manner:—"And do you really fear this Athenian general and his "army? To me their ſhips, their port, their arſenals, are but trifles. "What effect can theſe produce, when their poſſeſſors are wholly "employed in games and public entertainments? Were not the Athe-"nians poſſeſſed of ſo invaluable a treaſure as Demoſthenes, force, or "artifice, or corruption, would inable me to command them much "ſooner than the Thebans and Theſſalians. He it is who watches "over their ſtate; he it is who purſues me with inceſſant vigilance,

"who

" who croſſes my ſchemes, and counteracts all my attempts; whoſe pe-
" netration my deepeſt artifice, my moſt ſecretly concerted deſigns, ne-
" ver can eſcape: the grand and only obſtacle to the progreſs of my
" power. If we now poſſeſs Amphipolis; if we command Olynthus,
" Thermopylae, and Phocis; if we have eſtabliſhed our power in the
" Cherſoneſus and the Helleſpont; his vigorous oppoſition was never
" wanting to oppoſe us. He rouſes the ſupine; he awakens his fellow-
" citizens from their lethargic ſtate, as it were by inciſion and cauteri-
" zing, without the leaſt deference to their follies, or the leaſt fear of their
" diſpleaſure. He directs the appointment of their treaſures; he re-
" ſtores the wretched ſtate of their marine, by his wiſe inſtitutions.
" He recalls their attention, from their theatrical diſtributions, to the
" honour of their country, to their ancient glory, and the victories
" of Marathon and Salamis. He procures them allies and ſubſidies.
" No artifice can eſcape his penetration; no temptation can corrupt
" his integrity. It is Demoſthenes therefore that I fear much more
" than all the force of Athens. In prudence and policy, he is not in-
" ferior to Themiſtocles; in greatneſs of ſoul, he is equal to Pericles.
" This it is that ſecures the attachment of the Greeks to Athens.
" We are obliged to this ſtate for intruſting their armies to Chares,
" Diopithes, and Proxenus; and keeping Demoſthenes at home.
" Did he command their forces, their navies, their expeditions, and
" their treaſures; I fear that he would even render our very throne
" precarious, who now, by his decrees only, purſues and attacks us
" with ſo much violence, obſtructs our deſigns, collects ſuch vaſt
" ſupplies, and raiſes ſuch powerful armies."

SUCH a noble teſtimony is Philip ſaid, by Lucian, to have given to the merit and abilities of the great Athenian; and ſuch contempt did he expreſs of their commander. His honour required however that the hoſtilities of Diopithes ſhould not paſs intirely unnoticed: he therefore addreſſed a letter to the Athenians, in which he repreſented the conduct of this general with every aggravating and invidious circum-

Liban. arg. in Orat. de Cherſon.

circumſtance; he took notice of thoſe mutual engagements which ſubſiſted between them; profeſſed his diſpoſition to adhere inviolably to theſe; demanded, from the juſtice of the ſtate, that a puniſhment might be inflicted on their officer adequate to his offence, or elſe he muſt be forced, he ſaid, to repreſs the inſolence of Diopithes; and, in that caſe, whatever meaſures his honour and his ſecurity might demand, could not, he preſumed, be conſidered at Athens as any infraction of the late treaty.

THIS letter inſtantly raiſed an unuſual ferment in the ſtate; and the conduct of Diopithes was canvaſſed with all imaginable violence and heat, both in the ſenate and the aſſembly. The partizans of Macedon inveighed loudly againſt this general, and called for all the ſeverity of public juſtice againſt a man, who, they alledged, had been guilty of a moſt unjuſt and unwarrantable outrage; had preſumed to attack a formidable power, with whom his country was in actual alliance, and was now involving Athens in a dangerous, expenſive, and unneceſſary war. To theſe they added reflections on the Athenians themſelves, and their equivocal conduct with reſpect to Philip. They had concluded a treaty with him, and affected to adhere to it; and yet, at the ſame time, ſuch was the inconſiſtency of their conduct, that they encouraged and ſupported every attempt to infeſt his territories and annoy his ſubjects. Such proceedings arraigned the honour, and reflected on the underſtanding, of the people. There were but two different meaſures that could poſſibly be recommended or purſued, either to obſerve the peace inviolably, or to declare war in form, and act like a fair and open enemy. The firſt of theſe was both equitable and expedient, as Philip had, as yet, made no attack on them; the latter precarious and dangerous, and could be propoſed only by thoſe, who, regardleſs of the ſafety and tranquillity of their country, ſought a pretence for acquiring the management of the treaſury, which, in times of confuſion, they might apply with impunity

Demoſth. de Cherſon. Sect. 1, 2.

Sect. 13.

impunity to their own wicked purpoſes, and inrich themſelves and families with the ſpoils of the public.

THE inattention or profuſion of the Athenians had reduced Diopithes to many difficulties in relation to the pay and maintenance of his forces; and from theſe he found no other means of extricating himſelf, than by heavy exactions on the Athenian colonies which lay along the Helleſpont, which, notwithſtanding the plea of neceſſity, were ſeverely felt by theſe people, and now became another ſubject of complaint in the aſſembly. "Is this man's conduct," cried his enemies, "actuated by any regard to the intereſt and honour of his "country, who thus harraſſes and plunders our dependent cities; "whoſe avarice breaks through all the ties of ſociety, and who is "deaf to the ſollicitations of humanity; whoſe rapine and extortion "alienate the affections of our colonies; and who, while he draws "from their vitals the means of purſuing the extravagant ſchemes of "his own vanity and ambition, leaves them defenceleſs, and ex-"poſed to the incurſions of any Barbarians, who may deem it worth "while to ſtrip them of their poor remains of property." Dem. de Cherſ. Sect. 7.

THE general principle on which Diopithes had now acted was undoubtedly juſt and warrantable. For when any potentate hath diſcovered a manifeſt diſpoſition to diſtreſs and injure a neighbouring people, and has even proceeded to actual attempts on their dominions and dependent territories; it will be allowed, I preſume, that the law of nations muſt ever conſider ſuch a conduct as equivalent to an open avowal and declaration of hoſtilities. Yet in ſome inſtances this general had acted intemperately and unjuſtly, and theſe duly improved, and repreſented in their full force, ſeem to have had a conſiderable effect, and threatened Diopithes with the reſentment of his fellow-citizens; when Demoſthenes, ever zealous and indefatigable in his oppoſition to Macedon, aroſe to ſupport the cauſe of this commander.

Dem. de Cherſ. Sect. 1. "IT were to be wiſhed, Athenians," (thus did this illuſtrious orator introduce his animated harangue) "that they who ſpeak in "public would never ſuffer hatred or affection to influence their "counſels; but, in all that they propoſe, be directed by unbiaſſed "reaſon; particularly, when affairs of ſtate, and thoſe of higheſt "moment, are the object of our attention. But ſince there are "perſons, whoſe ſpeeches are partly dictated by a ſpirit of conten-"tion, partly by other like motives; it is your duty, Athenians, to "exert that power which your numbers give you, and, in all your "reſolutions, and in all your actions, to conſider only the intereſt of "your country."

IT ſeems probable from this exordium, that Diopithes and his advocates had not only the corrupted partizans of Macedon to contend with, but many others, who were influenced by private enmity to this general, or whoſe vanity prompted them to affect appearing conſiderable in the aſſembly, and to declaim on the attention due to public faith, and the diſhonour reflected on their country by any violation of it; or with others, whoſe natural coldneſs and caution, whoſe conſciouſneſs of the weakneſs and corruption of their ſtate, and the ever increaſing power of its rival, made them look with horror on every motion which tended to an open rupture.

BUT the force of Demoſthenes, which ſeems to have been all exerted on this occaſion, gave a new turn to the debate, and effectually ſupported the cauſe of Diopithes, by inſpiring the aſſembly with the warmeſt indignation and reſentment of Philip's conduct. This is the object which he preſents to them as really worthy of their ſerious attention, while all diſputes about the conduct of their officer he affects
Sect. 2. to conſider as a matter foreign to their preſent purpoſe: "As to "crimes objected to thoſe men, whom our laws can puniſh when "we pleaſe; I, for my part, think it quite indifferent, whether they "be conſidered now, or at ſome other time; nor is this a point to be "violently

" violently conteſted by me, or any other ſpeaker. But when Phi-
" lip, the enemy of our country, is now actually hovering about
" the Helleſpont, with a numerous army, and making attempts on
" our dominions, which, if one moment neglected, the loſs may
" be irreparable; here our attention is inſtantly demanded; we ſhould
" reſolve, we ſhould prepare, with all poſſible expedition, and not
" run from our main concern, in the midſt of foreign clamours
" and accuſations.

" I HAVE frequently been ſurprized at aſſertions made in pub- Dem. de Cherſon. Sect. 3.
" lic;" thus the orator proceeds; " but never more, than when I
" lately heard it affirmed in the ſenate, that there are but two expe-
" dients to be propoſed, either abſolutely to declare war, or to continue
" in peace. The point is this: if Philip acts as one in amity with
" us; if he does not keep poſſeſſion of our dominions, contrary to
" his treaty; if he is not every-where ſpiriting up enemies againſt
" us; all debates are at an end; we are undoubtedly obliged to live
" in peace, and I find it perfectly agreeable to you. But if the ar-
" ticles of our treaty, ratified by the moſt ſolemn oaths, remain upon
" record, open to public inſpection; if it appears that, long before
" the departure of Diopithes and his colony, who are now accuſed
" of involving us in a war, Philip had unjuſtly ſeized many of our
" poſſeſſions (for which I appeal to your own decrees;) if, ever ſince
" that time, he hath been conſtantly arming himſelf with all the
" powers of Greeks and Barbarians, to deſtroy us; what do theſe
" men mean, who affirm we are either abſolutely to declare war,
" or to obſerve the peace? You have no choice at all; you have but
" one juſt and neceſſary meaſure to purſue, which they induſtriouſly
" paſs over. And what is this? To repel force by force. Unleſs
" they will affirm, that, while Philip keeps from Attica and the Pi-
" raeus, he does our ſtate no injury, makes no war againſt us. If
" it be thus they ſtate the bounds of peace and juſtice, we muſt all

" acknowledge, that their ſentiments are inconſiſtent with the com-
" mon rights of mankind, with the dignity and the ſafety of Athens."

As to the objection to Diopithes, with reſpect to his treatment of the allies, he gives this the moſt plauſible turn, and repreſents it as the dictates of treachery and corruption: " It hath been the con-
" ſtant cuſtom of all the commanders who have ſailed from this
" city (if I advance a falſehood, let me feel the ſevereſt puniſhment)
" to take money from the Chians, and from the Erythrians, and from
" any people that would give it; I mean, of the inhabitants of Aſia.
" They who have but one or two ſhips, take a talent; they who
" command a greater force, raiſe a larger contribution. And the
" people who give this money, whether more or leſs, do not give it
" for nothing; (they are not ſo mad) no; it is the price they pay
" to ſecure their trading veſſels from rapine and piracy, to provide
" them with the neceſſary convoys, and the like, however they may
" pretend friendſhip and affection, and dignify thoſe payments with
" the name of free gifts. It is therefore evident, that, as Diopithes
" is at the head of a conſiderable power, the ſame contributions will
" be granted to him. Elſe, how ſhall he pay his ſoldiers? How
" ſhall he maintain them, who receives nothing from you, and has
" nothing of his own? From the ſkies? No; but from what he can
" collect, and beg, and borrow. So that the whole ſcheme of his
" accuſers is to warn all people to grant him nothing, as he is to
" ſuffer puniſhment for crimes yet to be committed, not for any he
" hath already committed, or in which he hath already aſſiſted."

Dem. de Cherſ. Sect. 8.

Sect. 9.

In order to ſet the ſhameful miſconduct of his countrymen in the ſtrongeſt light, and, at the ſame time, to preſerve the reſpect due to his hearers, he makes uſe of a remarkably beautiful proſopopoeia, and imagines that the ſeveral powers of Greece thus call on the Athenians to account for their conduct: " Men of Athens! you are
" even ſending ambaſſies to us; you aſſure us, that Philip is projecting
" our

"our ruin, and that of all the Greeks; you warn us to guard against "this man's designs. (And it is too true, we have done thus.) But, "O most wretched of mankind! when this man had been ten "months detained abroad; when sickness, and the severity of win-"ter, and the armies of his enemies, rendered it impossible for him "to return home; you neither restored the liberty of Euboea, nor "recovered any of your own dominions. But, while you sit at home "in perfect ease and health, (if such a state may be called health) "Euboea is commanded by his two tyrants; the one just opposite to "Attica, to keep you perpetually in awe; the other to Scyathus. "Yet you have not attempted to oppose even this. No; you have "submitted; you have been insensible to your wrongs; you have "fully declared, that, if Philip were ten times to die, it would not "inspire you with the least degree of vigour. Why then these am-"bassies, these accusations, all this unnecessary trouble, to us?—If "they should say this, what could we alledge? What answer could "we give? I know not!"

THUS, in the instances of his greatest severity, he takes care not to shock those whom he would persuade. His boldest and most violent censures are always qualified with some declarations of respect, of the sincerity of his intentions, or of the necessity of dealing freely and candidly with the assembly. And never do we find in those writings of Demosthenes, which are confessedly genuine, such rude and insolent expressions, as appear in the conclusion of the oration on the Halonesus [A.]

THE sum of his advice, on the present occasion, is this: that they should consider Philip as the enemy of their state, the im-

[A) Προσηκει αὐτους ὑφ' ὑμῶν κακους κακῶς απολωλεναι, εἰπερ ὑμεις τον ἐγκεφαλον ἐν τοῖς κροταφοις, και μη ἐν ταῖς πτερναις καταπεπατημενον φορεῖτε. *It must be your part to pursue those wretches to utter destruction, if your brains be seated in your heads, and are not sunk into your heels, there to be trodden down.*

placable

placable enemy of their free conſtitution; that they ſhould be perſuaded, that all his deſigns were really aimed againſt Athens; and that, wherever any man oppoſes him, he oppoſes an attempt againſt their walls; and that of conſequence, inſtead of recalling Diopithes, or diſbanding his army, they ſhould rather reinforce him, and ſupply his men with every proviſion that might inable and encourage them to defend the rights of their country.

NOR did his eloquence fail to have its due effect. The Athenians were fired with the warmeſt ſentiments and reſolutions. They forgot all their ſcruples, and deſpiſed all the objections made to Diopithes, the moſt vigorous reſolutions were made, to inable him to purſue his ſucceſs: and Callias, another of their commanders, encouraged by the preſent diſpoſitions of his countrymen, fell on ſome cities which lay upon the gulph of Pegaſae, and which were dependent on Philip, where he ſeized ſome veſſels laden with merchandizes, bound to Macedon, and treated the goods and paſſengers as lawful prize.

Epiſt. Phil.

PHILIP looked with a juſt contempt on theſe hoſtilities, as the reſult of envy and jealouſy, rather than of a true vigour and reſolution; and which he knew when, and in what manner, to revenge, although deſigns of more importance prevented him at preſent from repelling them. He had ſubjected all the tract which lay between the Neſſus and Hebrus, where he took the cities Drongilus and Maſtira, conqueſts in themſelves of ſmall value, as their revenues were all derived from ſome collieries and mines in the adjacent diſtricts; but of great conſequence, as they opened him a free paſſage to the cities on the Propontis, objects worthy of his ambition, both on account of their grandeur and importance, and as, by ſubduing them, he might reduce the Athenians to the utmoſt difficulties, and even deprive them of the common neceſſaries for their ſupport. Byzantium in particular, one of thoſe great marts from whence Attica was ſupplied with corn,

Demoſth. Phil. 3. Sect. 4. Oliv. L. 12. p. 196.

he

he determined, if poſſible, to unite to his dominions; and, for this purpoſe, had at firſt tried what might be effected by the way of negotiation, that, by gaining over the Byzantines into the number of his allies, he might gradually and imperceptibly reduce them to the condition of ſubjects. But this people, proud of their wealth and independence, and poſſibly taught by experience and reflection on the fate of other cities, to ſuſpect the real intentions of the king of Macedon, rejected all his offers of alliance, and obliged him to concert other methods for reducing them to his obedience. He made ſome motions, which plainly indicated a deſign to attack them; and is ſaid to have begun, according to his uſual politics, with laviſhing his gold among the citizens; and, by this means, to have gained over a party, (of which Python was the head) who engaged to give him poſſeſſion of one of the gates. But whether the timely diſcovery of this conſpiracy obliged him to change his rout, in order to ſcreen the guilt of Python, and to ſave him from puniſhment; or that he conceived his deſign was not yet ripe for execution; he ſuſpended his hoſtilities, and, for ſome time, continued at his own court.

Demoſth. de Corona, Sect. 27. Ulp. in Loc.

Dem. de Cherſon. Sect. 15.

Oliv. L. 12. p. 197.

ABOUT this time it was, that the young prince Alexander diſcovered his addreſs and ſpirit by breaking Bucephalus. The manner of it is thus deſcribed by * Plutarch: a Theſſalian, called Philonicus, offered to ſell this horſe to Philip, and rated him at thirteen talents. The king and his courtiers went into a plain to try him, but found him vicious and unmanageable, impatient of the touch, and even of the voice, of thoſe who attempted to mount him. The king, in diſguſt, ordered this untractable beaſt to be ſent away; when Alexander, who ſtood by, lamented that ſo excellent a horſe ſhould be loſt by unſkilfulneſs and timorouſneſs. Philip reproved his preſumption; but, as he ſtill inſiſted that the horſe might be managed, at laſt agreed to intruſt the attempt to him, on condition, that, if he failed, he ſhould forfeit the price at which the horſe was rated. Alexander then ran up, and ſeized the bridle; turning Bucephalus directly

* In Vit. Alexand.

to

to the ſun, as he had taken notice that he was diſturbed and affrighted by the motion of his ſhadow. He then led him gently on; and, when he began to rear up, ſoftly caſting off his robe, at one bound ſeated himſelf on his back; and, without laſhing or ſpurring, reined him gradually and quietly. When he thus found his fury ſomewhat abated, he indulged his impatience for the courſe, and boldly preſſed him forward, both with voice and heel. The courtiers at firſt beheld him with ſollicitude and ſilence; but, when they found him reining round, and returning in exultation, they burſt into loud ſhouts of applauſe; and, as he diſmounted, his father, embracing him with tears of love and joy, cried out, "My ſon, ſeek for ſome "kingdom worthy of thy ſoul: Macedon is too little for thee."

Oliv. L. 12. p. 201.

THESE emotions of paternal tenderneſs ſeem to afford a convincing proof that Philip was an utter ſtranger to any diſadvantageous rumours about the conduct of Olympias; or, at leaſt, gave no credit to ſuch reports. He ſeems to have beheld, with pleaſure, that nobleneſs and elevation which the prince diſcovered; and to have been duly attentive to cheriſh and cultivate his great qualities, and to correct his errors. The manners of Alexander were mixed with an haughtineſs and fierceneſs far removed from the affability of his father. To one who propoſed to him to contend at the Olympic games,—"Yes," ſaid he, "if I may have kings for my competitors." He puniſhed a Macedonian noble, who, to pay his court, ſuffered him to gain the advantage in a race where they both contended. In conferring favours, he ſeemed frequently governed by caprice, and treated his father's ſubjects, at ſome times, rather like his own ſlaves. Philip, who foreſaw that this haughty humour muſt neceſſarily increaſe when he came to the throne, omitted nothing in his power to correct and moderate it. He frequently repeated that precept, ſo worthy to be engraved in the memory of all who are born to a kingdom, "Be affable whilſt you may." He alſo inſtructed him in the manner of beſtowing; and made him obſerve, that the way which

Plutarch. in Vita Alex. in Apophth.

Plutarch. Apophth.

he

he purſued could only ſerve to exhauſt his treaſure, without gaining him the ſincere attachment of any perſon. From his earlieſt years, he received the accounts of his father's victories with uneaſineſs, leſt, as he ſaid, there ſhould be nothing left for him to atchieve; and the Macedonians, who were principally attentive to that ſtrong paſſion for glory which Alexander diſcovered, and which could not fail to recommend him to the affection and reſpect of a warlike nation, called him their king, at the ſame time that they gave Philip the title of their general: nor was Philip diſpleaſed to find theſe names thus ſhared between them.

Cicer. de Off. L. 2. 15. Valer. Max.

Plut. in Vit. Alex.

Ibid.

In the mean time, the perpetual conteſts and diſſenſions which raged all around him, and which the jealous machinations of his enemies, and their juſt apprehenſions of his ambition were perpetually exciting, obliged him to turn his attention to foreign affairs. The Peparethians, a people in alliance with Athens, who inhabited an iſland equally diſtant from Euboea and Theſſaly, could not but look with uneaſineſs on Haloneſus (which lay to the weſt of them) now in the hands of the Macedonians, neighbours, whom they dreaded and ſuſpected. They were much better pleaſed with the pirates, the late poſſeſſors of this iſland, with whom they had carried on an advantageous trade. They, therefore, made a deſcent on Haloneſus, where they ſurprized and carried off the Macedonian garriſon in chains. Philip at firſt remonſtrated againſt this outrage, but ſoon found it in vain to expect attention or redreſs; and therefore determined to have recourſe to the more effectual way of arms. He detached ſome forces, which ſoon drove out the Peparethians from their new conqueſt, and inflicted the utmoſt ſeverities of war on theſe inſolent iſlanders. Their ſufferings were repreſented at Athens, whoſe juriſdiction they acknowledged; and gave occaſion for new complaints againſt the conduct of Macedon. The generals were ordered to protect the wretched Peparethians, and the orators inveighed againſt the cruelty and barbarity of Philip.

Epiſt. Phil.

THE perpetual conteſts which this prince and the Athenians maintained in Euboea, and their mutual efforts to ſupport their power in this important iſland, had produced the utmoſt diſorder in the ſeveral ſtates of which it was compoſed. In Eretria, the fair aſſurances and promiſes of Philip had alienated the people from the intereſt of Athens. They even refuſed to liſten to the ambaſſadors ſent from that city, to inſpire them with ſuſpicions of the Macedonian, and to engage them to return to their former connexions. They baniſhed all thoſe, whoſe fears of future danger, or whoſe attachment to Athens, induced them to oppoſe the Macedonian, and reſigned themſelves with unreſerved confidence to Philip. But they were ſoon made to feel the fatal conſequences of this conduct. A thouſand mercenaries were ſent from Macedon, who raiſed the fortifications of Porthmus, and thus effectually defeated all future attempts to prevent the Macedonian from paſſing freely over into the iſland. Supported by this force, three of Philip's creatures, Hipparchus, Automedon, and Clitarchus, eſtabliſhed themſelves in the government of Eretria, where they oppreſſed and perſecuted all thoſe without mercy who betrayed the leaſt diſſatisfaction at their meaſures, or the leaſt inclination to oppoſe the Macedonian intereſt. Some ineffectual attempts were made to check the progreſs of this tyranny, which ſerved only to confirm and increaſe it. New forces were ſent from Macedon, under the command of Eurylochus, who inſtantly drove out the diſaffected. An oppoſition was again attempted, and again were troops diſpatched under the conduct of Parmenio, who defeated and chaſtiſed their combinations, and compleated the ſubjection of Eretria.

Dem. Phil. 3. Sect. 12—14.

IN Oreum, the general terror, which the impriſonment of Euphraeus had produced, confirmed the power of Philiſtides and his accomplices, and imboldened them to act with leſs caution and reſerve. The inhabitants groaned under their tyranny; and ſome were yet found, who openly lamented and inveighed againſt the deſigns of their

Sect. 13.

their governors. Conteſts and diviſions thence aroſe in the city; and Philip was ſoon made ſenſible of the neceſſity of ſending an effectual ſupport to his friends and partizans. He addreſſed a letter to that people, in which he took notice, that he had received advice of many tumults and diviſions with which their city was diſtracted. He had therefore ordered a body of forces to march into Oreum, to take cognizance of their affairs, and re-eſtabliſh the tranquillity of their city; for that he, as their friend and ally, could not look with indifference on events which ſo nearly affected their welfare, or refuſe his interpoſition for the regulation of their diſorders. The forces were accordingly diſpatched; and, though the fate of other ſtates ſufficiently informed the people of what they were to apprehend, yet ſo great and ſo general was the dejection, that they were admitted without any conſiderable oppoſition. Philiſtides waited only for this event, to give a free courſe to his tyranny and cruelty. All the adverſe party were removed, either by baniſhment or death: and the unfortunate Euphraeus found no other means of eluding the revenge of a tyrant, now armed with power, and inflamed by reſentment, but by putting an end to life with his own hand.

Dem. Phil. 3. Sect. 3.

Sect. 13.

But the inſolence and cruelty of Philiſtides ſoon made the people weary of his government, and gave them an averſion to the party on which he depended for his ſupport. The Athenian agents were ſecretly employed in cheriſhing theſe ſentiments; and, aided by the natural inconſtancy of the people, were preparing all matters for a revolution. Callias the Chalcidian, who had acted as a partizan to Athens, Macedon, and Thebes, ſucceſſively, and had incurred the diſpleaſure both of Philip and the Thebans, now returned to his engagements with the firſt of theſe ſtates; and ſent three emiſſaries to Athens, in quality of ambaſſadors, from Chalcis. Theſe men repreſented the deplorable condition of the iſland in general, groaning under the Macedonian yoke, and of their own city in particular; and earneſtly urged the Athenians to aſſert their intereſts in Euboea, and

AEſchin. in Ctef. Sect. 33.

to act agreeably to that character, which had ever been their boaſt and glory, in delivering the Chalcidians from oppreſſion and tyranny. To ſecure the ſucceſs of this negotiation the more effectually, the principal popular leaders were gained over, and engaged, by preſents and promiſes, to plead the cauſe of Chalcis. Of this number was Demoſthenes, if we may believe his rival; who, it ſeems, tranſacted this affair with all the addreſs of a ſubtle and able advocate. In all the Grecian wars, the inferior parties had ever been obliged to ſend their deputies to that ſtate which was conſidered as the head of the confederacy, and there to pay their reſpective quota's to the ſupport of the common cauſe. But Demoſthenes, as his conduct is repreſented by AEſchines, contrived, that the Chalcidians ſhould neither be obliged to the one nor the other of theſe, by prevailing on the aſſembly to reſolve to ſend aſſiſtance to Chalcis, from the mere motive of generoſity. "It becomes our ſtate," ſaid he, "without any preliminary ſtipulations, to ſend immediate aſſiſtance to the diſtreſſed: "let us, then, enter into formal engagements with them, when, by "their actions, they have approved themſelves our real friends." But, leſt a dependence on the generoſity and public ſpirit of Athens might prove too precarious, he, at the ſame time, contrived to attach the ſtate more firmly to the Chalcidians, without ſubjecting this latter people to any immediate burdens attending a confederacy; and this by making the Chalcidians engage to aſſiſt the Athenians on every occaſion; which gave them as full a claim to the aſſiſtance of Athens, as if it had been formally ſtipulated; ſuch engagements being ever conſidered as mutual.

AEſchin. in Ctef. Sect. 33.

Sect. 34. THE people of Oreum and Eretria appeared equally ſollicitous to gain the aſſiſtance of Athens, in order to relieve them from their preſent difficulties; and the Macedonian intereſt ſeems to have been already ſo far weakened, that each of theſe ſtates was now able to conſult publicly, and in a body, for the reſtoration of their liberty. Callias was ſent in perſon to Athens, as the agent of the Euboean

Euboean cities. Here he affected the warmeſt zeal for the common cauſe of liberty, and the moſt ſincere abhorrence of the ambition of the Macedonian. All Greece he declared was now convinced of his dangerous and aſpiring deſigns, and only waited till led on by Athens to overwhelm him. "I am this moment," ſaid he, addreſſing himſelf to the aſſembly, "arrived from Peloponneſus. There the ſeveral "powers have, at my inſtances, reſolved to raiſe one hundred talents, "to ſupport a war againſt the common enemy. I have ſettled the "proportion of each ſtate. Sixty are to be paid by the Achaeans "and Megareans. To theſe the cities of Euboea are to add forty. "Other ſtates and cities, through all Greece, have chearfully agreed "to contribute to this glorious cauſe. Thus ſhall we be amply pro-"vided with forces, and inabled to keep up a formidable power "both by ſea and land. Theſe are the effects of my negotiations, "univerſally known and acknowledged. Other matters have I tranſ-"acted, other advantages have I obtained, not ſo proper to be here "diſplayed. But numbers in this aſſembly are well informed of them, "and can give full atteſtation to my aſſiduity and ſincere attachment "to Athens." AEſchin. in Cteſ. Sect. 34.

THE people was pleaſed and flattered by this harangue. They fancied that they now appeared in their old glorious character of the ſovereigns and arbiters of the fate of Greece, the patrons and protectors of liberty, avengers of injuſtice and ambition, and ſupporters of the weak and oppreſſed. To confirm them in their preſent ſentiments, Demoſthenes now appeared, and, with his uſual vehemence, urged them to vigilance and vigour, to a juſt attention to their own intereſts, and the common cauſe of Greece. He had been gained, if we may credit * AEſchines, by the promiſe of three talents, to diſpoſe his countrymen to aſſiſt the Euboeans in the oppoſition now meditated againſt Philip. One of theſe talents was to be paid by Callias, another by the ſtate of Oreum, and a third, as his rival orator aſſerts, by Clitarchus of Eretria, who, in ſuch a caſe, muſt have forſaken Ibid. * in Cteſiph. Sect. 35.

ſaken his old connexions with Philip. But, whether influenced by private motives, or a regard to the public intereſt, or both conjointly, his eloquence had its uſual effect. He heaped the moſt magnificent praiſes on Callias, and profeſſed himſelf privy to thoſe ſecret affairs which he had hinted at. He was convinced, he ſaid, that he had juſtly repreſented the diſpoſitions of the Greeks, with which his late ambaſſy into Peloponneſus had made him well acquainted. His tranſactions in that country, and in Acharnania, where commotions had ariſen, and where the Athenians had been perſuaded to ſend both forces and ambaſſadors to oppoſe ſome attempts of Philip, he was now ready to report in form; the ſum of which was this: he had prevailed on the Peloponneſians and Acharnanians to unite vigorouſly in the common cauſe, and chearfully to contribute their ſeveral quota's, in order to ſupport their liberty, and check the dangerous and growing power of the Macedonian: that all theſe quota's were compleatly ſettled and adjuſted, and that the whole would not only be ſufficient to fit out one hundred ſhips of war, but to maintain a mercenary army of ten thouſand foot, and one thouſand horſe: that to theſe were to be added the natural forces of thoſe people, two thouſand from Peloponneſus, and two thouſand more from Acharnania. All this formidable body was now ready to follow the ſtandard, and march under the direction and command of Athens. Theſe proſpects, ſo fair and promiſing, were neither uncertain nor remote. The departure of this army was ſettled, and it was to take the field on the ſixteenth day of the next month Antheſterion: for that he had directed the ſeveral ſtates to ſend their deputies to Athens, in order to ſettle all future operations at the time of full moon. He concluded with propoſing a decree, that ambaſſadors ſhould be ſent to the Eretrians to engage them effectually in this confederacy; that others ſhould be ſent to Oreum to prevail on that ſtate to enter into a ſtrict offenſive and defenſive alliance with Athens, and to deſire that each of theſe communities ſhould pay the five talents, their reſpective ſhares of the expence of the intended war, into the hands of Callias, a perſon

Dem. in Olympiodor. p. 652.
AEſchin. in Ctef. Sect. 34.

on

on whom Athens had the moſt implicit reliance, and who could beſt judge in what manner they might be applied to greateſt advantage for the general intereſt.

In the mean time, the king of Perſia, alarmed by the accounts which he had received from his ambaſſadors of Philip's power, and juſtly dreading that invaſion which the Macedonian really meditated, and which was now become a favourite topic of diſcourſe both at his court, and in the ſeveral ſtates of Greece, ſent his agents to Athens, who there employed all their art to encourage and inliven the preſent ſpirit of the people; and, by the power of gold, engaged ſome principal popular leaders to urge their countrymen to open hoſtilities againſt an enemy equally the object of terror and ſuſpicion to the Perſians and Athenians. No time could have been more favourable to ſuch a meaſure. The jealouſy and vanity of the people were inflamed by the proſpect of powerful ſupplies and aſſiſtance: and, in their preſent fit of zeal, every repreſentation of the danger to be dreaded from the enterprizing king of Macedon, flattered their paſſions and opinions. In the midſt of this commotion, which envy, jealouſy, ſhame, the warmth of patriotiſm, and the ſecret practices of intrigue, all conſpired to raiſe, Demoſthenes pronounced that oration, which is commonly called the third Philippic. Oliv. L. 12. p. 209. Plut. in Vit. Demoſth.

The preſent object of the aſſembly was not only to ſecure the Athenian intereſt in Euboea, but to preſerve the colonies on the Helleſpont, and the ſettlements in the Cherſoneſus, from the attempts of Philip; and to guard againſt thoſe deſigns which it was now clear that he entertained againſt the cities of the Propontis, particularly againſt Byzantium. His creatures and partizans at Athens were not yet diſmayed, but exerted all their diligence and artifice to allay the ſtorm which threatened their maſter, and to bring back the Athenians to their former ſtate of ſupineneſs and inſenſibility. They loudly cried out (as may with great probability be collected from the oration Dem. Phil. 3. Sect. 4.

Dem. Phil. 3. Sect. 3. oration of Demoſthenes above-mentioned) againſt all infringements of the late treaty; and, as uſual, accuſed thoſe who recommended vigorous meaſures, as enemies to the honour and tranquillity of their country. All late tranſactions they canvaſſed with great ſeverity, and declaimed with warmth and violence againſt evil counſellors and weak

Sect. 10. and wicked miniſters. All appearances of danger, all fears of Philip and his deſigns, they treated with a ſovereign contempt: they expatiated on the glorious actions of their countrymen in former times; on the difficulties they had encountered, and the ſucceſs which had attended their arms in their conteſt with Lacedaemon. Preſent difficulties they repreſented as infinitely inferior, and the enemy, now painted in ſuch alarming colours, as infinitely leſs powerful and for-

Sect. 14. midable. To this they ſeem to have added ſome inſinuations or invectives againſt Demoſthenes particularly, as a ſubtle and corrupted partizan, who looked with horror on their ſincere zeal for the honour and happineſs of Athens, and on their diſcernment, which ſaw through his deſigns, though veiled under the appearance of public ſpirit; and who juſtly merited the ſeverity of juſtice, by preſuming to violate the reſpect due to a prince in alliance with Athens.

THE third Philippic ſeems calculated to obviate their inſinuations, and to confute their aſſertions. The inſincerity of the public ſpeakers, Demoſthenes repreſents as the great cauſe of all the difficulties of the commonwealth; and deſires the permiſſion of the aſſembly,

Sect. 2. to ſpeak his ſentiments freely, without art or reſerve. "On other "occaſions," ſaith he, "you account liberty of ſpeech ſo general a "privilege of all within your city, that aliens and ſlaves are allowed "to ſhare it. So that many domeſtics may be found among you, "ſpeaking their thoughts with leſs reſerve than citizens, in ſome "other ſtates. But from your councils you have utterly baniſhed it." The dangers of their preſent condition; the dangers to be apprehended from the enemies of the ſtate who lie concealed within the city; and the dangers ariſing from the aſpiring ambition of Philip, are all

all urged in this addreſs with full force; paſt events recalled to view, and late inſtances of Philip's conduct repreſented with all poſſible aggravations; and every thing urged that could inſpire his hearers with indignation, vigilance, and ſuſpicion. He concludes with adviſing them to diſpatch ambaſſadors into all parts, to raiſe up enemies againſt the dangerous Macedonian, and even to enter into an alliance with the king of Perſia againſt this common enemy; to reinforce their army in the Cherſoneſus, and to make every proviſion which might convince the Greeks that they were duly ſenſible of their danger, and reſolved to exert themſelves in a manner worthy of their dignity, at the ſame time that they applied to others for their concurrence. "I do not mean," ſaith he, "that we ſhould endeavour to "raiſe a ſpirit abroad, which we ourſelves are unwilling to aſſume. It "would be abſurd to neglect our own intereſts, and yet pretend a "regard to the common cauſe; or, while we are inſenſible to preſent "dangers, to think of alarming others with apprehenſions of futu- "rity. No, let us provide the forces in the Cherſoneſus with money, "and every thing elſe that they deſire. Let us begin with vigour "on our part, then call upon the other Greeks: convene, inſtruct, "exhort them. Thus it becomes a ſtate of ſuch dignity as ours. "If you think the protection of Greece may be intruſted to the "Chalcidians and Megareans, and ſo deſert its cauſe, you do not "think juſtly. It will be well if they can protect themſelves. No, "this is your province; this is that prerogative tranſmitted from "your anceſtors, the reward of all their many, and glorious, and "great dangers." Dem. Phil. 3. Sect. 15.

He was heard with favour and applauſe; and, in a ſhort time after, ſuccours were ſent into Euboea, to ſecure the attachment of that iſland, and to bear down the partizans of Macedon. The command of theſe was wiſely intruſted to Phocion, whoſe merit and abilities determined them to apply to him, as their moſt effectual reſource in caſes of importance, when their minds were not blinded by Olymp. 109. Y. 4. Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 74.

the partial repreſentations of corrupted orators, and whoſe former conduct made him particularly revered by the friends, and dreaded by the enemies of his country, in that iſland to which he was now diſpatched.

AND now, while Phocion marched into Euboea, Demoſthenes was employed with no leſs diligence, as a ſtateſman, in oppoſing the Macedonian intereſt in that iſland. By his negotiations and intrigues he engaged many of the Euboean cities to deſert from the Macedonian. Philip's garriſons were expelled from ſome; others ſhut their gates againſt them. The Athenian party became every-where predominant, and, in the principal places, was openly eſpouſed. Thus the arms of Phocion had ſcarce any difficulties to encounter: nor had this general an opportunity of diſplaying his conduct and reſolution, but with eaſe drove out Philiſtides from Oreum. Nor was Clitarchus ſuffered to continue any longer in Eretria, although he had ſhewed ſome diſpoſitions for entering into engagements with Athens, and had, as well as Philiſtides, appeared in that city with overtures for an accommodation. But this cautious general ſuſpected his ſincerity or ſteadineſs, and now treated him as an enemy. With the reſt of the Macedonian adherents he was obliged to quit the iſland; and all Euboea, now freed from the Macedonian power, exulted in this revolution, and chearfully returned to its attachment with Athens.

Demoſth. de Corona, Sect. 25.

Diod. ut ſupra.

THE greateſt ſhare of this ſucceſs Demoſthenes aſſumes to himſelf, as the effect of his remonſtrances and negotiations. But his rival orator hath preſerved a remarkable anecdote, which, if true, doth no great honour to his diſintereſtedneſs and nobleneſs of mind. The people of Oreum, when they applied to Athens for aſſiſtance, are ſaid to have purchaſed the ſervices of Demoſthenes, by engaging to pay him a talent, if, by his intereſt, they could obtain effectual ſuccours. The condition was now performed, and this private ſtipulation to be made good. But the efforts of the people of Oreum to

AEſchin. in Cteſiph. Sect. 35.

ſhake

ſhake off the Macedonian yoke had intirely exhauſted their finances, and left their ſtate impoveriſhed and diſtreſſed. They therefore found themſelves obliged to apply to Demoſthenes, and to intreat, that he would remit this their debt; and, in lieu of it, they promiſed to do him all the honour in their power, to erect a ſtatue of braſs in Oreum to him, their benefactor and deliverer. But Demoſthenes had a much greater regard to ſolid gain than any empty honour which they could confer upon him. He received their propoſal with diſdain, and told them he had no ſort of occaſion for their piece of braſs: that Callias was ſecurity for the talent, and from Callias he would demand it. Thus diſtreſſed, the citizens of Oreum were obliged to mortgage their public revenues to Demoſthenes as a ſecurity for the money, and paid him intereſt at the rate of a drachma per month for each mina, until they were inabled to diſcharge the principal [B].

BUT, by whatever motives the conduct of Demoſthenes might have been actuated on this occaſion, at Athens it was received with all poſſible honours and applauſe: and, ſhortly after the ſucceſs in Euboea, the following decree was made as an atteſtation and reward of his merit: Dem. de Coron. Sect. 26.

"IN the archonſhip of Chaerondas, the ſon of Hegèmon, on the "twenty-fifth day of the month Gamelion, the Leontidian tribe "then preſiding, at the motion of Ariſtonicus, the following reſo-"lution was made:

"WHEREAS Demoſthenes, the ſon of Demoſthenes of the Paea-"nian tribe, hath, at many times, done various and eminent ſervices "to the community of Athens, and to many of our confederates:

[B] A drachma, according to Arbuthnot, is equal to 7 d. ¾. a mina, to 3 l. 4 s. 7 d. and ſixty minae made a talent; 193 l. 15 s. So that the intereſt which Demoſthenes received was 1 l. 18 s. 9 d. per month, which is at the rate of 12 l. 0 s. 6 d. per cent. per ann.

" and, at this time, hath, by his counſels, ſecured the intereſts of " the ſtate, and particularly reſtored the liberties of certain cities in " Euboea: as he hath ever uniformly perſevered in an unalterable " affection to the ſtate of Athens, and both by words and actions " exerted himſelf, to the utmoſt of his power, in the ſervice of the " Athenians, and the other Greeks;—It is enacted by the ſenate " and the popular aſſembly, that public honours ſhall be paid to the " aforeſaid Demoſthenes; that he ſhall be crowned with a golden " crown; that this crown ſhall be publicly proclaimed in the theatre " on the feaſt of Bacchus, at the time of the performance of the new " tragedies; and that the care of thus proclaiming theſe honours " ſhall be committed to the preſiding tribe, and the director of the " public entertainments. This is the motion of Ariſtonicus of the " Phrearian tribe."

PHILIP's great deſigns did not permit him to prevent the ſucceſs of theſe attempts of Athens in Euboea. He had eſtabliſhed his intereſt there, rather by intrigue than by direct force. In ſending in his troops, he pretended to act from motives of tenderneſs to the diſtreſſes of the ſeveral ſtates, and a generous regard to their ſecurity. In modelling their governments he profeſſed only an attention to their tranquillity; and, while he aggrandized his own creatures, and eſtabliſhed his own influence and authority, he affected to appear wholly ſollicitous to ſupport their lawful magiſtrates againſt faction and ſedition. He therefore might have thought it ſtill neceſſary to diſſemble, and not openly and violently to oppoſe the diſpoſition of the Euboeans, who now ſeemed generally inclined to return to their old connexions with Athens. By ſuffering this ſtate to exert ſome force ſucceſsfully againſt his friends and garriſons, he loaded them with the odium of breach of faith, and diſregard to treaties, and gave any hoſtilities, which he might hereafter find convenient to his ſchemes, the appearance of defence, or of warrantable revenge and reprizals. For theſe reaſons he ſeems to have permitted the Athenians to exult

in

in this their recovery of Euboea, as the effect of ſuperior policy and vigour: and, in the mean time, made the moſt effectual preparations for damping all their joy and exultation in their late ſucceſs. For this purpoſe, having collected an army of thirty thouſand men, and made all the preparations which the importance of his deſign required, he marched directly to inveſt Perinthus, under the pretence that its inhabitants held intelligence with the Athenian ſettlements in the Cherſoneſus, and contributed to the diſtreſs of his allies the Cardians. This city was very conſiderable both by its ſituation, which was remarkably ſtrong, and by the commerce which was there carried on in great extent. It had ever been in that ſtrict alliance with Athens, which the mutual intereſt of theſe two cities made abſolutely neceſſary. Attica was ſupplied by Perinthus with a conſiderable part of its corn and neceſſary proviſions, and Perinthus was every year inriched with large ſums of money, which this commerce drew from Attica. So that Philip muſt have conſidered the poſſeſſion of this city as an acceſſion of power in itſelf highly important, and ſuch an acceſſion as muſt diſtreſs and wound his great rivals in the tendereſt part. He brought all the moſt formidable engines and preparations for a ſiege, up to the walls of Perinthus; and fully ſhewed his reſolution of commencing the operations of the ſiege with all imaginable vigour, and with every circumſtance of terror, and every inſtrument of deſtruction, which might drive the inhabitants to a ſubmiſſion. But he here found an enemy worthy of his reſolution. The Perinthians defended themſelves, not with the momentary ardor of men as yet unexperienced in dangers and fatigue, but with a ſteady ſettled courage, which it appeared could not be abated by all the hardſhips and labours of a ſiege, carried on by a formidable enemy, who ſeemed determined on their deſtruction.

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 74. Oliv. L. 12. p. 216.

Diod. ut ſupra.

PHILIP began with raiſing towers of a height ſufficient to command the walls of Perinthus; from whence he poured into the town ſuch vaſt quantities of miſſive weapons, as ſoon diſlodged the beſieged, and

Ibid.

and obliged them to remove to ſome diſtance. His battering rams were at the ſame time employed againſt the walls; his miners were buſy at their foundations; and all the force of arms, of fire, and of labour, was exerted to gain the town. By theſe means, a conſiderable breach was quickly made in the walls, and the beſiegers encouraged by the proſpect of a ſpeedy conqueſt. But they were now mortified by new and unſuſpected oppoſition. The Perinthians preſented themſelves in array of battle on the ruins of their fortifications; and a ſecond wall now appeared to ſtop the progreſs of the enemy, which had been raiſed by the citizens to a ſufficient height for covering their workmen, and ſecuring their retreat.

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 74.

THE Byzantines, ſenſible of the extremities to which the people of Perinthus were reduced, and juſtly conceiving their own intereſt and ſafety concerned in the defence of this town, ſent in great quantities of defenſive and offenſive weapons: and the Perinthians, encouraged by theſe ſupplies, redoubled their efforts, and confirmed themſelves in the reſolution of dying in the defence of their country.

PHILIP, on his part, puſhed on the ſiege with unrelenting vigour. The beſieged were quickly obliged to retire behind the new walls, and whoever ventured to appear at any of the openings, were the ſure marks of the Macedonian archers and ſlingers. In order to prevent all ſuccours from being ſent into the town, Philip conſtantly detached large parties to ſcour all the adjacent diſtrict, reſerving only ſuch numbers with himſelf as were ſufficient to puſh on the attack, which was carried on, without reſpite or relaxation, both by day and night. In order to reſtore their communication with their friends without the walls, the beſieged made ſeveral ſallies, but were ever repulſed with conſiderable loſs. At length, covered with wounds, worn out, and ready to ſink under inceſſant toils, almoſt intirely exhauſted of their proviſions and ſupplies, they were now on the point of ſurrendering, or of ſeeing their city taken by aſſault, and expoſed

to

to the fury of an enemy exaſperated by oppoſition, when unexpected relief appeared to animate their drooping courage, and to raiſe new difficulties to their beſiegers.

REPEATED accounts of Philip's power, and alarming reports of the future ſchemes and deſigns of his ambition, were conſtantly received at the court of Perſia. They who ſpreaded theſe reports, imagined that they ſhewed their zeal, by repreſenting the ſubject of their fears with all circumſtances of aggravation; and even the diſtance contributed to magnify the danger. His attack of Perinthus was particularly repreſented as a dreadful inſtance of the vaſtneſs of his deſigns, and his reſolution in executing them. Ochus was ſo affected by theſe reports, that he conceived his very ſafety demanded him to take ſome meaſures for oppoſing Philip's progreſs. He therefore ſent directions to his ſatraps, whoſe governments were adjacent to the coaſt, to exert themſelves for the preſervation of Perinthus, and to uſe all the means in their power for preventing that city from falling into the hands of the Macedonian. Mentor, the Rhodian, a faithful ſubject of Perſia, and a general of eminent abilities, had ſome time ſince performed a conſiderable ſervice to his maſter, and deprived the Macedonian of many advantages, by making himſelf maſter of the perſon of Hermias, the ſatrap of Atarna, an intimate friend of Ariſtotle, who had deſerted the ſervice of his maſter, maintained an avowed rebellion againſt Ochus, and profeſſed himſelf a zealous partizan of Philip, and was in ſtrict intimacy and confidence with him, an aſſiſtant in many of his enterprizes, and the partner in all his counſels. For this purpoſe, Mentor was obliged to have recourſe to artifice. He gave Hermias aſſurances, that he had made his peace with the king of Perſia, ſo that he might now, without any apprehenſions, return to his allegiance. Hermias was effectually deceived, and raſhly ventured to come to an interview with Mentor, where he was inſtantly made a priſoner. His ſeal was found about him, and inabled Mentor to counterfeit letters, which were ſent, as from Hermias,

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 75.

Ibid. Sect. 52.

mias, to the governors of the ſeveral towns dependent on this ſatrap, and contained directions to deliver up theſe towns to the king of Perſia. Theſe orders were executed without any ſuſpicion of the deceit; and, having thus removed this powerful obſtacle, Mentor could, with greater eaſe, obſtruct the progreſs of Philip's arms. The ſatrap of Phrygia, who was particularly intruſted with this commiſſion, found means to deceive the vigilance of this prince, and to throw into Perinthus vaſt quantities of proviſions and military ſtores, with a powerful reinforcement of troops, paid by Perſia, and commanded by officers ſent for that purpoſe from Byzantium. Apollodorus, a citizen of Athens, as *Pauſanias informs us, had the chief command. This ſtate, if we may depend on the aſſertions of Philip in his famous letter, had actually ſent its deputies into Aſia, to rouſe the Perſian to a ſenſe of the danger to be apprehended from the arms of Macedon: while the emiſſaries of Perſia were as induſtrious, on their part, to prevail on the popular leaders to exert themſelves, in order to animate the zeal of the Athenians. Demoſthenes himſelf is ſaid to have received ſuch preſents from the great king, as gave his enemies an occaſion of depreciating his zeal, as the effect of intrigue and corruption.

Pauſan. in Attic. p. 28. Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 52.

* In loc. cit.

Plutarch. in Demoſth.

THE Perinthians, encouraged and ſtrengthened by the ſupplies they had now received, reſumed their former ardor; while Philip, who, on his ſide, promiſed himſelf the greater glory from the obſtinacy of their defence, was but the more animated to redouble his efforts. With his rams he beat down a conſiderable part of the new wall which the Perinthians had raiſed behind the ruins of the outward fortification. In order to encourage his ſoldiers, he promiſed them the plunder of the town, beſides the extraordinary rewards appropriated to thoſe who ſhould diſtinguiſh themſelves in the aſſault. He marched up and attacked the beſieged at the ſeveral breaches; and, at the ſame time, in order to divide their ſtrength, obliged his ſoldiers to ſcale thoſe parts of the walls which were yet left ſtanding. All theſe efforts

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 75.

efforts were ſupported by an infinite quantity of arrows, ſtones, and other miſſive weapons poured in from the machines and towers of the beſiegers. Thus were the Perinthians, after a reſiſtance almoſt incredible, at length obliged to abandon their walls, and to retire into their town, where, as their laſt reſource, they barricaded all the ſtreets and avenues.

AND now the Macedonians, flushed with their advantage, and confident of ſucceſs, once more found a new obſtacle to encounter, which the ſituation itſelf of the town oppoſed to them. Perinthus was built upon an iſthmus, and on an eminence which ended as it were in a point, and formed a conical figure, ſo that the houſes, built in the manner of an amphitheatre, were ſo contrived as to ſupport each other. All the motions of the beſiegers were diſtinctly viewed from the eminences; and, if they attacked any of the adjacent quarters, abundance of arrows, and other inſtruments of death, was at once ſhowered down upon them from the higher and remoter parts. Thus was Philip, after various difficulties and dangers, at length mortified by a full conviction, that it would be impoſſible to gain the town by aſſault, without the loſs of a conſiderable part of his army. He therefore determined to change the ſiege into a blockade; and, taking with him ſuch a number of men as might be ſufficient for forming other ſieges, he proceeded to attack ſome cities of the Propontis: he made ſome inroads, and committed ſome ravages, in the territories of Byzantium, but as yet concealed his intentions of beſieging that city. The Byzantines, however, were duly ſenſible of their danger; and, in order to oblige him to declare his deſigns, and to lay them open to the world, they kept cloſe within their walls, even with an affectation of caution and vigilance; while Leon, one of their principal citizens, was diſpatched to Athens, in order to engage that ſtate in the defence of Byzantium, and to obtain the neceſſary ſuccours againſt the danger immediately impending over a place of ſuch importance.

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 76.

Oliv. L. 12. p. 224.

Philoſtrat. Soph. p. 485.

THE attention of Athens was already engaged to Philip's motions, and its aſſemblies employed in debating and conſulting: for thus far they were ever eaſily influenced by the appearance of danger. The aſſiſtance afforded by Perſia to Perinthus, and the repreſentations of the deputies and emiſſaries of this city, raiſed new commotions, and
Dem. Phil. 4. diſpoſed the Athenians to contribute, by their efforts, to repel the common danger. The friends of Macedon, on the other hand, repeated all their former arguments, and continued, by all their eloquence and artifice, to recommend tranquillity and ſecurity. Ariſtodemus ſeems, on this occaſion, to have perſevered in his attachment to Philip, and to have, with a remarkable zeal, urged every motive that might calm the ſuſpicions, and allay the ferment, raiſed among his countrymen. Many honeſt citizens, whoſe conſciouſneſs of the weakneſs and corruptions of the ſtate made them dread the conſequences of an open rupture, joined with the partizans of Macedon, and declared for pacific meaſures. The enemies of Philip, on the contrary, repreſented the inſolence and outrages of this prince with all poſſible heat and ſeverity; and urged the intereſt, the dignity, and the ſafety of Athens, as all demanding the moſt vigorous reſolutions, and moſt ſpeedy and effectual efforts for circumſcribing the inordinate power of Philip, and ſtemming that torrent which threatened to involve all Greece in ruin. The aſſembly, as uſual, was diſtracted and divided, till at length Demoſthenes aroſe, and, by the irreſiſtible force of his oratory, bore down all oppoſition, and put an end at once to all farther debate. The oration, pronounced by this leader on the preſent occaſion, commonly called the fourth Philippic, is principally compoſed of the ſame arguments and motives ſo often urged before, and with ſuch addreſs and vehemence; and, now retouched, inlivened, and improved, preſented in a different form, or diſpoſed in a different order.

ON this occaſion, he once more reſumed the conſideration of the theatrical money: but his ſentiments now appear ſomewhat of a different

rent kind from thoſe which he formerly profeſſed. Theſe theatrical diſtributions ſeem to have been a perpetual occaſion of public conteſts between the ſeveral orders of the ſtate. The poor were ever diſſatiſfied that the richer citizens ſhared the largeſſes, which they conſidered as their own peculiar right; and the rich beheld, with impatience, the diſſipation of the public funds, which threw the whole weight of the ſupplies on them. But there was ſtill a greater cauſe of complaint. The revenues of the ſtate were not always ſufficient to defray the immenſe expences of feaſts and entertainments: and, in this caſe, ſome factious leader, who was willing to gain popularity, would propoſe to tax the rich, or perhaps, by his infamous calumnies, raiſe a proſecution, which would bring in a large pecuniary fine. The rich, it may be imagined, were alarmed at ſuch proceedings; they inveighed loudly againſt the authors of them; and ſometimes ventured to accuſe them in form, and to bring them to a trial. When their baſeneſs and evil deſigns were publicly expoſed, the people were aſhamed to avow their intentions of ſupporting ſuch flagrant injuſtice; their clamours were loud againſt the perſon accuſed; but, as, in all judicial proceſſes, they gave their votes by ballot, they then had an opportunity of ſaving their friend.

Tourreil Not. Phil. 4. Vol. 2. p. 398.

THE manner in which Demoſthenes treats this ſubject may not be unworthy of obſervation:

"THERE is another affair, wherein the public hath been injured, "which hath been attacked moſt unjuſtly and indecently; which "is the conſtant pretence of thoſe who refuſe to perform their duty "to the ſtate; to which you will find the blame of every omiſſion, "which every man is guilty of, conſtantly transferred. I cannot "ſpeak of it without great apprehenſions: yet I will ſpeak: for I "think I can ſerve my country, by advancing ſome things, both in "behalf of the poor againſt the rich, and of the rich againſt the "neceſſitous: if we firſt baniſh thoſe invectives unjuſtly thrown out

" againſt the theatrical funds; and thoſe fears, that ſuch an appoint-
" ment cannot ſubſiſt without ſome diſmal conſequences; an appoint-
" ment, which, above all others, may be moſt conducive to our inte-
" reſts, and give the greateſt ſtrength to the whole community.

" ATTEND then, while I firſt plead for thoſe who are thought
" neceſſitous. There was a time, not long ſince, when the ſtate
" could not raiſe more than one hundred and thirty talents; and
" yet none of thoſe who were to command, or to contribute to the
" equipment of a galley, ever had recourſe to the pretence of poverty
" to be exempted from their duty: but veſſels were ſent out, money
" was ſupplied, and none of our affairs neglected. After this, (thanks
" to Fortune!) our revenues were conſiderably improved; and, in-
" ſtead of one hundred, roſe to four hundred talents; and this with-
" out any loſs to the wealthy citizens, but rather with advantage; for
" they ſhare the public affluence, and juſtly ſhare it. Why then do
" we reproach each other? why have we recourſe to ſuch pretences
" to be exempted from our duty, unleſs we envy the poor that ſup-
" ply with which Fortune hath favoured them? I do not, and I
" think no one ſhould blame them. For, in private families, I do
" not find the young ſo devoid of reſpect to years, or indeed any one
" ſo unreaſonable and abſurd, as to refuſe to do his duty, unleſs all
" others do quite as much: ſuch perverſeneſs would render a man
" obnoxious to the laws againſt undutiful children. For to nothing
" are we more inviolably bound, than to a juſt and chearful diſcharge
" of that debt, in which both nature and the laws engage us to our
" parents. And as we, each of us, have our particular parents, ſo
" all our citizens are to be eſteemed the common parents of the
" ſtate; and therefore, inſtead of depriving them of what the ſtate
" beſtows, we ought, if there was not this proviſion, to find out
" ſome other means of ſupplying their neceſſities. If the rich pro-
" ceed upon theſe principles, they will act agreeably not to juſtice
" only, but to good policy: for, to rob ſome men of their neceſſary
" ſubſiſtence, is to raiſe a number of enemies to the commonwealth.

To

" To men of lower fortunes I give this advice: that they ſhould " remove thoſe grievances which the wealthier members ſo loudly and " ſo juſtly complain of: (for I now proceed in the manner I propoſed, " and ſhall not ſcruple to offer ſuch truths as may be favourable to the " rich.) Look out, not through Athens only, but every other nation; " and, in my opinion, you will not find a man of ſo cruel, ſo inhu- " man, a diſpoſition, as to complain, when he ſees poor men, men who " even want the neceſſaries of life, receiving theſe appointments. " Where then lies the difficulty? Whence this animoſity? When they " behold certain perſons charging private fortunes with thoſe demands " which were uſually anſwered by the public; when they behold the " propoſer of this immediately riſing in your eſteem, and (as far as your " protection can make him) immortal; when they find your private " votes intirely different from your public clamours; then it is that " their indignation is raiſed. For juſtice requires, Athenians, that " the advantages of ſociety ſhould be ſhared by all its members. " The rich ſhould have their lives and fortunes well ſecured, that " ſo, when any danger threatens their country, their opulence may " be applied to its defence. Other citizens ſhould regard the public " treaſure, as it really is, the property of all; and be content with " their juſt portion; but ſhould eſteem all private fortunes, as " the inviolable right of their poſſeſſors. Thus it is a ſmall ſtate " riſes to greatneſs; a great one preſerves its power."

IT cannot but be obſerved, that all that is here ſaid in defence of the theatrical appointments, is expreſſed with a caution and reſerve quite oppoſite to his uſual openneſs and freedom; and which plainly betrays a conſciouſneſs of being inconſiſtent with his former ſentiments. How far he may be excuſed by the ſuppoſed neceſſity of yielding to the violent prepoſſeſſions of the people, and giving up a favourite point, I cannot pretend to determine. But it is certainly not very honourable to Demoſthenes to ſuppoſe (with * Ulpian) that

* Enarrat. in Phil. 4.

that his former oppoſition was merely perſonal; and that the death of Eubulus now put an end to it.

THE ſum of his advice, on the preſent emergency, is this, that they ſhould obſerve the manner in which Philip was endeavouring to diſtreſs them, and imitate it in their oppoſition; that they ſhould make all poſſible preparations to defend themſelves, and annoy the enemy; that they ſhould ſend effectual and ſpeedy ſupplies to thoſe who were now engaged with him; and that they ſhould enter into an immediate alliance with the king of Perſia, a meaſure which (either actuated by private or by public-ſpirited motives) he repreſents as of the utmoſt importance, particularly as it would inable them to gain a large ſupply of money. He hints (as is ſuppoſed) at the ſeizing of Hermias, from whom the king of Perſia could now extort a full confeſſion of the deſigns which Philip meditated againſt Aſia, ſo as to receive the moſt unſuſpected proof of the danger to be apprehended from the Macedonian. Through the whole addreſs he inveighs, with great ſeverity, againſt corrupted leaders and orators who had ſold themſelves to the enemy of their country: and, towards the concluſion, particularly attacks Ariſtodemus in a ſpirited apoſtrophè.

THE oration is thus emphatically cloſed: "You have now heard "truths of the higheſt moment, urged with all freedom, ſimplicity, "and zeal. You have heard a ſpeech not filled with flattery, danger, "and deceit, calculated to bring gold to the ſpeaker, and to reduce "the ſtate into the power of its enemies: it remains, therefore, "that the whole tenor of your conduct be reformed. If not, that "utter deſolation, which will be found in your affairs, muſt be im-"puted wholly to yourſelves."

THE ſtrength and energy of Demoſthenes were not wholly ineffectual. The Athenians came immediately to a reſolution of diſpatching

Dem. de Coron. Sect. 23.

patching ſuccours to thoſe towns which were attacked by Philip, and inſtantly began to execute their intentions with ſending to the Helleſpont a fleet laden with proviſions. This fleet anchored in view of Selymbria, a city of the Propontis, in alliance with Athens, and now actually beſieged by Philip. The commander ſeems to have ſuppoſed that the treaty, which ſtill formally ſubſiſted between Athens and Macedon, would protect him from all hoſtilities; but in this he was deceived; for his fleet was inſtantly ſurrounded and ſeized by Amyntas, who commanded the naval force of Macedon. The lading was examined, and found to conſiſt intirely of corn, which Leodamas, the commanding officer, inſiſted had been purchaſed at the Helleſpont, and was intended to be ſent to Lemnos. This pretence was not ſufficiently ſpecious to deceive the penetration of Philip. There could be but little doubt of the real deſtination of this fleet: the diſtreſs of the Selymbrians, and the late reſolution of the Athenians, were well known. Philip therefore detained theſe ſhips, as carrying proviſions to his enemies.

THE news of this event renewed the agitation of the Athenians, and once more afforded a ſubject of warm debate to their aſſembly. The following decrees, made on this occaſion, are preſerved by * Demoſthenes, who repreſents this action as the firſt open and avowed declaration of hoſtilities on the part of Philip:

* In loc. cit.

"IN the archonſhip of Neocles, an aſſembly extraordinary being "convened by the generals in the month Boedromion, Eubulus, the "ſon of Mneſitheus, of the Cyprian tribe, propoſed the following "reſolution:

"WHEREAS the generals have reported to the aſſembly, that "Leodamas our admiral, together with twenty ſhips ſent under his "command to import corn from the Helleſpont, have been taken "and brought into Macedon, by Amyntas, a commander in the

"ſervice

"ſervice of king Philip: RESOLVED, that it ſhall be the care of "the prytanes and generals, that the ſenate be convened, and am- "baſſadors choſen, who ſhall repair to Philip, and demand the "diſmiſſion of the admiral, the veſſels, and the ſoldiers; that they "be inſtructed to declare, that, if Amyntas hath in this acted through "ignorance, the community of Athens hath no complaints to urge "againſt him; that, if their officer hath anywiſe exceeded his com- "miſſion, they are ready to take cognizance of his offence, and to "puniſh him as his inadvertence may have merited: but, if neither "of theſe be the caſe, but that this outrage be the ſole act either of "the perſon who gave or who received the commiſſion, that the "ambaſſadors ſhall demand an explicit declaration, and report the "ſame, that the people of Athens may determine on ſuch meaſures "as may be proper for them to purſue."

Dem. de Coron. Sect. 23.

THE ambaſſadors were accordingly named, by virtue of the following decree:

"IN the archonſhip of Neocles, on the laſt day of the month "Boedromion, by a reſolution of the ſenate,

"THE prytanes and generals having reported the determination "of the general aſſembly, that ambaſſadors be ſent to Philip to "demand the reſtoration of the ſhips, and that the ſaid ambaſſadors "be furniſhed with particular inſtructions, and with a copy of the "decree of the aſſembly,

"THE perſons, choſen to be intruſted with this commiſſion, are "Cephiſophon, Democritus, and Polycratus. Ariſtophon, the Cotho- "cydian, moved for this reſolution, in the preſidency of the tribe "Hippothoontis."

THUS

THUS commiſſioned and inſtructed, theſe ambaſſadors repaired to Philip, whom they now found at the Helleſpont. Although this prince could not but ſee through the fallacy of the allegations relative to the deſtination of the Athenian ſhips, yet it was at preſent neceſſary to avoid an open rupture with that ſtate, and to appear to Greece as acting with extraordinary candor and moderation. He therefore ordered that the veſſels ſhould be releaſed; and diſmiſſed the Athenian deputies with the following letter addreſſed to their ſtate: Dem. de Coron. Sect. 23.

"PHILIP king of Macedon, to the ſenate and people of Athens, health." Ibid.

"I HAVE received three of your citizens in quality of ambaſſadors, "who have conferred with me about the diſmiſſion of certain ſhips "which Leodamas commanded. I cannot but conſider it as an ex"traordinary inſtance of weakneſs, to imagine, that I can poſſibly "believe that theſe ſhips were really intended to import corn, from "the Helleſpont, for Lemnos, and that they were not really ſent for "the relief of the Selymbrians, who are now beſieged by me, and "who are by no means included in that treaty of pacification, by "which we ſtand mutually engaged. Theſe were the orders which "your officer received, not from the people of Athens, but from "certain magiſtrates, and others now in private ſtations, who are by "all means ſollicitous to engage the people to violate their engage"ments, and to commence hoſtilities againſt me. This they have "much more at heart than the relief of Selymbria, fondly imagining "that they may derive advantages from ſuch a rupture. Perſuaded "as I am, that our mutual intereſt requires us to fruſtrate their wicked "ſchemes, I have given orders that the veſſels brought in to us ſhall "be immediately releaſed: and, for the future, do you remove thoſe "pernicious counſellors from the adminiſtration of your affairs, and "let them feel the ſeverity of your juſtice: I ſhall, on my part, en"deavour to adhere inviolably to my treaty. Farewell."

THE receipt of this letter raiſed new commotions in the aſſembly, and afforded the ſeveral parties, and popular leaders, new ſubject for oppoſition and debate. In the mean time, Leon, the Byzantine ambaſſador, continued at Athens, without an opportunity of executing his commiſſion. He had from time to time ſollicited to be admitted to an audience, but ſtill found difficulties and delays. The aſſiſtance offered by the Byzantines, to the revolted allies of Athens in the ſocial war, was ſtill remembered, and mentioned with reſentment; and poſſibly the partizans of Philip took pains to dwell invidiouſly on this ſubject. At length, however, he obtained permiſſion to addreſs himſelf to an aſſembly, and for that purpoſe appeared in the gallery where the public ſpeakers were uſually ſtationed to harangue the people. His perſon was by no means of that kind which commands immediate reſpect. His ſtature was low; his legs remarkably ſhort; and his belly round and prominent. At ſight of this extraordinary figure, the people, who were of all men moſt paſſionately fond of ridicule, who could readily find out, or even create, ſomething ludicrous in every object, forgot the reſpect due to his character, and inſtantly burſt into loud and tumultuous peals of laughter. Leon was not in the leaſt diſconcerted. As ſoon as he could gain attention, "Men of Athens" ſaid he, "you laugh at my perſon. You would "laugh much more, were you to ſee my wife. She is ſtill leſs than "I am; and yet, when we diſagree, the whole city of Byzantium is "too little to hold us." [c] The Athenians, charmed with this preſence of mind, with which he recalled them to the buſineſs of their meeting, and preſented to their view the danger of thoſe diviſions which had long been one great cauſe of all their difficulties, changed their contempt into applauſe, and gave him the moſt favourable attention. In an eloquent, forcible, and natural diſcourſe, he convinced them of the great importance of a vigorous oppoſition to

Philoſtrat. Soph. p. 485.

[c] We have a ſimilar account in Athenaeus, (L. 12. p. 550.) of Python's ſuppreſſing a ſedition at Byzantium, by obſerving to the people that his wife was more corpulent than himſelf, and that yet, when they agreed, one little bed was ſufficient for them, &c.

the

the aſpiring and enterprizing king of Macedon; and of uniting their forces with thoſe of Byzantium, which might inable them to check the progreſs of his arms. Convinced by his reaſons, and influenced by his addreſs, the people inſtantly decreed that a powerful fleet ſhould be equipped, and ſent to the Helleſpont. Their force, if properly conducted, might have proved an effectual obſtacle to the deſigns of Philip; but unhappily the command was intruſted to Chares. His perſon and addreſs promiſed enterprize and courage. His intereſt in the aſſembly was ſtill powerful. He had orators and popular leaders in his pay. And thus corruption and intrigue defeated the moſt vigorous and beſt concerted meaſures of this miſguided people. Plut. in Phoc.

BOOK IV. SECTION III.

CONTENTS.

CHARES ſets ſail.—His conduct.—The Byzantines ſhut their gates againſt him.—His engagement with Amyntas.—Byzantium beſieged.—Philip attempts to ſurpriſe the town.—Is unſucceſsful.—The relief of Byzantium intruſted to Phocion.—He is received with joy.—Philip determined to raiſe the ſiege.—From what motives.—His tranſactions with the king of Scythia.—His interview with Leon.—Reaſons for his engaging in the Scythian expedition.—Actions of Phocion.—He returns to Athens.—Decrees of the Byzantines, Perinthians, and Cherſoneſites.—Obſervations of Demoſthenes.—Philip's letter to the Athenians.—The oration of Demoſthenes ON THE LETTER.*—Its effect.—Sentiments of Phocion.—His expedition to Megara.—Antipho's plot diſcovered by Demoſthenes.—His firſt eſcapes from juſtice.—He is afterwards forced to confeſs, and puniſhed. The Athenians diſpoſed to warlike meaſures.—The oration of Demoſthenes on regulating the commonwealth.—The famous*

law

law of Eubulus repealed.—Alexander reduces the Medareans.—Builds Alexandropolis.—Philip's meſſage to the king of Scythia.—The anſwer.—Battle with the Scythians.—The Triballi oppoſe Philip's return.—His imminent danger.—Is reſcued by Alexander.—The prince's obſervation on his father's wound.

BOOK

BOOK the FOURTH.

SECTION III.

CHARES now ſailed from the Piraeus, more intent on gratifying his avarice and luxury, than on executing the important commiſſion which his country had imprudently aſſigned to ſuch a general. The towns by which he ſailed, refuſed to admit him into their ports, ſo univerſally were his vices and inabilities the objects of terror and ſcorn. He was thus obliged to wander for ſome time along the coaſt, oppreſſing the allies and dependent ſtates of Athens by his ſevere exactions; while the enemy deſpiſed him, and, from his conduct, derived the moſt favourable expectations of ſucceſs. At length, this general appeared before Byzantium. But here, as in other places, he was treated with ignominy; and the Byzantines abſolutely refuſed to open their gates to a man, from whom they had no expectations of any effectual aſſiſtance, and whoſe conduct would probably aggravate their diſtreſs, and increaſe their difficulties. Olymp. 110. Y. 1. Plut. in Phocion.

STUNG with this diſgrace, and determined, by ſome bold exploit, to convince the Byzantines of their miſtake, he bore down on the Macedonian fleet, which lay at anchor before Chalcedon, where the Byzantines Oliv. E. 13. p. 238. Heſychius de Situ Orb.

Byzantines commanded, and, by permiſſion of the king of Perſia, maintained a garriſon. But Amyntas, Philip's admiral, prevented his attack. He came out to meet him, fell furiouſly upon his fleet, ſunk ſeveral of his ſhips, and took others. Damalis, the wife of Chares, followed him in this expedition, and died during the engagement. She was interred on the coaſt of Aſia, to which the ſhattered remains of the Athenian fleet retired, and where her epitaph was extant under the latter Greek emperors.

THIS defeat confirmed the ſuſpicions which had been entertained of Chares, and encouraged Philip to avow his deſigns againſt Byzantium, and to commence hoſtilities againſt this important town. It was, by its ſituation, remarkably ſtrong. On three ſides the ſea rendered it inacceſſible; on the fourth, by which only it could be attacked, it was ſtrongly defended by a large and deep trench, with towers raiſed to a conſiderable height, and at a ſmall interval from each other; in each of which, beſides the uſual guards, there was a maſtiff kept at the public charge: a precaution uſual in all the Grecian cities, to ſecure them againſt ſurprizes and nocturnal attacks. The inhabitants were well ſupplied with proviſions and other neceſſaries. Chios and Rhodes, in conſequence of antient friendſhip and treaties which ſtill ſubſiſted, had thrown in conſiderable ſuccours; ſo that, when Philip began the ſiege by his battering engines, the Byzantines truſted intirely to the goodneſs of their walls, and the condition of their town; and, without making any ſallies, ſuffered the beſiegers to carry on their works without interruption. Philip determined to take advantage of this inaction, and, if poſſible, to become maſter of the town by ſurprize. He affected an obſtinate reſolution of making a breach in the walls, and of proceeding by aſſault, while, in the mean time, he made all poſſible diſpoſitions for the execution of his real deſign. For this, he choſe out a night remarkably dark and gloomy; and ordered a large party of the braveſt and moſt enterprizing of his Macedonians to ſcale the walls. They had already croſſed

Oliv. L. 13. p. 239.

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 77.

Oliv. L. 9. p. 240.

croſſed the trench and fixed their ladders; and ſome of them had even mounted the walls, when this bold project was at once defeated by the maſtiffs that were ſhut up within the towers: their barkings and bayings rouſed the centinels, and informed them of the enemy's approach. The whole town was inſtantly in arms, though no man knew from what quarter the danger was to be apprehended; and in this univerſal confuſion, conſiderably increaſed by the darkneſs, they imagined that the beſiegers were already maſters of the town, and the ſeveral parties, which now iſſued out tumultuouſly from their reſpective ſtations, were juſt on the point of falling blindly on each other; when, on a ſudden, a bright meteor appeared in the air, and inabled them to diſtinguiſh their friends, to collect their forces, and to march in ſome order againſt the enemy, who had by this time gained the rampart. The Macedonians were, with much difficulty, repulſed; and retired with all the honour which a brave, though unſucceſsful enterprize, could reflect upon them.

Oliv. L. 9. p. 240.

Tourr. Rem. ſur Dem. pour Cteſ. p. 529.

THE meteor, which had appeared ſo opportunely to direct their motions, the Byzantines aſcribed to the peculiar favour of the gods: and, in the ardor of their acknowledgments, dedicated a ſtatue to Hecatè, before which a lamp was kept burning continually by night and day, to expreſs their gratitude to the goddeſs, who had been pleaſed, in ſo effectual and ſeaſonable a manner, to ſupply the abſence of her luminary.

Ibid.

WHEN this ſtratagem was thus defeated, Philip determined to rely intirely on the valour of his men, and continued the operations of the ſiege, with the ſame indefatigable diligence and vigour with which they had been firſt commenced [A].

[A] WHILE Philip was employed in this ſiege, he is ſaid, by the abbreviator of Trogus (L. 9. c. 1.) to have raiſed conſiderable ſums of money by piracy; and, by the capture of one hundred and ſeventy ſhips, to have reſtored the declining ſtate of

Plut. in Vit. Phocion.

DURING theſe tranſactions, accounts were received at Athens, that Chares had been denied admittance into Byzantium. This the partizans of Macedon took care to repreſent as the natural conſequence of the miſguided zeal of their countrymen, and a proof of the juſtneſs and integrity of their counſels, who had recommended pacific meaſures. "We have officiouſly ſent our fleets," ſaid they, "to join with thoſe who are really the enemies of Athens, and as "enemies they have treated us: we have diſcovered our hoſtile in-"tentions againſt Philip, which have only ſerved to inflame his juſt "reſentment, while we are diſgracefully precluded from giving any "oppoſition to his deſigns." Error, miſrepreſentation, clamour, and diviſion, prevailed as uſual in the aſſembly of the people, who were intirely at a loſs where to fix the blame of their diſappointment, and how to remedy the inconveniencies of it: when Phocion, their experienced and faithful citizen, aroſe, and at once put an end to the confuſion. At this time my countrymen," ſaid he, "the meaſures "which you have taken for the preſervation of your allies, and for "repelling the common danger, were by no means unworthy of your "dignity. On the other hand, the ſuſpicions of our allies are but "too well founded. Let us not condemn that diffidence which the "conduct of our leader hath juſtly raiſed in every city which our "fleets have viſited. It is to Chares, and to his rapacious and inſa-

of his finances. Plutarch alſo (de Fort. Alex. Orat. 1. p. 327.) aſſerts, on the authority of Oneſicritus, an antient author, that Philip was at this time two hundred talents in debt. We have likewiſe an account, in Polyaenus, (L. 4. c. 2. Str. 2.) of a mutiny in his army, occaſioned by the want of pay; which muſt have been about this time. The ſoldiers crowded about the king, at a time when he was engaged in ſome gymnaſtic exerciſes, and clamoured loudly for their money. "Right!" ſaid Philip, "my brave fellow-ſoldiers! "money you muſt have;—and, for this "purpoſe, you ſee me ſtrengthening my "body, in order to march againſt the Per-"ſian, who hath riches to ſatisfy you all." —He then ruſhed through the midſt of them, plunged into an adjacent pool, and there continued bathing, till the ſoldiers, who waited till the king ſhould conclude his exerciſes, and be at leiſure to anſwer their demands, by degrees forgot their complaints, grew quiet, and diſperſed.

"tiable

" tiable cruelty, which have rendered him the terror and deteſtation
" of our allies; to his weakneſs and miſconduct, which have rendered
" him the ſcorn and ſport of all our enemies; that we muſt impute
" the inſult on our ſtate. He it is who hath made us ſuſpected and
" dreaded, even by thoſe who cannot poſſibly ſubſiſt without our
" ſuccours."

STRUCK with the force and candor of this declaration, the people at once reſolved on a new armament, and inſtantly nominated Phocion himſelf to the command, wiſely intruſting to their brave old general the important charge of relieving Byzantium. He accepted the command, and, having raiſed his levies, ſet ſail for that city. At his arrival, he gave every aſſurance of his juſt and kind intentions; and, to allay all ſuſpicions and diſtruſt, all fears of oppreſſion and irregularity, propoſed to incamp without the walls. But his illuſtrious reputation had already ſecured him all the honour and confidence which his virtues merited; Leon had inſpired the Byzantines with the moſt favourable ſentiments of his old friend and fellow-ſtudent; and offered to be himſelf their ſecurity for the ſincerity and integrity of his conduct. Their gates were therefore opened to Phocion, as to their protector and deliverer; his forces were entertained with all the tenderneſs and regard which friendſhip could inſpire; and they, by an exact regularity of conduct and diſcipline, and a ſtrict and diligent attention to the defence of the town, confirmed and rewarded the Byzantines: who were now taught to revere their innoffenſive behaviour towards the citizens, and the intrepidity with which they ſuſtained the aſſaults of the enemy. Plut. in Vit. Phocion.

PHILIP was juſtly alarmed at this powerful reinforcement; all his artifice, all his reſolution, and all the efforts of a brave and numerous army, had been now exerted, for a conſiderable time, without effect. He therefore became ſenſible of the difficulties which he encountered, and deſpaired of the ſucceſs of his daring enterprize.

An event, which now occurs to be explained, confirmed him in his reſolution of raiſing the ſiege, and, at the ſame time, removed all appearance of neceſſity or diſgrace.

Juſt. L. 9. C. 2. AT the time when Philip marched to lay ſiege to Perinthus, he was met at Apollonia by certain perſons who aſſumed the character of ambaſſadors from Atheas king of Scythia; and, as commiſſioned by him, implored the aſſiſtance of Macedon againſt the king of the Iſtrians, who had made a formidable inroad into Scythia, and had thus infeſted and diſtreſſed the dominions of their maſter. Theſe ambaſſadors, the more effectually to engage the aſſiſtance of Philip againſt an enemy, who by this time ſeems to have reduced their country to the utmoſt extremity, promiſed, in the name of their maſter, to ſecure to Philip the ſucceſſion to his kingdom, if, by his arms, Atheas was reſcued from the preſent danger. The propoſal was highly agreeable to the ambition of Philip. He inſtantly ordered a body of forces to march to the aſſiſtance of Scythia, and promiſed to follow them in perſon, as ſoon as his affairs would permit him. The death of the king of the Iſtrians, which happened in the courſe of theſe tranſactions, relieved Atheas from his difficulties, and rendered the interpoſition of Macedon unneceſſary. And now the king of Scythia diſavowed all the propoſitions made by thoſe who called themſelves his ambaſſadors. He declared, that it was not at all probable that he had deſired the aſſiſtance of the Macedonians, who were only able to engage with men, while he himſelf was at the head of an army which could combat with cold and famine: nor could he think of appointing Philip as his ſucceſſor, when he had a ſon capable of inheriting his crown and dignity. Philip then ſent to deſire that he would at leaſt gratify the forces which he had detached to his relief, by granting them their pay. His ambaſſadors, at their arrival in Scythia, found the king in his ſtable, employed in the care of his horſe. When they expreſſed their ſurprize, he aſked them whether their maſter did not em-

Plut. in Apophth.

ploy

ploy himſelf in the ſame manner. "For my part" ſaid he, "in "time of peace, I make no ſort of difference between me and "my groom." When they came to open their commiſſion, and talk of buſineſs, he coldly told them, that all Scythia could not command ſo much wealth as might gratify ſuch a potentate as Philip, and that he deemed it more eligible to offer nothing, than to make an offer unworthy of their maſter; that the barren ſoil and ſevere climate of Scythia, rendered the inhabitants more diſtinguiſhed by their extraordinary vigour and bravery, than by their riches. Juſt. ut ſupra.

THIS anſwer was now reported to the king of Macedon when harraſſed by the obſtinate defence of the Byzantines, and gave him a fair pretence of abandoning his preſent enterprize, and marching againſt Atheas. And now, reſolved to quit the ſiege of Byzantium, but at the ſame time to retire with a good grace, he demanded an interview with Leon, who commanded in the town. A ceſſation of arms enſued; and Leon appeared before Philip, and, with that boldneſs which a free government inſpires, deſired to know for what reaſon the king of Macedon thus attacked a town which had never given him the leaſt umbrage. Philip anſwered ingenuouſly, that the ſituation of Byzantium rendered the poſſeſſion of it neceſſary to his deſigns; that he conſidered the city as a miſtreſs whom he had long wooed and courted, and had at length determined to force to a compliance. "Alas! ſir," replied Leon, pointing to the machines which were raiſed againſt the town, "it is not thus that lovers addreſs them-"ſelves to their miſtreſſes: theſe are not the entertainments which "they provide for them." Philip aſſured him that the operations of the ſiege ſhould immediately ceaſe; and, having directed him to declare to the Byzantines, that the general good of Greece was the ſole end of all his actions, he raiſed the ſiege, and prepared for an expedition into Scythia. Philoſtratus, L. 2. p. 485.

BESIDES

BESIDES thoſe motives of honour and revenge, which invited Philip into Scythia, he had other political reaſons to determine him to carry his arms into that country. His great deſign was to humble the Athenians; but it was by no means a favourable opportunity for declaring war againſt them, when he had been foiled in two grand undertakings, and obliged to raiſe two different ſieges, ſo as to ſully the glory of his arms, and to re-animate the courage of his enemies. In advancing therefore to Scythia, where he had no doubt but that his arms would be victorious, he juſtly thought that he ſhould give the Athenians time to grow calm, and to ſubſide, by degrees, to their uſual indolent and inactive ſtate. Their flaming zeal, he knew, was ſuddenly raiſed; and, if the appearance of danger was in the leaſt removed, would, of itſelf, evaporate: by carrying his arms into theſe diſtant parts, all Greece would remain in ignorance and ſuſpence as to his real deſigns, until they came to the very point of execution: and one grand ſcheme he now ſeems to have concerted againſt that whole nation, and particularly againſt Athens, which will hereafter be explained, and which might be conducted with much more ſecurity and ſucceſs in his abſence.

Plut. in Phocion.

HE therefore now raiſed the ſiege of Byzantium; and Phocion, to whoſe conduct the preſervation of that important place was principally owing, marched out amidſt the prayers and acclamations of the inhabitants. He ſuffered the Macedonians to retire unmoleſted, without attempting to fall on their rear, or being tempted, by his ſucceſs, to any of thoſe raſh vanities, which might poſſibly be pardoned in a leſs renowned and experienced general. The quiet and ſecurity of the Athenian colonies, and dependent ſtates, were his principal concern. He ſteered his courſe towards the Cherſoneſus, where the friends of Athens were perpetually infeſted by irruptions from Cardia. In his paſſage, he took ſome veſſels, which were carrying arms and

Dem. de Coron. Sect. 27.

proviſions to the enemy; and being informed that the Macedonians had made an attempt on Seſtus, he marched inſtantly to prevent their

deſigns,

deſigns, and obliged them to retire to Cardia. Several cities of leſſer note, which Philip had lately taken, were alſo recovered by Phocion in this expedition. And, having thus driven Philip from the Helleſpont; to ſpread the terror of the Athenian arms ſtill farther, he made incurſions into the territories of this prince, and there raiſed large contributions, ſo as to maintain his ſoldiers at the expence of the enemy, inſtead of burdening his allies; but, being oppoſed by ſome forces which were ſent to check his progreſs, and having received a wound in an engagement, he thought it neceſſary to content himſelf with the glory he had already acquired, led his forces back, and imbarked for Athens. Plut. ut ſup.

THESE ſeveral expeditions reflected infinite honour both on Phocion and on the Athenians. The people, who had been immediately obliged, and who now owed their ſafety to the valour and conduct of Athens, did not confine themſelves to a bare acknowledgment of ſuch ſignal ſervices, but proceeded to raiſe ſolid and authentic monuments of their deliverance and gratitude. The following decree, made on this occaſion by the Byzantines and Perinthians, hath been tranſmitted to us by the great Athenian orator :* *Demoſth. de Coron. Sect. 27.

"BOSPHORICUS being hieromnemon, Demagetus, by permiſſion "of the ſenate, drew up the following reſolution:

"WHEREAS the people of Athens have, from the earlieſt times, "perſevered in an unalterable affection to the Byzantines, and to their "confederates and kinſmen the Perinthians; and have lately, when "Philip of Macedon invaded and laid waſte their territories with fire "and ſword, and attacked their cities, done them many and ſignal "ſervices; and, by a reinforcement of one hundred and twenty ſhips, "with proviſions, arms, and ſoldiers, have extricated us from the "utmoſt dangers, reſtored our antient conſtitution, our laws, and "the ſepulchres of our fathers; it is therefore RESOLVED, by the people

"people of Byzantium and Perinthus, to grant to the Athenians the "right of intermarriage, the freedom of our ſtates, the power of "purchaſing lands, and the firſt and moſt honourable ſeats in all our "public entertainments, in the tholus, in the ſenate, and in the "popular aſſembly. And that whatever Athenian ſhall chuſe to re- "ſide in our reſpective cities, ſhall enjoy a perfect immunity and "exemption from all taxes. And it is further reſolved, that three "ſtatues, ſixteen cubits high, ſhall be erected in the port of By- "zantium, repreſenting the community of Athens crowned by the "Byzantines and Perinthians. And that honorary preſents ſhall be "ſent to the ſeveral general aſſemblies of Greece, the Iſthmian, "Nemean, Olympic, and Pythian, where proclamation ſhall be duly "made of that crown now by us conferred on the people of Athens; "that all Greece may be informed of the magnanimity of Athens, "and the gratitude of the Byzantines and Perinthians."

THE people of the Cherſoneſus, who had been protected againſt the attacks of Cardia, and the Macedonian forces ſtationed in that city, expreſſed their acknowledgments in the following manner:

Demoſth. de Coron. Sect. 27.

"THE Cherſoneſites, inhabitants of Seſtus, Eleus, Madytus, and "Haloneſus, do crown the ſenate and people of Athens with a golden "crown of ſixty talents. They alſo conſecrate an altar to Gratitude "and the Athenians, on account of the important ſervices conferred "by this people on the inhabitants of the Cherſoneſus, in delivering "them from the power of Philip, and in reſtoring their country, "their laws, their liberties, and their religion. Of which the Cher- "ſoneſites ſhall ever retain a juſt and grateful ſenſe, and be ever "ready, to the utmoſt of their power, to return the important obli- "gation.—Thus it was RESOLVED in a full aſſembly of the ſenate."

THESE public acts, and the honours thus paid to Athens, were matter of great triumph to the enemies of Macedon, and the leaders who

who declaimed againſt Philip. They magnified them as the glorious effect of their counſels and conduct. "The meaſures I concerted, "the conduct I purſued," (ſaith * Demoſthenes, ſpeaking of theſe tranſactions,) "not only ſaved the Cherſoneſus and Byzantium; not "only prevented Philip from becoming maſter of the Helleſpont; not "only afforded you an opportunity of acquiring immortal honours; "but diſplayed, to all the world, the dignity and integrity of Athens, "and the baſe perfidiouſneſs of Philip. He, the friend and ally of "the Byzantines, publicly and avowedly beſieged their city; (can "we conceive a baſer, a more abandoned, outrage?) You, who "might have juſtly cheriſhed reſentment againſt them, on account of "antient injuries, not only forgot all your wrongs; not only refuſed "to look with indifference on their danger; but appeared to all man-"kind their great deliverers: and, by this tranſcendent generoſity, "acquired univerſal love and honour. That you have frequently "honoured many of thoſe with crowns to whom the conduct of "your affairs hath been intruſted, it is well known. But name, if "you can, any one counſellor, or public ſpeaker, except myſelf, by "whoſe means the ſtate itſelf hath been thus honoured."

*de Coron. Sect. 27.

If the recollection of theſe honours, after a long interval of time, was pleaſing and flattering to the Athenians, they could not but have been greatly affected by them, when they had been juſt conferred; and poſſibly the ſucceſs and glory of this expedition contributed greatly to diſpoſe their minds to vigorous and warlike meaſures. Diſappointments depreſſed them; and the leaſt appearance of good fortune elevated and tranſported them. They were now engaged in deliberation on an affair, which had been, for ſome time, conſidered as of great moment. About the time that Philip meditated the ſiege of Byzantium, this prince, who already perceived ſome degree of vigour breaking through that immoderate indolence which had long poſſeſſed the Athenians, determined to make uſe of every artifice to check their riſing ſpirit. It was of particular importance to him, if

poſſible, to deter them from oppoſing the deſigns he was now prepared to execute; at leaſt to poſſeſs the other ſtates of Greece with unfavourable ſentiments of their conduct, and to make them regard the hoſtilities, which it might be convenient for him to commit againſt Athens, as equitable and neceſſary. For theſe purpoſes he addreſſed a large letter to the Athenians, in which he recounted all his complaints, all his real and pretended injuries, in the ampleſt and moſt artful manner; examined every allegation made on their part, and obviated every objection to his conduct. This letter was received at Athens after the account of the defeat of Chares in the engagement with Amyntas, and, as was intended, afforded the partizans of Macedon a copious ſubject for haranguing, and ample and powerful arguments for intimidating the people, and diverting them from all meaſures that might produce an open rupture.

THIS piece now became the object of conſideration in the aſſembly of the people. It hath happily been preſerved, and is an honourable proof of the eloquence and abilities of this prince. I take the liberty therefore of tranſcribing this letter at large: which, however it may have been already laid before the Engliſh reader, muſt be conſidered as a neceſſary part of the preſent work.

"PHILIP, to the ſenate and people of Athens, greeting.

"As the ambaſſies I have frequently ſent to inforce thoſe oaths and "declarations by which we ſtand engaged, have produced no alteration in your conduct, I thought it neceſſary thus to lay before you "the ſeveral particulars in which I think myſelf aggrieved. Be not "ſurprized at the length of this letter: for, as I have many cauſes "of complaint, it is neceſſary to explain them all diſtinctly.

"FIRST then, when Nicias the herald was forcibly taken out of "my own territory; inſtead of puniſhing the author of this outrage,

as

" as juſtice required, you added to his wrongs, by keeping him ten " months in priſon: and the letters intruſted to him, by us, you read " publicly in your aſſembly. Again: when the ports of Thaſſus " were open to the Byzantine gallies, nay, to any pirates that pleaſed, " you looked on with indifference; although our treaties expreſſly " ſay, that ſuch proceedings ſhall be conſidered as an actual decla- " ration of war. About the ſame time it was, that Diopithes made " a deſcent upon my dominions, carried off in chains the inhabi- " tants of Crobylè and Tiriſtaſis, ravaged all the adjacent parts of " Thrace, and at length proceeded to ſuch a pitch of lawleſs violence, " as to ſeize Amphilocus, who went in quality of an ambaſſador to " treat about the ranſom of priſoners; whom, after he had reduced " him to the greateſt difficulties, he compelled to purchaſe his free- " dom at the rate of nine talents. And this he did with the approba- " tion of his ſtate. Yet the violation of the ſacred character of heralds " and ambaſſadors is accounted, by all people, the height of impiety: " nor have any expreſſed a deeper ſenſe of this, than you yourſelves: for, " when the Megareans had put Anthemocritus to death, the people " proceeded ſo far as to exclude them from the myſteries; and " erected a ſtatue before the gates, as a monument of their crime. " And is not this ſhocking, to be avowedly guilty of the very ſame " crimes, for which your reſentment fell ſo ſeverely upon others, " when you yourſelves were aggrieved?

" In the next place, Callias, your general, hath made himſelf " maſter of all the towns upon the bay of Pagaſae, though compre- " hended in the treaty made with you, and united in alliance to me. " Not a veſſel could ſteer its courſe towards Macedon, but the paſſen- " gers were all treated by him as enemies, and ſold: and this his " conduct hath been applauded by the reſolutions of your council. " So that I do not ſee how you can proceed further, if you actually " declare war againſt me. For, when we were at open hoſtilities, you " did but ſend out your corſairs, ſell thoſe who were ſailing to my

" kingdom, aſſiſt my enemies, and infeſt my territories. Yet now, " when we are profeſſedly at peace, ſo far have your injuſtice and ran- " cour hurried you, that you have ſent ambaſſadors to the Perſian, " to perſuade him to attack me: which muſt appear highly ſurpriſing: " for, before that prince had ſubdued Egypt and Phoenicia, it was " reſolved, that, if he attempted any new enterprizes, you would " invite me, as well as all the other Greeks, to an aſſociation againſt " him. But, now, with ſuch malice am I purſued, that you are, on " the contrary, confederating with him againſt me. In former times, " I am told, your anceſtors objected it as an heinous crime to the " family of Piſiſtratus, that they had led the Perſian againſt the " Greeks: and yet you are not aſhamed to commit the very ſame " action, for which you were continually inveighing againſt thoſe " tyrants.

" But your injuſtice hath not ſtopped here. Your decrees com- " mand me to permit Teres and Cerſobleptes to reign unmoleſted in " Thrace, as being citizens of Athens.—I do not know that they " were included in our treaty, that their names are to be found in " the records of our engagements, or that they are Athenians. But " this I know, that Teres ſerved in my army againſt you; and that, " when Cerſobleptes propoſed to my ambaſſadors to take the neceſſary " oaths, in order to be particularly included in the treaty, your ge- " nerals prevented him, by declaring him an enemy to the Athenians. " And now is this equitable or juſt? when it ſerves your purpoſes, to " proclaim him the enemy of your ſtate; when I am to be calum- " niated, to give him the title of your citizen; when Sitalces was " ſlain, to whom you granted the privileges of your city, inſtantly " to enter into an alliance with his murderer; yet to engage in a " war with me, on account of Cerſobleptes? and this, when you are " ſenſible, that not one of theſe your adopted citizens have ever " ſhewed the leaſt regard to your laws or determinations. But bring " this affair to a ſhort iſſue. You granted the rights of your com-

" munity

" munity to Evagoras of Cyprus, to Dionyſius the Syracuſan, and " to their deſcendants. Prevail therefore upon the men who have " depoſed each of theſe, to reſtore them to their dominions, and you " ſhall recover from me all thoſe territories of Thrace, which Teres " and Cerſobleptes commanded. But if you have nothing to urge " againſt thoſe who expelled them, and yet are inceſſantly tormenting " me, am not I juſtly warranted to oppoſe you?—I might urge many " other arguments upon this head; but I chuſe to paſs them over.

" THE Cardians, I freely declare, I am determined to ſupport; " as my engagements to them are prior to our treaty; and as you re- " fuſed to ſubmit your differences with them to an arbitration, " though frequently urged by me: nor have they been wanting in " the like ſollicitations. Should not I therefore be the baſeſt of man- " kind, to abandon my allies, and to ſhew greater regard for you, " my inveterate oppoſers, than for my conſtant and aſſured adherents?

" FORMERLY (for I cannot paſs this in ſilence) you contented " yourſelves with remonſtrating upon the points above-mentioned. But " lately, upon the bare complaint of the Peparethians, that they had " been ſeverely treated by me, you proceeded to ſuch outrage, as to ſend " orders to your general to revenge their quarrel. Yet the puniſhment " which I inflicted was no way equal to the heinouſneſs of their " crime: as they had, in time of peace, ſeized Haloneſus, nor could " be prevailed upon, by all my ſollicitations, to give up either the iſland " or the garriſon. The injuries I received from the Peparethians were " never thought of; but their puniſhment commanded all your atten- " tion, as it afforded a pretence for accuſing me; although I did not " take the iſland either from them, or from you, but from the pirate " Soſtratus. If then you confeſs that you delivered it to Soſtratus, you " confeſs yourſelves guilty of ſending out pirates: if he ſeized it, " without your conſent, how have I injured you, by taking poſſeſ-

" ſion.

" ſion of it, and by rendering it a ſecure harbour? Nay, ſo great " was my regard to your ſtate, that I offered to beſtow you this " iſland: but this was not agreeable to your orators: they would not " have it accepted, but reſumed. So that, if I complied with their " directions, I proclaimed myſelf an uſurper: if I ſtill kept poſſeſ- " ſion of the place, I became ſuſpected to the people. I ſaw " through theſe artifices, and therefore propoſed to bring our differ- " ences to a judicial determination; and, if ſentence was given for " me, to preſent you with the place; if in your favour, to reſtore it " to the people. This I frequently deſired: you would not hear it: " the Peparethians ſeized the iſland. What then was I to do? " ſhould I not puniſh the violators of oaths? was I tamely to bear " ſuch an audacious inſult? if the iſland was the property of the " Peparethians, what right have the Athenians to demand it? if it " be your's, why do you not reſent their uſurpation?

" So far, in ſhort, have our animoſities been carried, that, when " I had occaſion to diſpatch ſome veſſels to the Helleſpont, I was " obliged to ſend a body of forces through the Cherſoneſus to defend " them againſt your colonies, who are authorized to attack me by " a decree of Polycrates, confirmed by the reſolutions of your coun- " cil. Nay, your general has actually invited the Byzantines to join " him, and has every-where publicly declared, that he has your in- " ſtructions to commence hoſtilities, at the firſt favourable opportu- " nity. All this could not prevail upon me to make any attempt " upon your city, or your navy, or your territories; although I " might have had ſucceſs in moſt, or even all of them. I choſe " rather to continue my ſollicitations to have our complaints ſub- " mitted to proper umpires. And which, think ye, is the fitteſt " deciſion; that of reaſon or of the ſword? Who are to be judges " in your cauſe, yourſelves or others? What can be more incon- " ſiſtent, than that the people of Athens, who compelled the Thaſſians " and Maronites to bring their pretenſions to the city of Stryma to

" a

" a judicial deciſion, ſhould yet refuſe to have their own diſputes
" with me determined in the ſame manner? particularly, as you are
" ſenſible, if the decree be againſt you, ſtill you loſe nothing; if in
" your favour, it puts you in poſſeſſion of my conqueſts.

" But what appears to me the moſt unaccountable is this: when
" I ſent you ambaſſadors, choſen from all the confederated powers,
" on purpoſe to be witneſſes of our tranſactions; when I diſcovered
" the ſincereſt intentions of entering into reaſonable and juſt engage-
" ments with you, in relation to the affairs of Greece, you even re-
" fuſed to hear theſe ambaſſadors on that head. It was then in your
" power to remove all their apprehenſions, who ſuſpected any danger
" from my deſigns; or to have openly convicted me of conſummate
" baſeneſs. This was the intereſt of the people; but the orators
" could not find their account in it; for they are a ſet of men, to
" whom (if I may believe thoſe who are acquainted with your po-
" lity) peace is war, and war is peace; as they are always ſure to
" make a property of the generals, either by aiding their deſigns, or
" by malicious proſecutions. Then they need but throw out ſome
" ſcandalous invectives againſt perſons of worth and eminence, citi-
" zens or foreigners, and they at once acquire the character of pa-
" triots, among the many. I could have eaſily ſilenced their clamours
" againſt me, by a little gold; and even have converted them into
" praiſes: but I ſhould bluſh to purchaſe your friendſhip from ſuch
" wretches. To ſuch inſolence have they proceeded upon other
" occaſions, that they even dared to diſpute my title to Amphipolis;
" which is founded, I preſume, upon reaſons beyond their power to
" invalidate: for, if it is to belong to thoſe who firſt conquered it,
" what can be juſter than our claim? Alexander, our anceſtor, was
" the original ſovereign, as appears from the golden ſtatue which he
" erected at Delphos, from the firſt fruits of the Perſian ſpoils taken
" there. But if this admits of conteſt, and it is to continue the pro-
" perty of thoſe who were laſt in poſſeſſion, it is mine by this title too;

" (for

" (for I took it from the Lacedaemonian inhabitants, who had diſ-
" poſſeſſed you :) and all cities are held either by hereditary right, or by
" the right of conqueſt. And yet you, who neither were the original
" poſſeſſors, nor are now in poſſeſſion, preſume to lay claim to this city,
" under pretence of having held it for ſome ſhort time; and this, when
" you have yourſelves given the ſtrongeſt teſtimony in my favour: for I
" frequently wrote to you upon this head, and you as often acknow-
" ledged me the rightful ſovereign; and, by the articles of our late trea-
" ty, the poſſeſſion of Amphipolis, and your alliance, were both ſecured
" to me. What title therefore can be better eſtabliſhed? It deſcended
" to us from our anceſtors; it is our's by conqueſt; and, laſtly, you
" yourſelves have acknowledged the juſtice of our pretenſions; you
" who are wont to aſſert your claim, even when it is not ſupported
" by right.

" I HAVE now laid before you the grounds of my complaints.
" Since you have been the firſt aggreſſors; ſince my gentleneſs, and
" fear of offending, have only ſerved to increaſe your injuſtice, and to
" animate you in your attempts to diſtreſs me; I muſt now take up
" arms; and I call the gods to witneſs to the juſtice of my cauſe,
" and the neceſſity of procuring for myſelf that redreſs which you
" deny me."

To have diſtinctly anſwered every article in this letter would have been extremely difficult, with ſo much force and delicacy had Philip urged all his real or pretended cauſes of complaint. The conduct of Athens, notwithſtanding all the advantages of a good cauſe, had been in many inſtances highly exceptionable; and theſe inſtances Philip knew how to diſplay to the greateſt advantage. Demoſthenes therefore, the ſtrenuous adverſary of Macedon, found himſelf obliged to exert all his addreſs againſt ſo powerful an antagoniſt. Without engaging to a formal diſcuſſion of facts, the orator applies himſelf wholly to the lively paſſions. He affects to conſider the letter as a formal

Tourr. Somm. Orat. in Epiſt.

formal declaration of war; inflames the imagination of his hearers with this idea; animates and urges them to a vigorous oppoſition; and points out the means of giving ſucceſs to their arms. He ſeemed to triumph and exult in this letter, as an avowal of thoſe iniquitous deſigns, which he had ſo frequently imputed to Philip; and with a paſſionate zeal, which hath all the appearance of ſincerity, addreſſed himſelf to the aſſembly in that ſhort oration, intitled, ON THE LETTER; which is, as it were, a recapitulation of all that he had, in former times, urged againſt the king of Macedon.

ENCOURAGED by their late ſucceſſes, and inflamed by the eloquence of their public leader, the Athenians ſeem to have quite forgotten all their indolence and ſelf-enjoyment, and, with a violent and tumultuary zeal, declared loudly for war. Generals were inſtantly nominated to head their forces, powerful fleets and armies were decreed, and ambaſſadors appointed to ſollicit the ſtates of Greece to take arms, and to raiſe up enemies againſt the Macedonian. During theſe tranſactions, Phocion arrived, and, in theſe diſpoſitions, he found his countrymen: he knew full well the real power of Philip, and the weakneſs, corruptions, and inſtability of Athens; he dreaded the zeal of Demoſthenes, which he conſidered as raſh and miſguided, and not wholly diſintereſted; he deemed it more prudent to preſerve the remains of power, which Athens now enjoyed, than by engaging in a conteſt, which though juſt and warrantable, yet could not but prove dangerous, and might involve the ſtate in ruin; and, probably, his honeſt and unſuſpecting temper might have been ſo far deceived by the profeſſions of Philip, that he imagined this prince would have contented himſelf with a bare ſuperiority of power and glory, without attempting to reduce the Greeks to a ſtate of abſolute ſubjection and dependence. Agreeably to theſe ſentiments, this illuſtrious Athenian now joined with the partizans of Macedon, and did honour to their faction, by zealouſly recommending peace and accommodation. But the preſent temper of the aſſembly was directly oppoſite to ſuch Plut. in Phocion.

counſels. "What!" cried an orator of inferior note, and diſadvantageous character, who ſought to recommend himſelf by ſeconding the inſtances of Demoſthenes, "dareſt thou, Phocion, diſſuade the "Athenians from war, when the ſword is already drawn?" Yes," replied the true diſintereſted patriot, "though in war I ſhall be thy "maſter, and in time of peace thou mayeſt perhaps prove mine." His oppoſition only ſerved to expoſe him to invectives unworthy of the integrity of his intentions: the ſentiments of Demoſthenes favoured the paſſions of his hearers, and therefore found no difficulty in prevailing. He repeated his vehement remonſtrances, as oppoſition and clamour protracted the debate; and urged the Athenians to engage Philip at the greateſt diſtance poſſible from Attica, ſo as to keep all the evils of war from their own territory. "My countrymen," ſaid Phocion, "if we muſt declare for battle, let us rather be ſolli-"citous how to gain the victory, than to determine on the ſcene of "our operations. This is the true and only means of keeping the "war at a diſtance. If we are overcome, the worſt of calamities "will be quickly at our doors."

Plut. in Phocion.

BUT, whatever opinion Phocion might entertain of the conduct of his countrymen, he was always ready to afford them his moſt zealous and faithful ſervices; and, by his valour and conduct, to contribute to the ſucceſs of their arms. Megara, where the Macedonian intereſt ſeems to have now prevailed, and to have oppreſſed the inhabitants, applied at this time to Athens, in order to be inabled to ſhake off the yoke, and particularly to defend them againſt ſome attempts which the Boeotians ſeem to have made, in order to become maſters of the city. The deputies applied to Phocion, who inſtantly prevailed on the Athenians to accept of a propoſition ſo agreeable to their preſent views. A body of troops was led by him into Megara, where they were received with joy. The partizans of Macedon retired at their appearance; and the Athenian general fortified the port of Nicaea, raiſed and ſtrengthened two new walls which ſecured the communication

Ibid.

communication with the ſea; and thus both defended the city from all attempts by land, and inabled the Athenians to throw in ſuccours, whenever any emergency might demand them.

THUS the people of Athens, in their firſt ſudden heat, acted with a vigour which ſeemed to promiſe great and illuſtrious events. Their emiſſaries were buſily employed in the ſeveral ſtates of Greece to repreſent the danger to be apprehended from the common enemy, and to invite them to an union and confederacy neceſſary for the general ſafety. Demoſthenes, and Hyperides an orator ſcarcely of inferior note, had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their zeal and abilities in theſe commiſſions, and returned to Athens with the moſt favourables hopes of powerful aſſiſtance. About this time, the former of thoſe miniſters was engaged in performing a ſervice of high importance to his country. A man named Antipho had been for ſome time conſidered as an Athenian citizen, till, by an examination of the regiſters, he was found to be really a foreigner, and was accordingly deprived of all the privileges of a native, and drove, with ſome ignominy, from the city. Inraged at his diſgrace, he went off to Philip, and, to gratify his revenge, and to recommend himſelf to a maſter who ever paid his emiſſaries with diſtinguiſhed generoſity, he propoſed to ſteal privately into Athens, and to ſet fire to the arſenal. Philip, who was neither delicate in the choice of his inſtruments, nor in the means of diſtreſſing or reducing his antagoniſts, liſtened readily to the propoſal of this hireling, and, by bribes and promiſes, encouraged him to the attempt. Antipho ſet out and arrived privately at Athens: his enterprize ſeemed eaſy to be executed: he was now ſafely lodged in the port, where all naval preparations were carrying on with vigour, and at all times could find admittance to the place, where were lodged great quantities of timber, and other materials for a fleet. But Demoſthenes happily received a timely intimation of this black deſign. He flew to the Piraeus, where he ſoon found the place of Antipho's concealment, whom he ſeized and dragged before an aſſembly of

Dem. de Coron. Sect. 72. Plut. X. Orat. Vit. Hyp.

Dem. de Coron. Sect. 42. Ulp. in loc.

Dem. de Coron. Sect. 42.

the people. Here his accuſation was treated by the friends and partizans of Macedon with contempt and ſcorn. AEſchines, in particular, inveighed againſt the whole tranſaction as tyrannical and oppreſſive, and accuſed his rival of aſſuming a power inconſiſtent with freedom, inſulting over the misfortunes of a wretched citizen, and entering violently and unwarrantably into the houſe of an innocent man, and harraſſing and oppreſſing him by his malicious and groundleſs accuſations. So great an effect had theſe clamours, that the criminal was diſmiſſed without the formality of a trial; and now departed, triumphing in his eſcape, to purſue his wicked deſign with greater ſecurity. But the auguſt court of Areopagus, whoſe particular province it was to take cognizance of all matters of treaſon againſt the ſtate, had greater and juſter attention to the information of Demoſthenes. They cauſed Antipho to be again ſeized and brought before the people; when they inſiſted that he ſhould be ſtrictly and regularly examined as to the crime laid to his charge. Torture forced from him a full confeſſion of his guilt: and ſentence of death was paſſed and executed on the wretch, who had attempted ſo infamous a ſervice to the enemy of that community, of which he claimed the honour of being a member.

Dem. de Coron. Sect. 27.

THIS event gave new credit to the party which declared for war, and poſſibly contributed to confirm the people in their preſent diſpoſitions, which were univerſally of the active and vigorous kind. At length they ſaw that formidable enemy, whoſe arms had been long accuſtomed to ſucceſs, foiled in two attempts of great importance, and principally by the counſels and arms of Athens; retiring before their general, and forced from all deſigns on Greece, to retrieve the honour of his arms in parts remote and barbarous. This then was the happy moment for purſuing their advantages, and for reducing that ambition to juſt and equitable bounds, which was now, for the firſt time, ſeverely mortified and diſappointed. Such were the airy hopes which the Athenians entertained againſt a prince, who was

ſtill

ſtill concerting his ſecret ſchemes in the very heart of Greece, and ſecuring the moſt effectual inſtruments of ſucceſs and greatneſs, in the paſſions, prejudices, and corruptions of that nation. This leading ſtate, to render the hoſtilities now meditated the more formidable and effectual, reflected ſeriouſly on the cauſes of all paſt misfortunes and diſappointments, and ſeemed reſolved to reform thoſe corruptions and abuſes, which had diſgraced their conſtitution, and weakened their power. The oppreſſion and ſevere exactions which their allies and dependent ſtates had lately complained of, and to which the neceſſity of their affairs had contributed, as well as the avarice of their commanders, naturally determined them to reflect on the neceſſity of making ſome effectual proviſion for the payment of their armies: and this as naturally determined the honeſt and faithful counſellors to reſume the conſideration of that old ſcandalous abuſe, the theatrical diſtributions. There is an oration * of Demoſthenes ſtill extant on this occaſion, in which he earneſtly urges them to a general regulation of the ſtate; points out their corruptions, with their cauſes and conſequences; and deſcribes both the antient and preſent condition of Athens; Athens uncorrupted, illuſtrious, and fortunate; and the ſame ſtate degenerated and diſgraced; with a ſpirit natural to this orator. In this addreſs no mention at all is made of Philip, poſſibly that the attention of the aſſembly might not be diſtracted and divided. And, as to the theatrical appointments, though he ſpeaks more boldly than on former occaſions, yet he ſtill preſerves on this point a great degree of caution; once more recurring to his former expedient for eluding the force of Eubulus's law, and recommending to his countrymen to accept of theſe diſtributions as a full recompence for thoſe ſervices which the ſtate might demand from their ſeveral ages and ſtations. "As to this money," ſaith he, "and the affair now immediately "propoſed to our attention, a ſpeaker may, without danger, appear "on either ſide: by condemning thoſe men who thus diſtribute and "exhauſt the public treaſures, he may gain the eſteem of thoſe who "regard

Dionyſ. Hal. Epiſt. ad Ammae. Luccheſini Not. in Arg. Orat. de Ord. Rep.

* περὶ τῆς Συνταξ.

" regard this cuſtom as highly injurious to the ſtate; or by aſſenting " and encouraging theſe diſtributions, he may recommend himſelf to " the favour of the inferior and poorer part of the community. The " general intereſt of their country is conſidered by neither, but their " approbation or condemnation of this cuſtom influenced intirely by " their ſeveral circumſtances of affluence or indigence. I, on my part, " ſhall neither oppoſe nor recommend it. But this I would intreat " you maturely and ſeriouſly to conſider, that the money is of lit- " tle moment; the cuſtom which hath ariſen from thence of the " greateſt conſequence. If then theſe diſtributions are received as a " reward for thoſe acts of duty you owe the ſtate, far from injuring, " you really perform the moſt eſſential ſervice both to your country " and to yourſelves; but if a public entertainment, or any other like " pretence, may ſerve for demanding theſe ſums, and the bare men- " tion of any farther conditions is rejected with impatience; not- " withſtanding all your regulations, how ſpecious, how promiſing " ſoever, you will find yourſelves inevitably expoſed to all the conſe- " quences of miſconduct.

" THIS I now declare as my opinion, (let me not be interrupted " by clamour and oppoſition; but hear, and then determine) that, as " we are now convened about receiving theſe appointments, ſo ſhould " an aſſembly be called, to conſider of a general regulation of the " community, and particularly of a proviſion for our military affairs; " and that every citizen ſhould diſcover not only a juſt attention to all " uſeful meaſures, but a juſt alacrity to carry them into execution; " that ſo, my countrymen, our hopes of good fortune may depend " upon ourſelves, inſtead of amuſing ourſelves with reports of this or " that man's exploits. Let all the public treaſures, all the funds for " which private fortunes are now ſo uſeleſſly exhauſted, all thoſe " reſources which our allies afford, be equitably diſtributed, and " effectually applied. Let the ſoldier conſider his portion as the full " reward of his ſervices in the field; let him, who hath paſſed the

" age

" age of military duty, accept of his part as a full recompence for " his ſervices in the adminiſtration of juſtice. Let the duties of the " field be performed by yourſelves, duties too important to be in- " truſted to other hands. Let your armies be compoſed of citizens: " thus let them be paid and provided; thus ſhall they go on with " vigour and ſucceſs; and thus ſhall your general really command his " troops. Then, my countrymen, our whole occupation ſhall no " longer be to conduct the trials of our officers; nor the reſult of all " our armaments no more than this ſhort form, *Such a man, the* " *ſon of ſuch a man, hath brought an impeachment againſt ſuch a perſon.*

THE reſult of the preſent debate was this; that ſcandalous law of Eubulus, which denounced death againſt any perſon who ſhould propoſe the alienation of the theatrical appointments, was at length repealed: and the people, convinced, though late, of the neceſſity of ſuch a regulation, conſented to part with that fatal allurement, by which they had been ſo long *limed*, to uſe the expreſſion of * Demades, and to apply thoſe public treaſures to the equipment of their navies, and the maintenance of their armies, which had, till now, even in the moſt perilous times, been laviſhed on poets, players, and muſicians.

Dionyſ. Epiſt. ad Ammae.

* In Plut. Quaeſt. Platon. p. 1011.

SUCH were the diſpoſitions of the Athenians, when the king of Macedon led his troops towards Scythia. The young prince Alexander, who, from the time that Philip firſt marched againſt Byzantium, had been intruſted with the adminiſtration of his government, had, in the abſence of his father, made an expedition againſt the Medareans, a people of Thrace, ſubjects of Macedon, who had revolted from their allegiance. Their chief town he ſtormed, diſperſed the barbarous inhabitants, in whoſe room he eſtabliſhed a colony compoſed of different nations; and ordered, for the future, that the town ſhould be called Alexandropolis; ſo early had he conceived a paſſion for immortalizing his name. And now the victorious young

Plut. in Alex.

prince

prince marched at the head of all the noble youth of Macedon, his companions and officers, to join his father.

Juſtin. L. 9. C. 2.

As he approached the frontiers of the king of Scythia, Philip diſpatched an herald, who was commiſſioned to inform that prince, that the king of Macedon, when engaged in the ſiege of Byzantium, had made a vow to Hercules, that he would erect a brazen ſtatue to the honour of his divinity, on the opening of the Danube. This vow he now prepared to perform, and hoped, that his religious intentions would meet with no oppoſition on the part of the Scythians. To this inſidious overture, which ſeems to be an argument that the original pretence for this expedition was not extremely well founded, Atheas coldly anſwered, that "Philip, if he pleaſed, might ſend the "ſtatue to him, which he ſhould take care to erect in the appointed "place, and engage, beſides, for its ſecurity and continuance. But "that, if it was fixed there without the concurrence of the Scythians, "he could not give any aſſurance but that they might melt it down, in "order to point their ſpears and arrows." This anſwer convinced Philip, that Atheas was apprized of his real intentions; and therefore he now prepared to enter Scythia in an hoſtile manner.

The people of this country were poor and warlike. They had formerly puſhed their conqueſts to a conſiderable extent; but the conquerors of other nations had never been able to eſtabliſh their power in Scythia. An extraordinary valour, robuſt and hardy conſtitutions, and a frugality almoſt incredible, in a great meaſure ſupplied thoſe defects, under which they laboured from a total ignorance of military diſcipline. At firſt ſome ſkirmiſhes and rencounters aroſe between ſeveral detached parties of the two nations, in which the Scythians had the advantage. Some of the Macedonians were made priſoners, among which number was Iſmenias, eminent and celebrated through Greece, for his performance on the flute. Such an artiſt was ſure to be received at the court of Macedon with favour

Plut. in Apophth.

and

and diſtinction. The polite arts had long been the glory of Greece; and Philip, whoſe earlieſt ambition, as hath been already obſerved, was to make his kingdom conſidered as a member of that body, juſtly conceived it one effectual method to introduce thoſe arts into Macedon, which had ever been one great diſtinction between the Grecian and Barbarian world. Eloquence, which he really poſſeſſed, he is ſaid to have cultivated and diſplayed even to a degree of extravagance and pedantry; and in muſic he affected a taſte and ſkill much beyond what he really poſſeſſed, (although on one occaſion, when his ſon, who had the like paſſion, ſeemed to take a pleaſure in his muſical performance, he aſked with contempt, whether he was not aſhamed to perform ſo well.) With this Iſmenias he is ſaid once to have been engaged in diſcourſe on a piece of muſic, in which he was betrayed into ſome warmth of oppoſition to the ſentiments of ſo compleat a maſter: "Heaven forbid, great Sir," replied the artiſt with ſpirit and politeneſs, "that you ſhould be ſo well acquainted with "theſe matters as we." Plut. in Alex. Plut. in Apophth. Ibid.

BUT Iſmenias was now in the hands of a people, from whom his accompliſhments could command no eſteem. His fame, however, induced the king of Scythia to hear his performance on the flute: but here his muſic was received without pleaſure or applauſe. Atheas, with a barbarous inſenſibility, obſerved, "That, to his ear, the neigh- "ing of his mare was much more agreeable." Ibid.

AT length the armies of the two nations met in the open field, and prepared for a general engagement. Philip was not inclined to expoſe his Macedonians to the brutal ferocity of their enemy; and therefore formed his firſt line intirely of thoſe auxiliaries which attended him, archers, ſlingers, and ſuch light-armed forces. His phalanx he drew up at the rear of theſe, with their pikes ſo pointed, as to threaten death to thoſe who ſhould retreat. The auxiliaries, thus incloſed between the enemy and this no leſs formidable body, Frontin. L. 2. C. 8. Str. 14.

were obliged to exert the utmoſt efforts of vigour and bravery; and, at length, broke the Scythian army, after an obſtinate reſiſtance, and great ſlaughter both on one part and the other. The victory was compleat; and more than twenty thouſand priſoners of all ages and ſexes were taken on the field of battle. It is well known, that the wives and children of the Scythians attended them to war; that they had no general but their king; no god but their ſword, which was literally the object of their adoration; and no country or habitation but the ſpot on which they occaſionally incamped. The Macedonians gained a large booty, all of a warlike kind. Gold, ſilver, coſtly vaſes, rich ſtuffs, and all the inſtruments of luxury and magnificence, were intirely unknown in this country. The ſpoil conſiſted wholly of arms, chariots, and twenty thouſand mares, which were deſtined to furniſh the magnificent ſtuds of Pella, where, we are informed by * Strabo, Philip kept no leſs than thirty thouſand mares and three hundred ſtallions.

Juſt. L. 9. C. 2.

Oliv. L. 14. p. 295.

Juſt. ut ſupra.

* L. 16. p. 752.

THIS booty, ſuch as it was, tempted the Triballi, a barbarous people deſcended from the ſame origin with the Illyrians and Paeonians, and whoſe manners differed little from thoſe of Scythia: they had, in appearance, ſubmitted to Philip, acknowledged themſelves the ſubjects of Macedon, and had allowed that prince a peaceable paſſage through their country, when he firſt marched againſt Scythia. But now, when he was returning to Macedon, and marching through the defiles of the Moeſian mountains, they boldly oppoſed his progreſs, and inſiſted on a ſhare of his booty. As the Macedonians had not ſuſpected the leaſt oppoſition from the Triballi, they marched on ſecurely: the demand of the Triballi confounded them, and the attack, which immediately ſucceeded it, they were totally unprepared to repel. Laden with booty, incumbered by their baggage, and incloſed in a narrow and diſadvantageous ſituation, they could neither aſſiſt their fellows, nor defend themſelves: ſo that this army, which had ſo often been victorious, was now in danger of periſhing without glory,

Juſt. L. 9. C. 3.

glory, without the opportunity of exerting their valour, and by the hands of an enemy contemptible, and unworthy of their ſwords. To increaſe the confuſion, certain mercenary Greeks, who were now in the army of Philip, made the ſame demand with the Triballi, and drew their ſwords to ſupport it. In this imminent diſtreſs, Philip ruſhed into the heat of all the tumult, and, where the conteſt was moſt violent, fought for a long time with extraordinary valour. At length his horſe ſunk under him; and the ſame weapon, which pierced the beaſt, wounded the rider alſo dangerouſly in the thigh, who now lay ſenſeleſs on the earth, ſurrounded by the enemy. The young prince Alexander, who was alſo, on this occaſion, diſtinguiſhing himſelf by acts of valour, flew, with the nobleſt and braveſt of his attendants, to the reſcue of his father. He himſelf covered him with his ſhield; the enemy was driven back, and the king conveyed ſafely from the tumult. His danger inſpired the Macedonians with all the fury of revenge, ſo that the Triballi were no longer able to ſuſtain their attack. They fled and diſperſed; but the confuſion of the Macedonians gave them an opportunity of carrying off the greateſt part of the booty.

Curt. L. 8. C. 1.

PHILIP's wound was attended by no other ill conſequence but a lameneſs, with which he continued to be affected; an inconvenience which, it is pretended, he bore with great impatience; and that Alexander, on this occaſion, made that famous anſwer to his father: "How can you, Sir, be diſpleaſed at an accident, which, at every "ſtep you take, recalls your valour to remembrance?"

Plut. de fort. Alex. Orat. 1. p. 331.

THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE AND REIGN OF *PHILIP* KING of MACEDON.

BOOK THE FIFTH.

BOOK V. SECTION I.

CONTENTS.

INTRIGUES and practices in Greece, during the course of the Scythian expedition.—Philip projects a scheme for a new religious war.—Antient history of Cirrha.—AEschines and his collegues sent to the Amphictyonic council.—The Athenians give umbrage to Thebes.—Threatened with the resentment of the council.—AEschines engaged in a contest with a citizen of Amphissa.—His speech.—Commotions in the council.—Resolutions against the sacrilegious usurpation of the Amphissaeans,—who violently oppose the execution of them.—Cottyphus assembles another council.—The result of their deliberations.—AEschines returns to Athens.—His reception.—The remonstrances of Demosthenes.—Their effect.—War declared by the Amphictyons against the Locrians of Amphissa.—Conduct of Cottyphus.—A treaty made with the Locrians.—They violate it.—New decree of the Amphictyons.—The execution of it again opposed by the Locrians.—The partizans of Philip take occasion to propose him as leader of the Amphictyonic army.—The decree by which Philip is invested with this authority.—Variously received in Greece.—At Athens the people

are

are confounded with ſuperſtitious fears.—Phocion's ſevere application of an oracle.—Demoſthenes accuſes the Pythian prieſteſs of philippizing.—*Philip ſets ſail for Greece.—Is oppoſed by the Athenian fleet.—His ſtratagem.—Remarkable inſtance of Athenian politeneſs.—Philip enters Greece.—He ſummoneth the ſtates of Greece to attend his ſtandard.—Jealouſy of Thebes.—Philip's letter to the Peloponneſians.—The diſpoſitions of Thebes,—of Sparta,—of Athens.—The Athenians ſend aſſiſtance to the Amphiſſaeans.—Progreſs of Philip's army.—The Athenians in confuſion. Send to demand a truce.—League formed in favour of Athens.—The Thebans not inclined to unite either with Philip or the Athenians.—Philip's artifice to prevent an union between Thebes and Athens.—Is defeated by Demoſthenes.—The Thebans ſtill irreſolute.—Alarm the Athenians by their letter to Philip.—The Athenians renew their applications to Philip for a ceſſation of arms.—Philip's letter to the Athenians,—to the Thebans.—He ſeizes Elataea.*

BOOK

THE

LIFE and REIGN

OF

PHILIP King of MACEDON.

BOOK the FIFTH.

SECTION I.

IN theſe diſtant expeditions, in which Philip had been now engaged, and which apparently diverted his attention from the affairs of Greece, the great objects of his ambition were ever preſent to his mind, the ſprings which moved and actuated all his conduct. His creatures and partizans were ſtill buſily employed to facilitate the final ſubjection of all the Grecian ſtates, by the ſecret power of intrigue; while their maſter was engaged in retrieving the glory of his arms, which the efforts of the Athenians, directed by the abilities of Phocion, had contributed in ſome degree to fully. In effect, the hoſtilities of this people, even

when conducted by weak and daſtardly commanders, and defeated by the ſuperior vigour and abilities of Philip, yet, (if we may believe * Demoſthenes) greatly diſtreſſed and harraſſed this prince. Notwithſtanding all his application to maritime affairs, Macedon could not yet boaſt ſo great a naval power as that of Athens. By this means, the trade and commerce of his ſubjects had been conſiderably interrupted; and the enemy frequently inriched by the ſpoils of his merchants, who were ever falling a prey to their ſhips of war.

* de Coron. Sect. 48.

THE ſubjection of this people was therefore abſolutely neceſſary to the ſchemes of his ambition; but a fair and popular pretence was as neceſſary to juſtify the attempt, and to aſſure its ſucceſs. The naval ſuperiority of Athens ſecured them from any invaſion by ſea; and, without the abſolute concurrence of the Thebans and Theſſalians, no attack could be made by land, where theſe people ſerved as a ſort of barriers to Attica. Any open violence, unwarranted by ſome ſpecious reaſons; any direct infraction of a treaty which ſtill formally ſubſiſted; could not fail to alarm theſe people, who were now apparently jealous and diſſatisfied at the ſtill increaſing power of Macedon; and might determine them to riſe up at once, and oppoſe Philip's entrance into Greece. With people thus diſpoſed, no private cauſe of quarrel, no complaint by which Macedon alone might be affected, could have any weight to induce them to unite their arms with an ally, to whom they, by this time convinced of his inſincerity, were no longer bound by inclination. This prince therefore determined, with a true and conſummate policy, to find out ſuch a cauſe to juſtify his arms, as might influence all the ſtates of Greece; and to appear, as if he only fulfilled his engagements, and aſſerted the rights of his allies and confederates, while he really gratified his own ambition and revenge. An affected regard to religion had at firſt gained him admiſſion into Greece; to the ſame pretence he now reſolved to have recourſe; and, by the happy expedient of a religious quarrel, to effectuate

ſectuate thoſe ſchemes of greatneſs and power, which he had hitherto conducted with unwearied vigour. The chief inſtruments of his deſigns, if we may rely on the repreſentations of * Demoſthenes, he choſe at Athens, the place where he was moſt openly and avowedly oppoſed, and where, of conſequence, he could be leaſt ſuſpected of finding aſſiſtance. Agents thus choſen might ſecurely carry on their intrigues, and raiſe diſorders, whoſe tendency they themſelves might not perceive in its full extent; and whoſe ſecret ſprings muſt lie concealed from the Greeks, who could not readily be perſuaded, that the actions of Athenian citizens could poſſibly be dictated by Philip, or calculated to ſerve his purpoſes.

* de Coron. Sect. 48.

THESE, we are told, were the ſentiments of this prince, and that his gold was therefore now liberally diſperſed at Athens, to animate the induſtry of a corrupted faction; by whoſe intrigues, aſſiſted by the unſuſpecting ſecurity of the people, ever ready to forget their danger, the moment that their enemy was removed to any diſtance, AEſchines, Diognetus, Midias, and Thraſicles, all favourers and partizans of the Macedonian, were choſen the repreſentatives and deputies of Athens in the great council of the Amphictyons. In theſe auguſt characters thoſe men repaired to Delphi, where, immediately after their arrival, Diognetus and Midias fell ſick; or, at leaſt, pretended ſickneſs, as AEſchines was, by his abilities, the fitteſt inſtrument of deſigns which they had all concerted; who, by this means, found himſelf poſſeſſed, in effect, of the whole management of the deputation, and left at full liberty to ſerve the intereſts of a maſter, to whom he had baſely ſold his country.

Sect. 49.

AEſchin. in Ctef. Sect. 38.

IT cannot be denied, that too much honour is ſometimes paid to the policy of princes, by aſcribing thoſe events to their intrigues and machinations which are oftentimes wholly fortuitous. But Philip was the prince of all others, of whoſe deſigns we may moſt ſafely judge by appearances. His reſtleſs and turbulent ambition, his well-known

known vigilance, ſagacity, and penetration, gave weight to the repreſentations of Demoſthenes, even when the facts were recent, and might have been ſtrictly ſcrutinized, and examined in all their circumſtances. And we, of theſe later ages, may perhaps ſafely regard thoſe repreſentations, as ſomething more than the artifices of party; and, not without reaſon, aſcribe thoſe events to intrigue and deſign, which are now to be explained; and which, though at firſt ſeemingly inconſiderable, yet regularly and uniformly wrought the great purpoſes of Philip, and, in the end, produced the total ſubverſion of liberty and Greece.

Vid. Hiſt. de l'Acad. d'Inſc. Vol. 5. p. 60. Memoires, Vol. 7. p. 201.

BUT it is here previouſly neceſſary to engage the attention of the reader to a part of the antient hiſtory of Greece, which hath exerciſed the learned, in order to clear up the difficulties with which it appears to be embarraſſed, but which the preſent purpoſe requires to be only related briefly.

BETWEEN the town of Delphi and the ſea, was a certain diſtrict, called the Cirrhaean plain, which, in antient times, had been poſſeſſed by the people of Cirrha, a town upon the gulph of Corinth; and by the Acragallidae, a neighbouring people of Phocis. Cirrha, by the conveniency of its harbour, ſoon became the ſeat of affluence, which, of conſequence, inſpired the inhabitants with exalted ideas of their own importance. Their neighbours they treated with contempt, and ſometimes oppreſſed by their tyranny: in defiance of the order of the Amphictyons, which exempted all thoſe from duties and taxes whom religion brought to Delphi; they exacted conſiderable ſums for the uſe of their port, both from Greeks and ſtrangers. Not contented with theſe means of inriching themſelves, they entered with fire and ſword into the adjacent diſtricts, violently ſeized ſome lands belonging to the temple of Apollo, profaned and pillaged the temple itſelf, and inſulted and abuſed the Amphictyons, who attempted, by their authority, to reſtrain theſe outrages. Such enormous crimes could not

AEſchin. in Ctef. Sect. 36.

Strab. L. 9. p. 418.

Pauſ. in Phoc. AEſchin. in Ctef. Sect. 36.

not but render them an object of horror to Greece in those days of simplicity and religion; which was considerably increased by the denunciations of the oracle, which uttered the severest sentence against those sacrilegious wretches, and commanded all those, who approached the sacred shrine, to exterminate them with fire and sword. On this occasion, Solon, the Athenian legislator, zealous for the honour of religion, called loudly on the Amphictyons to execute the commands, and assert the rights, of Apollo; and, by his persuasion, the council engaged in a war against the delinquents of Cirrha. Their forces were collected, under the conduct of Eurylochus the Thessalian, according to Strabo, Plutarch, and other writers; or Clysthenes the Sicyonian, as Pausanias asserts. Alcmaeon, an Athenian, commanded the forces of that state, as † Plutarch informs us, from the antient register of Delphi; and was attended by Solon himself, who appeared in the camp to animate the soldiers, and direct the whole expedition by his sage counsels.

Plut. in Solon.

Strab. L. 9. p. 418. Plut. in Sol. Polyaenus, L. 6. C. 13. Paus. in Phoc. † in Solon.

THE city of Cirrha was closely invested and pressed by a vigorous siege. All the violence of a religious zeal was exerted against the devoted enemies of heaven; who, on their part, made an obstinate defence to prevent their total extirpation. Thus was the war protracted to a considerable length; and the besiegers, after a long series of almost ten years, notwithstanding all their art and valour, notwithstanding their implicit obedience to the dictates of Apollo, who vouchsafed to direct them in the course of their expedition, at last found the success of the siege doubtful and precarious. To the oracle they had again recourse, to be informed of the final issue of this tedious quarrel; and to obtain some declaration which might invigorate their drooping courage. The answer, as reported by AEschines and Pausanias, with some small difference of expression, but the same in sense and real purport, was delivered in the following manner:

Callisthenes in Athenaeo.

AEschin. in Ctes. Sect. 36. Paus. in Phoc.

Still

Still ſhall thoſe tow'rs their antient pride maintain;
Nor force nor valour e'er that rampart gain;
'Till Amphytritè, queen of azure waves,
The hallow'd lands of ſov'reign Phoebus laves;
'Till round his ſeat her threat'ning ſurges roar,
And burſt tumultuous on the ſacred ſhore.

This anſwer did not contribute to leſſen the perplexity of the Amphictyons, as it was not eaſy to conceive how thoſe lands, which ſurrounded the temple, and were conſidered as the portion of the god, could poſſibly be waſhed by the ſea, from which they were at a conſiderable diſtance. On the other hand, it ſerved to elevate the people of Cirrha, who regarded it as a formal declaration that their city was impregnable. But, unhappily for them, the ſagacity of Solon relieved the beſiegers from their diſtreſs. He adviſed them to declare all the lands of Cirrha as conſecrated to Apollo, that ſo the hallowed territory might really extend to the ſhore, and be really waſhed by the ſea. The expedient was approved of; and now the only queſtion was, how they might accelerate the conqueſt of a city, which heaven had, as it were, delivered into their power. The means for this purpoſe were alſo ſuggeſted by Solon. He found out a private aqueduct, which conveyed a conſiderable quantity of water into Cirrha. A branch of the river Pliſtus, which was found to be the ſource of this ſupply, he turned off into a baſon provided for its reception, and there impregnated it with the roots of hellebore. The river, thus endued with all the purgative quality of this plant, he again reſtored to its antient channel. The beſieged, who, in this interval, had laboured under many difficulties from the want of their uſual ſupply, and were now delighted to find their river once more running through their city, drank of theſe medicated waters with the utmoſt eagerneſs, which baffled all their valour, and obliged them to deſert their poſts. In theſe circumſtances, the beſiegers made a general aſſault, and, with eaſe, became maſters of

[a] AEſchin. in Ctef. Sect. 36. Paul. in Phoc.

[b] Ibid.

a town which had ſo long braved all their efforts. Cirrha was pillaged, burnt, and deſtroyed; and thoſe of its inhabitants, whom the ſword had ſpared, were reduced to ſlavery. Their port was demoliſhed, their territory dedicated to the god, and all the Amphictyons engaged, by a moſt ſolemn oath, never to cultivate this diſtrict, never to ſuffer it to be cultivated; but to aſſiſt the deity, and ſupport the rights and privileges of the conſecrated land, with all their power. To render this obligation ſtill more awful, the following dreadful imprecations were added: "If any people, city, community, or "private perſons, ſhall preſume to violate this oath, may they be "devoted to the vengeance of Apollo, Diana, Latona, and Minerva "the provident! May their lands never produce their fruits! May "their wives, inſtead of a natural offspring, bring forth horrid mon-"ſters! May their herds be curſed with unnatural barrenneſs! May "all their attempts in war, all their tranſactions in peace, be for "ever blaſted and defeated! May total ruin for ever purſue them, "their families, and their deſcendants! and may they never appeaſe the "offended deities, Apollo, Diana, Latona, and Minerva! but may "all their ſacrifices and offerings be for ever rejected." AEſch. in Cteſ. Sect. 361.

THE determination of the Amphictyons was at firſt obſerved with the attention uſually paid to all new regulations, till time began, by degrees, to wear off the terror of theſe imprecations. A ſuperſtition, which tended to deprive mankind of their natural rights, of the comforts and neceſſaries of life, and the rewards of human induſtry, was ſoon obliged to yield to temporal convenience. At firſt, the port of Cirrha was reſtored, as the ſervice of the god itſelf ſeemed to require, that ſuch a proviſion ſhould be made for the reception of thoſe votaries who viſited his temple. At length the Locrians, who inhabited Amphiſſa, poſſeſſed themſelves of the conſecrated land, exacted all the antient duties from thoſe to whom the port afforded an accommodation, which they repaired and kept in order, without regard to the decrees and reſolutions of old times, which were now Pauſan. in Phoc. AEſchin. in Cteſ. Sect. 37.

generally

generally conſidered as obſolete and fabulous. A long and peaceable poſſeſſion ſeemed to have obliterated all remembrance of their uſurpation, which the Greeks juſtly muſt have regarded as a common advantage, and paid, without repining, for the convenience of an harbour that rendered their approach to Delphi ſecure and eaſy.

SUCH was the ſituation of affairs, when AEſchines and his collegues appeared in the council of the Amphictyons; and ſuch, probably, might they have for ever remained, had not craft and policy found it convenient to aſſume the ſemblance of religion, and to veil their black deſigns under an affectation of piety and holy zeal. But now AEſchines was duly inſtructed and prepared to tranſact his maſter's buſineſs. Conteſts and diſputes were to be raiſed among the Greeks; and care was taken, that the ſeeds ſhould be already ſown. As the Amphictyons were at this time employed in repairing the temple, and replacing the offerings which the Phocians had removed in the late ſacred war, certain golden ſhields were ſent from Athens, inſcribed with the following ſentence: TAKEN BY THE ATHENIANS FROM THE MEDES AND THEBANS, WHEN THEY FOUGHT AGAINST GREECE. Theſe were hung up in the temple before the regular conſecration of the offerings, which was accounted a ſort of profanation; nor could it be expected, but that the Thebans muſt be highly provoked by this invidious memorial of their old diſgrace. It was immediately whiſpered, that the Amphiſſaeans, out of their regard to Thebes, had determined to move the council, that a fine of fifty talents ſhould be impoſed on the people of Athens, for thus prematurely depoſiting their offering. At this report the Athenian deputies expreſſed the utmoſt aſtoniſhment and concern; and AEſchines, who was left ſolely to manage the affairs of his ſtate, was earneſtly preſſed by his collegues to exert himſelf on this occaſion.

AEſch. in Ctef. Sect. 38.

THIS partizan now ruſhes into the aſſembly of the Amphictyons, and, with all the appearance of a true patriot zeal, begins a formal

defence

defence of the Athenians, before any accuſation had been regularly brought againſt them. Here he is immediately interrupted by a citizen of Amphiſſa, who, with an impatience and reſentment which might have been intirely the effect of art and deſign, inveighs loudly againſt Athens: "Ye Grecians," ſaith he, "had ye the leaſt ſhare of "wiſdom, ye could not ſuffer the very name of the Athenian people "to be mentioned at this time, but muſt drive them from the temple, "as accurſed and devoted wretches, who, in defiance of all laws di-"vine and human, preſumed to ſupport the ſacrilege of the Phocians, "and to aſſociate with theſe execrable profaners of Apollo, themſelves "no leſs execrable and profane."

Dem. pro Coron. Sect. 48.

AEſchin. in Ctef. Sect. 38.

AESCHINES had now a fair opportunity of raiſing commotions, by appearing only intereſted for his country, and zealous for the glory and defence of Athens. With a paſſionate warmth, which is frequently the effect of artifice as well as that of real patriotiſm, and which is moſt likely to deceive, and more particularly in popular aſſemblies, by being conſidered as the indication of ſincerity, and the overflowings of an heart honeſtly affected, this maſter of intrigue now addreſſed himſelf to the aſſembly in the following manner:

"WITH horror and indignation do I hear this opprobrious treatment "of a people renowned and dignified by great and illuſtrious actions; "the acknowledged guardians and protectors of Grecian liberty. "Who art thou, abandoned wretch, who thus preſumeſt to vent thy "hateful malice againſt this illuſtrious people? Haſt thou not heard, "art thou inſenſible of, our merit, rude and brutal as thou art? Or, "What demon hath poſſeſſed thy mind, and driven thee to this extrava-"gance? But ſay, ye Grecians, Shall men, who never knew the ex-"alted pleaſures of renown and glory, be ſuffered to tear from us the "venerable memorials of thoſe virtues which our anceſtors ſo nobly, "ſo greatly, diſplayed? Shall men, themſelves polluted by ſacrilege, "devoted to deſtruction by the moſt awful denunciations of ven-

AEſchin. in Ctef. Sect. 38.

" geance, preſume to accuſe the Athenians of profanation? Look
" down, ye reverend guardians of religion, defenders of the rights
" of Apollo; look down on that plain which there lies before you;
" thoſe lands from antient times dedicated to the god. Behold how
" they are now occupied and cultivated by the Amphiſſaeans: ſee
" what buildings they have there erected. Behold that port, which
" the religion of our anceſtors conſigned to deſolation, is now, by
" thoſe impious men, rebuilt and fortified. You ſee yourſelves, and
" need not any teſtimony from me, that they have exacted duties,
" and raiſed large ſums of wealth, from that accurſed harbour. Let
" me intreat your attention, while the oracle, the awful mandate of
" Apollo, is recited, which firſt determined the fate of this diſtrict.
" You hear the voice of heaven claiming and hallowing theſe lands.
" Hear now the ſolemn oath and dreadful imprecation of our an-
" ceſtors. Thus did theſe pious Greeks engage to aſſert the rights,
" and to defend the cauſe, of the god. Shall their poſterity forget
" thoſe religious engagements? Shall thoſe tremendous curſes be ſu-
" pinely diſregarded, or impiouſly braved and deſpiſed, in this aſſembly?
" For myſelf, for my country, for my children, for my family, I here
" declare, that we will aſſiſt the deity, and maintain the privileges of
" the conſecrated land: and, purſuant to the tenor of this oath, with
" all our ſtrongeſt efforts, with all the powers of ſoul and body, diſ-
" charge that ſacred duty which we owe to heaven. Do you, ye
" Grecians, determine as you pleaſe. Your religious rites are prepared;
" your victims ſtand before the altars; you are preparing to offer up
" your ſolemn prayers, for bleſſings on yourſelves, and on your coun-
" tries. But oh! conſider with what voice, with what heart, with
" what front, with what confidence, can you breathe out your peti-
" tions, if you ſuffer thoſe ſacrilegious men, whom you have thus de-
" voted and accurſed, to eſcape with impunity. The terrible impre-
" cation is not conceived in dark or doubtful terms. No; the curſe
" extends not only to theſe impious profaners, but to all thoſe who
" ſuffer their profanation to paſs unrevenged. Hear the very terms.

Theſe

" Theſe are the words with which the awful and affecting form is " cloſed: *May thoſe who permit them to go unpuniſhed, never offer up an* " *acceptable ſacrifice to* Apollo, Diana, Latona, *and* Minerva *the provi-* " *dent; but may all their offerings and religious rites be for ever re-* " *jected and abhorred!*"

HAVING thus harangued the Amphictyons, AEſchines retired, and gave the creatures of Macedon an opportunity of fomenting thoſe diſorders which were now excited. A general murmur firſt roſe in the aſſembly, which was inſtantly ſucceeded by violent tumult and confuſion. The men, who were intruſted with the ſecret of the whole tranſaction, and many honeſt and undeſigning members of the council, whoſe real regard to the religion of their country was now alarmed and offended, declared loudly for the intereſts of heaven, and the neceſſity of ſupporting the rights of Apollo. The Amphiſſaeans, on their part, had ſtrenuous advocates, prompted by intereſt or policy; and the different parties maintained the conteſt with equal heat and violence, for the greateſt part of that day. At length the ſentiments of religion prevailed, and proclamation was made to this effect: " That all inhabitants of Delphi, both ſlaves and freemen, " who were above the age of ſixteen, ſhould, the next morning, re- " pair with ſpades, mattocks, and axes, to the Thytaeum, a place adja- " cent to the Cirrhaean plains." And, by a ſecond proclamation, all the hieromnemons and pylagorae were injoined to aſſemble at the ſame place, in order to aſſiſt the god, and defend the conſecrated ground: and it was declared, that the repreſentatives of any ſtate, who ſhould abſent themſelves on this occaſion, were to be excluded from the temple, and declared obnoxious to the vengeance denounced by the imprecation.

AEſchin. in Cteſ. Sect. 39.

Ibid.

EARLY the next morning the Amphictyons, and all the inhabitants of Delphi, appeared at the place appointed by the proclamation, and from thence proceeded to the Cirrhaean plain. Full of a religious fervor, and, probably, ſtill farther inflamed by ſome deſigning leaders,

who could well aſſume the appearance of zeal and piety, and were well acquainted with the influence and power of ſuch an appearance, theſe men fell inſtantly to demoliſhing, burning, and deſtroying the harbour, the houſes, and all the effects and poſſeſſions which the labour and induſtry of the Amphiſſaeans had produced; and were now preparing to retire, with the complacency and ſatisfaction of men conſcious of having aſſerted the cauſe of heaven; when the inhabitants of Amphiſſa, who were but ſixty ſtadia diſtant from Delphi, appeared in arms to defend their property, and furiouſly attacked the Delphians. Some of the venerable body of the Amphictyons became their priſoners, and all the others were obliged to provide for their ſecurity, by a precipitate retreat into the town.

AEſchin. in Ctef. Sect. 39.

THIS action of the Amphiſſaeans was conſidered as an heinous aggravation of their impiety, and greatly increaſed the general clamour and diſorder. The next morning Cottyphus, the preſident of the Amphictyonic council, ſummoned an aſſembly compoſed not only of the uſual repreſentatives of the ſeveral ſtates, but alſo of all the Greeks who came to offer ſacrifices, or to conſult the oracle, who were all conſidered as guardians of the temple, and intitled to ſhare in the tranſactions of the council. In this aſſembly, where the numbers muſt greatly have increaſed the tumult, the ſevereſt invectives were uttered againſt the Amphiſſaeans, and much praiſe of the dignity and piety of Athens. The reſult of their deliberations was to enter into a reſolution, that the hieromnemons ſhould aſſemble at a time appointed, previous to the next ordinary convention at Thermopylae, with a decree prepared in due form, ſpecifying the puniſhment to be inflicted on the Amphiſſaeans, for their crimes committed againſt the god, the conſecrated land, and the Amphictyons.

Sect. 40.

AESCHINES now returned with his collegues to Athens, where he made a full relation of his conduct to the aſſembly, and produced the decrees and reſolutions of the Amphictyonic council. The people, who,

who, in general, ſaw nothing more in theſe tranſactions than an extraordinary zeal and attention to religion, applauded their deputies, and breathed the utmoſt indignation at the impiety of the Amphiſſaeans. But Demoſthenes, who juſtly dreaded the conſequences of a religious quarrel, and, perhaps, ſaw through the whole deſign, and all the ſecret ſprings by which theſe commotions were raiſed and actuated, loudly expreſſed his diſſatisfaction; and endeavoured to inſpire the aſſembly of the people with ſuſpicions of the integrity of their Amphictyons, and with diſpleaſure at their conduct, in embroiling the ſtates of Greece in an unſeaſonable quarrel, founded on obſolete traditions, and calculated to weaken and diſunite them, and to give the common enemy an opportunity of eſtabliſhing his power on their diviſions. But the cauſe of religion was fair and popular, and had greater influence on the multitude than his remonſtrances, which were conſidered as the mere effect of envy and private pique, and which his rival orator took care to repreſent as the conſequence of a ſecret engagement with the Amphiſſaeans, by which they bound themſelves to pay his twenty minae yearly, beſides one thouſand drachmae in hand, to oblige him to ſupport their intereſt at Athens.

Demoſ. pro Ctef. Sect. 47. AEſchin. in Ctef. Sect. 40.

Sect. 37.

In the ſenate Demoſthenes was more favourably received, and heard with a juſter attention. There, political motives had a greater weight; and the conſequences of every meaſure were conſidered with greater caution and temper. Here, then, the repreſentations of this vigilant and ſagacious ſtateſman had their due effect. He prevailed to have a decree paſſed, (to which, either the deference due to the opinion of the ſenate, or, as AEſchines repreſents it, the artifice of Demoſthenes in taking the opportunity of a thin aſſembly, procured the confirmation of the people) to the following effect:

Sect. 40.

"RESOLVED, That all ſuch perſons who ſhall be deputed by "the people of Athens, as their hieromnemons and pylagorae, ſhall "hereafter

"hereafter repair to the general council of the Amphictyons at the times "ſtated and appointed by our anceſtors: and that the ſaid perſons "ſhall not have any intercourſe with the extraordinary council now "to be convened; nor ſhare in their debates, proceedings, decrees, "or any of their tranſactions whatever."

AEſchin. in Ctef. Sect. 41.

THUS the final determination of the Athenians was, in effect, to condemn the conduct of their deputies, and to proteſt againſt all the conſequences of their miſguided and intereſted zeal. In obedience to the reſolution of the ſtate, AEſchines and his collegues remained at Athens, while all the other repreſentatives of the Greeks, except thoſe of the Thebans, (who were poſſibly by this time made to fear, that theſe commotions had been really raiſed by Philip for his own purpoſes) aſſembled at the time appointed for the extraordinary council. In this aſſembly it was unanimouſly reſolved, that the Amphictyons ſhould declare war againſt the Locrians of Amphiſſa. And Cottyphus, who is called both an Arcadian and Pharſalian, and who poſſibly was born in one of thoſe countries, and engaged in the ſervice of the other, was appointed general of the Amphictyonic army. This man, who was either in the intereſt of Philip, and privy to his deſigns, or not poſſeſſed of the qualifications neceſſary for conducting and bringing this war to a ſpeedy iſſue, acted without vigour or reſolution; and, inſtead of improving the advantages he obtained in ſome ſlight hoſtilities, entered into a treaty with the people of Amphiſſa. A fine was impoſed on them, for the payment of which a ſufficient time was allowed: the moſt culpable of their citizens were baniſhed; and others, who were ſaid to have diſavowed the ſacrilege of their countrymen, reſtored to their poſſeſſions, from which they had been driven by the oppoſite faction. But, inſtead of conforming to the terms and conditions of this treaty, the Locrians, who only ſought to gain time, and might have been privately ſpirited up to a farther oppoſition, refuſed abſolutely to pay the fine impoſed on them, recalled the men whom the Amphictyons had baniſhed, drove out

Ibid. Dem. pro Ctef. Sect. 51.

AEſchin. in Ctef. Sect. 41.

thoſe

thoſe who had been recalled, and ſtill continued to occupy and to cultivate the conſecrated lands. Care was taken to repreſent this their conduct, with all the neceſſary aggravations, at the next general council; and this produced the following reſolution, which hath all the appearance of moderation, but might have been intirely calculated for raiſing new commotions, and for carrying on one uniform deſign in favour of Philip.

"IN the pontificate of Clinagoras, at the general aſſembly of the "Amphictyons, held in the ſpring, It is RESOLVED, by the pylagorae, "and the aſſeſſors in the ſaid aſſembly, That, whereas the people "of Amphiſſa continue to profane the conſecrated lands, and do at "this time actually occupy them by tillage and paſture:—the pyla- "gorae and aſſeſſors ſhall repair to the ſaid lands, and determine the "boundaries by pillars; ſtrictly injoining the people of Amphiſſa to "ceaſe from ſuch violation for the future." Demoſth. in Cteſ. Sect. 51.

THE Amphictyons, therefore, again viſited thoſe lands; and were again repulſed by the Amphiſſaeans, who wounded Cottyphus, and put his attendants to flight. And now the grand deſign, which Philip's agents had been ſo long concerting, became ripe for execution. This new outrage increaſed the clamour and indignation of the aſſembly, where there were numbers of Philip's creatures, who knew how to improve this happy opportunity. They roſe up, and inveighed againſt the ſacrilegious profaners of divine things, with all the warmth which a true regard to religion raiſes, and which hypocriſy can frequently aſſume; they mentioned the late ineffectual meaſures which had been purſued to reduce thoſe wretches to the due ſubjection; they lamented, in a pathetic manner, the great and heavy expence with which the righteous cauſe, now undertaken by the Amphictyons, muſt neceſſarily be attended; the remiſſneſs and inſenſibility of ſeveral people who had hitherto neglected the defence of the temple, and from whom no vigorous and effectual aſſiſtance could be expected for Ibid. Sect. 50.

for the future. Upon the whole, they declared, that, in order to diſcharge thoſe ſacred duties which they owed to heaven, that they might not fall under thoſe dire curſes by which they and their poſterity were bound, they were now to apply to ſome powerful inſtrument of the divine vengeance, who might prove able and well-diſpoſed to take up arms in defence of Apollo, and to ſupport the authority of the great and auguſt council of Greece. There is a prince, ſaid they, whoſe zeal for the gods, whoſe tender regard to the honor of the ſacred ſhrine, have been already approved and acknowledged. Philip king of Macedon is now returning from his conqueſt of Scythia. He hath piety to prompt him, and force to inable him to aſſert our cauſe. To him, therefore, whom the gods ſeem to point out as the great defender of religion, let this our cauſe be committed.

THESE ſentiments were ecchoed through the aſſembly by the friends of Macedon; and the tumult kept up to drown all the remonſtrances of caution and policy. The ſuſpicious and wary were diſcouraged and inſulted; the undeſigning were deceived; and thus, on this fatal day, faction, corruption, ſupineneſs, inattention, and weakneſs, all conſpired to give the deadly wound to Grecian liberty, by the following decree, which was now paſſed in due form:

"IN the pontificate of Clinagoras, in the general aſſembly he "held in the ſpring.—Whereas the people of Amphiſſa have can- "toned out among themſelves the conſecrated lands, have occupied "them by tillage and paſture, and, when ſummoned to deſiſt from "ſuch profanation, roſe up in arms, and forcibly repelled the general "council of Greece, wounding ſome of the members, and particu- "larly Cottyphus the Arcadian, general of the Amphictyons: —It "is therefore RESOLVED by the pylagorae, the aſſeſſors, and the "general aſſembly, that a deputation ſhall be ſent to Philip king of "Macedon, inviting him to aſſiſt Apollo and the Amphictyons, and

"to

" to repel the outrages of the impious Amphiſſaeans; and farther to " declare, that he is conſtituted by all the Greeks, members of the " council of the Amphictyons, general and commander of their forces, " with full and unlimited powers."

THIS welcome invitation and commiſſion, the fruit of all his ſecret practices, Philip received in Thrace, while he was yet on his return to Macedon. He bowed, with an affected reverence, to the venerable council, and declared his readineſs to execute their orders. AEſchin. in Ctef. Sect. 41.

THE inferior ſtates of Greece, and all thoſe whoſe ſimplicity and weakneſs rendered them inſenſible to the deſigns now forming by Philip, intirely approved of the act of the Amphictyons; and of the nomination of a prince to the command of their forces, ſo eminent and illuſtrious for his piety, and ſo capable of executing the vengeance of heaven. At Sparta, and at Athens, this event was conſidered in a different manner. The firſt of theſe people, though poſſeſſed of but a ſmall part of their antient greatneſs, yet ſtill retained their pride, and ſeem to have looked with a ſullen indignation at the honours paid to Macedon. The Athenians had been long taught to dread the policy of Philip; had now their great popular leader, who repeatedly urged the neceſſity of ſuſpicion and vigilance; repreſented all the late tranſactions in the Amphictyonic council as the effects of Philip's intrigues, and his deſigns againſt Greece in general, but more particularly againſt the welfare and liberty of Athens.

To counteract the zeal of Demoſthenes, and to prevent the effects of his inceſſant remonſtrances, the minds of the people were alarmed with oracles and predictions, uttered with all ſolemnity from the ſacred tripod, and reported to the Athenians with all the veneration due to the dictates of Apollo. Vengeance was denounced againſt all thoſe who ſhould preſume to oppoſe the king of Macedon, the deſtined inſtrument of divine juſtice. The people were exhorted not to ſuffer

Dinarch. in Dem.

artful and deſigning orators, and popular leaders, to ſeduce them to their ruin. This was an oracle eaſy to be applied by the two great contending ſpeakers to each other; though, poſſibly, the real intention of the prieſteſs, was to raiſe ſuſpicions of Demoſthenes, and to prejudice the people againſt him. She alſo ſpoke much of the ſingularity of

Plut. in Phoc.

ſome one citizen, who diſturbed the harmony of the ſtate, by oppoſing the general ſentiments of his countrymen. This too was probably intended to mark out Demoſthenes. But when the oracle was read in the aſſembly, and variouſly interpreted, according to the different paſſions and deſigns of the different partizans and leaders, Phocion, who ever treated his fellow-citizens with that honeſt ſeverity which aroſe from a juſt ſenſe of their errors, and a patriot zeal for their reformation, roſe up, and at once put an end to all debates about the application. *I am that ſingular perſon*, ſaid he; *I intirely diſſent from all your proceedings. I diſlike your meaſures, your reſolutions, your whole conduct.*

AEſchin. in Cteſ. p. 42.

A PARTICULAR event now gave new occaſion to Philip's agents to confound the minds of the people with ſuperſtitious fears. The great myſteries of Ceres were celebrated with all the uſual ſolemnity; and a number of the initiated perſons, who were conſidered as the peculiar favourites of heaven, died ſuddenly, during the courſe of their ceremonies and religious rites. This was reported, and received at Athens, with general conſternation, as ominous and portentous. It was immediately propoſed to ſend a deputation to Delphi, to conſult the god on this alarming occaſion: a deſign which Demoſthenes juſtly conſidered as intended to gain ſome new declarations from the prieſteſs in favour of the Macedonian intereſt; and which he therefore determined to oppoſe. "My countrymen," ſaid he, "it is to "no purpoſe to conſult the oracle at this time. We cannot obtain "the real and genuine dictates of Apollo. It is very plain, by thoſe "pretended oracles which have been already reported to us, that the "Pythian prieſteſs ſpeaks as Philip dictates; that ſhe is ſecretly "influenced

"influenced by him, and devoted to his ſervice." This ſentiment he expreſſed by an artificial phraſe, *The prieſteſs philippizes*, which ſtruck the imagination, and pleaſed the taſte of the people, a never-failing method of influencing and prevailing in the aſſembly.

IN the mean time, Philip prepared to act in that character with which he was now inveſted. He ſet ſail for Greece with a numerous fleet, but ſoon learned that Chares and Proxenus, the Athenian commanders, were prepared to oppoſe his deſcent with a ſuperior naval force. An engagement might hazard the ſucceſs of his preſent deſign, or at leaſt retard it; and therefore he determined to have recourſe to artifice, in order to extricate himſelf from the preſent difficulty. He diſpatched a light veſſel from his fleet, with letters addreſſed to Antipater, informing him, that certain commotions had ariſen in Thrace, which obliged the king to appear immediately in that country; and added ſuch orders and directions as ſuch a deſign required. The better to conceal his ſtratagem, he alſo addreſſed ſome letters to his queen Olympias. The veſſel, as was intended, fell into the enemy's hands; the pretended diſpatches were ſent to Athens, and there opened, (the queen's letters only excepted, which this polite people ſent back in the condition in which they were received.) The admirals were ordered to quit their ſtation, and to ſteer towards the Cherſoneſus; and thus was Philip ſuffered to land unmoleſted. The forces of his own kingdom were more than ſufficient to reduce the Amphiſſaeans: but, under pretence of giving a greater ſolemnity to the execution of the Amphictyonic decree, he reſolved to ſummon all thoſe people who ſent repreſentatives to that council to attend his ſtandard, and to aſſiſt him in inflicting the puniſhment due to ſacrilege. By this means he could diſtinguiſh his adherents from thoſe who ſecretly envied his power, or openly oppoſed his intereſt; and render the latter odious to the reſt of Greece, as men who deſerted or oppoſed the cauſe of heaven. The Thebans firſt received his ſummons, and received it with the temper of a people, who repented of their engagements with Macedon, and envied

Dem. pro Cteſ. Sect. 51.

Polyaen. L. 4. C. 2. Str. 8.

Plut. in Demetr.

Ibid.

the greatneſs of Philip. They at firſt declined to concur with him, which produced the following invitation to the people of Peloponneſus:

"PHILIP, King of Macedon, to the magiſtrates and counſellors "of the confederated people of Peloponneſus, health.

"WHEREAS the Locri, called Ozolae, inhabitants of Amphiſſa, "profanely commit outrages on the temple of Apollo in Delphi, and "in an hoſtile manner invade, and make depredations in, the ſacred "territory; know ye, that we have reſolved, in conjunction with "you, to aſſert the rights of the god, and to oppoſe thoſe impious "wretches, who have thus preſumed to violate all that is accounted "ſacred among men. Do you, therefore, meet me in arms at Phocis, "with proviſions for forty days, within this preſent month called by "us Loüs, by the Athenians, Boedromion; and, by the Corinthians, "Panemus. Such as attend us ſhall be duly conſulted, and all "meaſures purſued with their concurrence; they, who refuſe obedi-"ence to theſe orders, ſhall be puniſhed. Farewell."

THE Thebans, who were particularly concerned in the menaces with which this letter is concluded, were now conſiderably embarraſſed and divided by their jealouſies and apprehenſions. They were heartily weary of their engagements with Philip: they dreaded, as well as envied, the increaſe of his power; nor could all their phlegm and flowneſs prevent them from perceiving, that the reduction of the Amphiſſaeans was, by no means, an object adequate to the greatneſs of all theſe military preparations. On the other hand, they had ever affected, when their intereſt demanded it, an implicit obedience to the determinations of the Amphictyonic council, and could not now, either with decency or ſafety, appear to forget the veneration due to that aſſembly; and, therefore, determined to ſend a body of infantry to the appointed place of rendezvous, under the command of Proxenus, one of their generals, who was the penſioner of Philip.

Dinarchi Orat. in Dem.

The

The Lacedaemonians, on their part, perſevered in the reſolution of detaching themſelves intirely from theſe affairs, and having no ſhare in the diſpute. At Athens the uſual commotions aroſe in the aſſembly; and the ſeveral parties and popular leaders exerted all their zeal to influence and direct the public councils. Demoſthenes inveighed with all his old force and energy againſt Philip, and his pernicious deſigns; and, prompted by the fury of his zeal, or by ſecret motives of intereſt, urged the people to oppoſe the king of Macedon, by aſſiſting the Amphiſſaeans; and, by this means, to diſappoint the ambitious ſchemes of this prince, who had now found a ſpecious but inſidious pretence for ravaging, and deſtroying, and ſubverting, the ſtates of Greece, and eſtabliſhing that power and ſovereignty, which had ever been the darling object of his wiſhes. AEſchines, on the other hand, inſiſted on the odiouſneſs and danger of ſuch a meaſure, which no man, he ſaid, could recommend, who was not ſecretly bribed by the Amphiſſaeans: and that even, ſuppoſing the preſent war to be no more than a pretence, yet it was the Thebans who had moſt reaſon to dread the conſequences of it, as they were the people more immediately threatened by the Macedonian arms.

Dem. in Cteſ. Sect. 52.

AEſchin. in Cteſ. Sect. 45.

PERHAPS it would have been moſt prudent for the Athenians to have imitated the example of Lacedaemon on this occaſion. They could have made no effectual oppoſition to Philip, without the concurrence and aſſiſtance of the Greeks; and, although, by remaining quiet, they might not have prevented him from attacking their ſtate, yet ſuch an attack would not have been ſupported by any plauſible plea, and might have ſpirited up ſome powerful oppoſition in the other ſtates of Greece. But unhappily they choſe (and it muſt be acknowledged, that Demoſthenes ſeems to have determined them to this choice) the moſt odious and dangerous ſtep that could poſſibly have been taken. Without daring to remain quiet, or marching with all their force to repel what they affected to conſider as an invaſion of their country; without endeavouring to ſtrengthen themſelves

Sect. 46.

by

by the concurrence of any other power; they hired out a body of ten thouſand foreign troops to the Amphiſſaeans, under the command of Charidemus; and thus incurred the cenſure of ſupporting ſacrilege, and deprived their ſtate of a conſiderable part of its ſecurity, without diſtreſſing or checking the progreſs of the enemy.

THEIR ineffectual reinforcement, together with the Amphiſſaeans, fled before the Macedonians, who purſued them to their town, where they found an eaſy admittance. Philip, having ſtationed a garriſon there, and made ſuch diſpoſitions as might be agreeable to the Amphictyons, proceeded to ſpread terror through the adjacent diſtrict. Some other cities, who were accuſed of ſharing in the ſacrilege of Amphiſſa, were diſmantled or razed to their foundations. Thus much the honour of the god, and the authority of the great council, required; for both of whom Philip ſtill affected the higheſt veneration, and, no doubt, took care to inſpire the Greeks with unfavourable ſentiments of Athens, and its attachmen. to Amphiſſa, and to diſplay every thing exceptionable and unpopular in the conduct of that ſtate.

Demoſ. in Cteſ. Sect. 52.

THESE events naturally raiſed the utmoſt terror and confuſion in that community, where good or bad advices were ever received with an extravagance of triumph or conſternation. The people were firmly convinced, that the victorious army was now ready to appear in the territories of Attica, with fire and ſword, under the pretence of compleating the vengeance of the god. To gain a little time, in order to collect their force, and to prevail on ſome other Grecian cities to aſſiſt them in this their extremity, ſeemed now the only meaſure which the Athenians could purſue: and for this purpoſe it was reſolved to ſend an ambaſſy to Philip, in order to demand a truce; though as yet the war was not declared in due form, either on one or the other ſide. The decree for this ambaſſy was conceived in the following terms:

Ibid.

"IN

"In the archonſhip of Heropythus, on the twenty-fifth day of "the month Elaphebolion, the Erecthian tribe preſiding, the "ſenate and generals came to the following reſolution:" Demoſ. in Ctef. Sect. 52.

"WHEREAS Philip hath poſſeſſed himſelf of ſome adjacent cities, "and demoliſhed others, and is actually preparing to make an inroad "into Attica, (in manifeſt contempt of his engagements) and to "reſcind all his late treaties and obligations, without the leaſt regard "to public faith: It is RESOLVED, that ambaſſadors ſhall be ſent "to confer with him, and to exhort him to preſerve that harmony, "and to adhere to thoſe engagements, which have hitherto ſubſiſted "between us: at leaſt, that he may grant the ſtate time to delibe- "rate, and make a truce, till the month Thargelion. — Simus, Eu- "thydemus, and Bulagoras, are elected from the ſenate for this "commiſſion."

AT the ſame time deputies were diſpatched to the different cities and communities of Greece, in order to prevail on them to unite with Athens againſt the Macedonian power. The Corinthians, Euboeans, Megareans, Leucadians, and Corcyraeans, were attentive to theſe overtures, and readily conſented to form the league. And now the Sect. 69. fate of Greece appeared to depend on the determination of Thebes. This ſtate ſeems to have been warmly ſollicited both by Athens and by Philip; and to have received their ſollicitations with the ſullenneſs and reſerve of a people actuated by the groſſer motives of envy, reſentment, and pride, rather than by the principles of a refined and extenſive policy. They remembered the victories of Epaminondas and Pelopidas, and were mortified at the thoughts of marching under the conduct of the Macedonian. They had alſo been particularly diſobliged by the loſs of Nicaea, which they had been in poſſeſſion of, and which Philip was obliged to give up to the Theſſalians, in AEſchin. in Ctef. Sect. 44. order to render them deaf to the ſollicitations of Athens, and firm to the Macedonian intereſt. On the other hand, they muſt have hated

the

the Athenians, as they were conſcious of being deſpiſed by this people of a lively genius; and much more, as they were conſcious of having materially injured them, in keeping poſſeſſion of Oropus. Suſpended and diſtracted by theſe different principles, they received, with a provoking phlegm and inſenſibility, the repreſentations of each of the contending powers, (for by this time the pretence of a religious war was vaniſhing, and it began to appear plainly, that the conteſt was really between Athens and Macedon.) This ſuſpence and irreſolution of Thebes, contributed to reſpite the invaſion of Attica much more than the negotiations of the Athenian ambaſſadors, who only diſcovered the fears and weakneſs of their ſtate, and whom Philip doth not ſeem to have received with any great attention.

Dem. pro Cteſ. Sect. 52.

THE Athenians were, however, ſtill inceſſant in their applications; and, by addreſſing themſelves to the pride of the Thebans, by expatiating on the glory and honour which a brave and vigorous defence of Greece and liberty muſt reflect upon them, began to make ſome impreſſion on their ſpirits, and obliged Philip to have recourſe to new artifices to defeat their intrigues. It appears, that he began with endeavouring to ſow diſſenſions between the Thebans, and the other Boeotians, in order to alienate theſe latter from their dependence on the capital city; to confound the Athenians, by dividing the power and intereſts of the Boeotic body, that ſo they might not know to whom they ſhould addreſs themſelves for aſſiſtance; and, at the ſame time, to perſuade the Thebans, that his meaſures could not be affected by their reſolutions, or his ſucceſs depend on their aſſiſtance, which could prove but inconſiderable, if ſeparate from that of the reſt of Boeotia. But Demoſthenes, who was the principal agent and director in all the oppoſition to Philip, eluded this blow, by perſuading the people of Athens to declare, by a public act, that they would ſupport the authority of Thebes; and, at the ſame time, acknowledge and defend, as their allies, all thoſe Boeotians who continued in their attachment to the capital. This declaration determined thoſe people

AEſchin. in Cteſ. Sect. 45.

Ibid.

to

to remain quiet, and to avoid all the conſequences of diſturbing the tranquillity of Boeotia.

YET the final determination of the Thebans was ſtill doubtful. Reſentment of former quarrels, and fears of preſent danger, were yet too powerful and prevailing to ſuffer them to declare publicly for Athens: and Philip had cogent motives to urge, and effectual means of ſupporting, his intereſt at Thebes. He had bribed many popular leaders in that ſtate; he knew how to laviſh fair promiſes and aſſurances of friendſhip; to diſplay to the people all the advantages which might ariſe to them from the ruin of their old enemy; and to elevate them with many flattering hopes of favour from a prince who had, on former occaſions, approved himſelf intirely devoted to their intereſt. Obſervation and experience might have taught the Thebans to ſuſpect the promiſes of the king of Macedon: however, they were at laſt ſo far prevailed on, as to ſend him a letter, in which they expreſſed their regard to antient treaties and connexions, and their reſolution of adhering to them. Formal declarations could not poſſibly deceive Philip: but the Athenians were ſo far deceived by them, that they began to deſpair of influencing the Thebans, and thought it neceſſary to repeat their applications to Philip, to obtain a ceſſation of arms. For this purpoſe the following decree was made:

Dinarch. in Dem.

Dem. in Cteſ. Sect. 52.

"IN the archonſhip of Heropythus; the laſt day of the month "Munichion;—at the motion of the polemarch:—

"WHEREAS Philip is exerting his moſt ſtrenuous efforts to alie- "nate the Thebans from us, and prepares to march with all his army "to the frontiers of Attica, in direct violation of the treaty now ſub- "ſiſting between us:—It is RESOLVED by the ſenate and people of "Athens, that an herald and ambaſſadors be ſent to him, who "ſhall require and demand a ceſſation of hoſtilities, that the people "may have an opportunity of deliberating on this exigency; as at "preſent they are inclined to judge that the honour of the ſtate

"cannot be ſupported but by an extraordinary and vigorous oppoſi-
"tion. Nearchus and Polycrates are choſen for this commiſſion,
"from the ſenate; and Eunomus from the people, in quality of
"herald."

IT was of the utmoſt conſequence to Philip to perſuade the Athenians and the other Greeks, that all appearance of pacific meaſures was intirely owing to his equity and moderation, and not to any dread of an oppoſition on the part of Thebes; and, by an affectation of confidence in this latter people, to conceal his real opinions and reſolutions from them; and to intimidate his avowed enemies, by the appearance of a powerful alliance. This application of the Athenians he therefore anſwered by the following letter:

"PHILIP king of Macedon, to the ſenate and people of Athens,
"health!

Dem. in Ctef. Sect. 52. "HOW you have been affected towards us from the beginning,
"we are by no means ignorant: nor of that aſſiduity with which you
"have laboured to bring over to your party the Theſſalians, the The-
"bans, and even the Boeotians. As theſe people had juſt ideas
"of their real intereſts, and have refuſed to ſubmit to your direction,
"when you find yourſelves diſappointed, you ſend heralds and am-
"baſſadors to us, to put us in mind of former treaties; and you de-
"mand a truce, although you have in no one inſtance felt the force
"of our arms. I, on my part, have admitted your ambaſſadors to an
"audience. I agree to your demands, and am ready to grant the
"ceſſation which you require, provided that you remove your evil
"counſellors, and brand them with the infamy which they ſo
"juſtly merit. Farewell."

AT the ſame time, and for the like purpoſes, he alſo addreſſed a letter to the Thebans, conceived in theſe terms:

"PHILIP

" PHILIP king of Macedon, to the ſenate and people of " Thebes, health." Dem. in Ctef. Sect. 52.

" I HAVE received your letter, wherein you take notice of the " harmony and peace ſubſiſting between us. I am informed, that " the Athenians have been aſſiduous in their ſollicitations, to prevail " upon you to comply with them in thoſe demands which they have " lately made. I muſt confeſs I formerly imagined, that I had diſ- " covered ſome diſpoſitions in your ſtate, to be influenced by their " promiſes, and to acquieſce in their meaſures: but now I have re- " ceived full aſſurances of your attachment to us, and of your reſo- " lutions to live in peace, rather than to ſubmit to the guidance of " foreign councils. I feel the ſincereſt ſatisfaction, and highly ap- " plaud your conduct; and more particularly as, by your adhe- " rence to us, you have, in the moſt effectual manner, provided for " your intereſt and ſafety. Perſevere in the ſame ſentiments, and, " in a ſhort time, I hope you will experience their good effects. " Farewell."

THUS did this politic prince affect an implicit reliance on the declarations of Thebes; though it was extremely natural for him to ſuſpect ſuch declarations, the means he himſelf had frequently choſen to conduct his deſigns, and to deceive others. He conſidered the true ſtrength of his intereſt in that city, and wiſely determined to depend on ſomething more ſolid and ſecure than formal promiſes. His party in Thebes appears, indeed, to have been conſiderable: but the oppoſite party was formed of thoſe whom he had thought not of conſequence enough to be gained, and of thoſe who had rejected his overtures, influenced either by the intrigues of Athens, or by the remembrance of their antient glory, and the great actions of their anceſtors. Others were prevented from declaring themſelves for either party, by their natural timidity and irreſolution. Others again ſeem to have conceived, that the true intereſt of their country required

them to obſerve a kind of neutrality, or to eſpouſe, occaſionally, the Athenian and Macedonian parties, ſo as to keep up a ſort of balance between theſe two; to prevent Thebes from being embroiled in the quarrels, or involved in the diſtreſſes, of Athens; and from being reduced to a ſtate of ſubjection, under the notion of an alliance with Macedon, and being led by that power into any hoſtilities againſt Greece, which would only ſerve to confirm the Thebans in ſlavery, and load them with all the odium of contributing to the deſtruction of their brethren the Grecians.

IT was therefore abſolutely neceſſary for Philip, by ſome vigorous meaſure, to determine the balance of intereſt and power to his party; to confound and diſmay his avowed oppoſers; to cruſh all their efforts, and to defeat all their intrigues; to gain over and to confirm the wavering and cautious; to terrify the common people; and to convince the ſubtile and deep reaſoners, that he was no longer to be amuſed and trifled with; but that the very being of the Theban depended intirely on their cordial and effectual concurrence in his meaſures, and implicit obedience to his directions. Theſe purpoſes he now determined to effect by one bold ſtep, which his policy alone could dictate, and his vigour execute; which ſoon gave full vent to that flame which he had kindled, and made it burſt forth in all its force and fury.

ELATAEA was a Phocian city of conſiderable note, ſituated in the middle of a ſmall plain, between two chains of mountains, the one of which opened into Phocis, the other led to Boeotia. The citadel was ſeated on a ſmall eminence adjacent to the town through which ran the river Cephiſus, and from thence, winding its courſe through Boeotia, fell into the lake Copais. This lake ſkirted Attica with one of its extremities, and ſerved for the tranſportation of commodities from Phocis, which were carried down the Cephiſus, at that time navigable by ſmall veſſels. At the time when moſt of

the

the Phocian cities were razed to their foundations, Elataea was one of thoſe three which were only diſmantled; and, when Philip became maſter of that country, the importance of its ſituation ſeems to have determined him to reſtore its fortifications, as if to prepare againſt ſome ſuch great occaſion as was now preſented to him. Dem. Phil. 2. Sect. 3.

THIS place he boldly ſeized, while the Thebans ſuſpected nothing leſs than any appearance of force or violence; and the Greeks in general fondly imagined, that his deſigns were wholly confined to that inſignificant war, which they had fatally committed to his conduct. Thus was this enterprizing prince, all on a ſudden, maſter of a poſt of the utmoſt conſequence; at the head of an army capable of ſtriking terror into his oppoſers; at the diſtance of but two days march from Attica; abſolute commander, as it were, of the citadel and fortreſs both of Thebes and Athens; conveniently ſituated for receiving ſuccours from Theſſaly and Macedon; and intirely at liberty, either to give battle to thoſe who might preſume to appear in arms againſt him, or to protract the war to any length that might be found convenient. Dem. pro Ctef. Sect. 53. Olymp. 110. Y. 3.

BOOK V. SECTION II.

CONTENTS.

THE Athenians informed that Philip had poſſeſſed himſelf of Elatæa.—Their conſternation.—The ſpeech of Demoſthenes.—The decree by which war is declared againſt Philip.—Demoſthenes ſent to Thebes.—The deputies of the ſeveral powers buſily engaged in that city.—Python addreſſes himſelf to the aſſembly on the part of Philip;—is oppoſed by Demoſthenes.—Extraordinary effect of his harangue.—Obſervation of lord Bolingbroke.—Philip alarmed.—Demoſthenes honoured at Athens.—Philip amuſes the Thebans with propoſals of peace.—Makes ſome impreſſion on that people.—His deſign again defeated by Demoſthenes.—The Athenian forces arrive at Thebes;—are favourably received.—Moderation of the Athenians.—Demoſthenes the ſoul of the confederacy.—The confederates march out to meet the enemy.—Gain ſome ſlight advantages,—which are received with extravagant joy at Athens.—Philip reſolves to bring on a general engagement.—Leads his army to the plain of CHAERONEA.*—The place where he incamps deſcribed by ſome oracles as fatal to Greece.—Diogenes viſits the Macedonian camp.— His anſwer to Philip.—The armies*

mies in the field.—Diſpoſition of the ſeveral forces.—Alexander attacks the ſacred band of Thebes.—Impetuoſity of the Athenians.—Fatal error of Lyſicles.—The Athenians broken.—Weakneſs of Demoſthenes.—The victory compleated by the defeat of the Thebans.—The Greeks in the center ſpared. Philip receives the congratulations of his officers.—Gives a feaſt in honour of his victory.—Viſits the field of battle.—Affected by the view of the ſacred band.—Comes to the place where the Athenians had fought.—His weak behaviour.—Corrected by Demades.—Philip recollects himſelf;—returns to his tent.— His converſation,—his obliging conduct to the Athenians,—his ſeverity to Thebes.—Confuſion at Athens.—The decree of Hyperides.—Phocion named general.—Conſternation in Attica.—Death of Iſocrates.—Condemnation of Lyſicles.— Demoſthenes ſtill revered and intruſted with public affairs.—Alexander and Antipater ſent to Athens.—Demoſthenes appointed to ſpeak the funeral oration over the ſlain.—The funeral ſupper given at his houſe.—The epitaph.—Samos taken.—Peace offered to the Athenians on advantageous terms.—They are deſired to ſend their deputies to a general convention at Corinth.—Phocion's opinion.—Demades prevails.—Ambaſſadors ſent to Philip.—Inſolence of Demochares.—Philip's anſwer.—He ſtill reſolves to preſerve the appearance of moderation and condeſcenſion.

BOOK the FIFTH.

SECTION II.

THE news of Philip's late important tranſactions was quickly ſpread through the adjacent countries, and received with all the ſtupid and helpleſs aſtoniſhment of men rouzed from a long lethargy, and awakened to a dreadful ſenſe of their danger, and of the real deſigns of their enemy. It was late in the evening, when a courier arrived at Athens, appeared before the prytanes, and pronounced the dreadful tidings, that the king of Macedon had taken poſſeſſion of Elataea. Theſe magiſtrates, and all the other citizens, were now at ſupper, indulging themſelves in the pleaſures and gaieties of the table; when the news, which in a moment rung through all the city, rouzed them from their ſtate of eaſe, and put an end to all their feſtivity. The ſtreets and public places were inſtantly filled with a diſtracted concourſe, every man with terror and confuſion in his countenance, and every man ſollicitous for an immediate conſultation on an emergency ſo important and alarming. Numbers thronged precipitately to the public place, where the people generally aſſembled, and which, as was uſual at all other times, they found occupied by the different traders who expoſed their wares to ſale. Theſe were inſtantly drove out, without being allowed time to re- Olymp. 110. Y. 3.

move their ſhops; which the impatience of the multitude inſtantly ſet on fire, in order to clear the place at once, for the convenience of an aſſembly. Others, in the mean time, ran to ſeek the generals and magiſtrates, and clamorouſly demanded their appearance; others in queſt of thoſe, whoſe office it was to ſummon the citizens to a conſultation: thus, through the whole night, Athens was one continued ſcene of uproar and confuſion. At the dawn of the ſucceeding day, the magiſtrates ſummoned the ſenate, when the whole body of the people, who were now voluntarily aſſembled, flocked inſtantly to the ſenate-houſe, ſeized their places, and waited with the utmoſt anxiety for the reſult of ſo important a deliberation. The ſenate now appeared: the prytanes reported to them the advices which had been received: the meſſenger was produced, and he repeated the terrible account. The public officer then aroſe, and, according to the uſual form, invited all thoſe to ſpeak, who were inclined to offer their ſentiments on this occaſion. This invitation, which the great orator, who hath tranſmitted theſe particulars, obſerves, ſhould have been conſidered as the voice of their country, imploring the advice and aſſiſtance of her children, was received with ſilence and diſmay. It was frequently repeated, but ſtill no man dared to offer his opinion. The eyes of all ſeemed turned to Demoſthenes, in this univerſal ſilence and dejection, as if to intreat the advantages of his diſcernment and abilities, to raiſe his fellow citizens from their deſpair. Demoſthenes at length aroſe, and appeared the only perſon undaunted and unmoved in this great affecting ſcene of conſternation. With a countenance of ſerenity, the firm compoſure of a patriot, and the ſage diſcernment of a compleat ſtateſman, he addreſſed himſelf to the aſſembly in the following manner:

Olymp. 110. Y. 3.

"MEN OF ATHENS!

"THEY, who are thrown into all this terror and agitation from "an opinion that the Thebans are now intirely gained over to the "intereſt of Philip, ſeem to me totally ignorant of the preſent ſtate

"of

" of affairs. Were that the caſe, I am convinced we ſhould now
" hear, not that he was at Elataea, but on our very frontier. His
" intent, (I clearly ſee it) in ſeizing this poſt, is to facilitate his
" ſchemes and deſigns in Thebes. Attend, and I ſhall now explain
" the circumſtances of that ſtate. Thoſe of its citizens, whom his gold
" could corrupt, or his artifice deceive, are all at his devotion. Thoſe,
" who originally oppoſed, and who continue to oppoſe, his intereſt,
" he finds incapable of being wrought upon. What then is his de-
" ſign? Why hath he ſeized Elataea? — That, by drawing up his
" forces, and diſplaying his power, on the borders of Thebes, he
" may inſpire his adherents with confidence and elevation, and ſo
" terrify and controul his adverſaries, that fear or force may drive
" them into thoſe meaſures which they have hitherto oppoſed. If
" then we are reſolved, in this conjuncture, to cheriſh the remem-
" brance of every act of unkindneſs, which the Thebans have done
" to Athens; if we regard them with ſuſpicion, as men who have
" ranged themſelves on the ſide of our enemy; in the firſt place we
" ſhall act agreeably to Philip's warmeſt wiſhes, and then, I am ap-
" prehenſive, that the party, who now oppoſe him, may be brought
" over to his intereſt; the whole city ſubmit unanimouſly to his di-
" rection, and Thebes and Macedon fall with their united force on
" Attica. Grant the due attention to what I ſhall now propoſe: let it
" be calmly weighed without diſpute or cavil, and I doubt not but that
" my counſels may direct you to the beſt and moſt ſalutary meaſures,
" and diſpel the dangers now impending over the ſtate. What then
" do I recommend? — Firſt, Shake off that terror which hath poſ-
" ſeſſed your minds, and, inſtead of fearing for yourſelves, let the
" Thebans be the objects of your apprehenſions. They are more
" immediately affected: they are the firſt to feel the danger. In the
" next place, all thoſe of the age for military ſervice, both infantry
" and cavalry, ſhould march inſtantly to Eleuſis, that Greece may ſee,
" that you are alſo aſſembled in arms, and your friends in Thebes be
" imboldened to aſſert their rights, when they are aſſured, that, as

" they who have ſold their country to the Macedonian have a force " at Elataea to ſupport them, ſo you are ready to aſſiſt the men " who bravely contend for liberty. In the laſt place, I recommend " to you to nominate ten ambaſſadors, who, with the generals, may " have full authority to determine the time, and all other circum- " ſtances of this march.—When theſe ambaſſadors arrive at Thebes, " how are they to conduct this great affair? This is a point worthy " of your moſt ſerious attention.—Make no demands of the Thebans: " at this juncture it would be diſhonourable. Aſſure them, that " your aſſiſtance is ready for their acceptance, as you are juſtly " affected by their danger, and have been ſo happy as to foreſee and " to guard againſt it. If they approve of your ſentiments, and em- " brace your overtures, we ſhall effectuate our great purpoſe, and act " with a dignity worthy of our ſtate. But ſhould it happen that " we are not ſo ſucceſsful, whatever misfortunes they may ſuffer, to " themſelves ſhall they be imputed; while your conduct ſhall appear, " in no one inſtance, inconſiſtent with the honour and renown " of Athens."

SUCH ſage counſel, delivered with eaſe and reſolution, amidſt a general conſternation, doth more honour to its author than the moſt compleat and accompliſhed piece of eloquence in times of greater eaſe and ſecurity. Nor did it want its due effect: it was received with univerſal applauſe; Demoſthenes himſelf was inſtantly choſen to head the ambaſſy, which he had now propoſed: and the following decree, compoſed and preferred by this orator, was readily approved of, and confirmed by the aſſembly.

Dem. pro Cteſ. Sect. 55.

" IN the archonſhip of Nauſicles, the Aiantidian tribe preſiding; " on the ſixteenth day of the month Scirrophorion; — De- " moſthenes, the ſon of Demoſthenes of the Paeanian tribe, " propoſed this decree:"

" WHEREAS Philip king of the Macedonians hath, in various " times paſt, violated the treaty of peace ſubſiſting between him and " the

" the ſtate of Athens, in open contempt of his moſt ſolemn engage-
" ments, and of all that is eſteemed ſacred in Greece; poſſeſſing himſelf
" of cities to which he had no claim or pretenſions, reducing ſome
" to ſlavery that were under the Athenian juriſdiction, and this with-
" out any previous injury committed on the part of Athens.—And
" whereas he, at this time, perſeveres in his outrages and cruelty,
" impoſing his garriſons on the cities of Greece, ſubverting their con-
" ſtitutions, inſlaving their inhabitants, and razing their walls; in
" ſome, diſpoſſeſſing the Greeks, and eſtabliſhing Barbarians; aban-
" doning the temples and ſepulchres to their inhuman rage, (actions
" agreeable to his country and his manners) inſolent in his preſent
" fortune, and forgetful of that mean origin from whence he hath
" ariſen to this unexpected power.—And whereas, while the Athe-
" nian people beheld him extending his dominion over ſtates and
" countries like his own, barbarous, and detached from Greece, they
" deemed themſelves little affected, or injured by ſuch conqueſts;
" but now, when Grecian cities are inſulted by his arms, or totally
" ſubverted, they juſtly conceive it would be unwarrantable, and
" unworthy of the glory of their illuſtrious anceſtors, to look on with
" indifference, while the Greeks are thus reduced to ſlavery.—For
" theſe reaſons, the SENATE AND PEOPLE OF ATHENS, (with due
" veneration to the gods and heroes, guardians of the Athenian city,
" and territory, whoſe aid they now implore; and with due attention
" to the virtue of their anceſtors, to whom the general liberty of
" Greece was ever dearer than the particular intereſt of their own
" ſtate) have RESOLVED,

" THAT a fleet of two hundred veſſels ſhall be ſent to ſea, (the
" admiral to cruiſe within the ſtreights of Thermopylae.)—That the
" generals and commanders, both of horſe and foot, ſhall march
" with their reſpective forces to Eleuſis.—That ambaſſadors ſhall be
" ſent to the ſtates of Greece; and particularly to the Thebans, as
" the preſent ſituation of Philip threatens their confines more imme-
" diately.

" diately. That theſe ambaſſadors ſhall be inſtructed to exhort them not " to be terrified by Philip, but to exert themſelves in defence of their " own liberty, and that of Greece: to aſſure them that the people of " Athens, far from harbouring the leaſt reſentment, on account of any " former differences which might have alienated their ſtates from each " other, are ready to ſupport them with all their powers, their trea- " ſures, their forces, and their arms; well knowing that, to contend " for ſovereignty among themſelves is an honour to the Greeks; but " to be commanded by a foreigner, or to ſuffer him to wreſt from them " their ſuperiority, is unworthy of the Grecian dignity, and the " glorious actions of their anceſtors.—To aſſure them, that the Athe- " nian people do not look on thoſe of Thebes as aliens, but as kinſ- " men and countrymen; that the good offices conferred on Thebes, " by their progenitors, are ever freſh in their memory, who reſtored " the deſcendants of Hercules to their hereditary dominions, from " which they had been expelled by the Peloponneſians, and, by " force of arms, ſubdued all thoſe who oppoſed themſelves to that " illuſtrious family; who kindly entertained OEdipus, and his ad- " herents, in the time of their calamity; and who have tranſmitted " many other monuments of their affection and reſpect to Thebes :— " That the people of Athens, therefore, will not, at this conjuncture, " deſert the cauſe of Thebes and Greece; but are ready to enter " into engagements, defenſive and offenſive, with the Thebans, ce- " mented and confirmed by a mutual liberty of intermarriage, and by " the oaths of each party tendered and accepted with all due ſo- " lemnity.—The ambaſſadors choſen, on this occaſion, are Demoſt- " henes, Hyperides, Mneſithides, Democrates, and Callaeſchnis."

THIS decree, by which the Athenians thus declared war in form againſt the king of Macedon, was quickly ſpread through Greece, to poſſeſs the ſeveral ſtates with an opinion of the vigour and reſolution of Athens. Philip himſelf was ſpeedily made acquainted with it, and ſeems to have peruſed it with the attention due to the addreſs

and

and art of the compoſition. The eloquence and abilities of the author he affected to admire; and, on many occaſions, acknowledged their power and importance: he even affected to receive the accounts of that ſeverity with which Demoſthenes treated him, with gaiety and unconcern: "let him uſe his liberty," ſaid he, "he hath a right "to it: he never received our pay." But, as the internal weakneſs and diſorders of Athens could not poſſibly eſcape his penetration, he looked with contempt on all the efforts of that ſtate, and poſſibly might not have regarded this their ſpirited declaration of hoſtilities as of ſo much conſequence as it really proved, or as Demoſthenes aſcribes to it, who makes it the great cauſe of all that vigorous oppoſition which we ſhall ſoon find raiſed againſt Philip; and that the danger now impending over the Athenians, and all their fears of being abandoned by the Greeks, and cruſhed by the joint forces of many powerful enemies, were at once diſpelled, and at once vaniſhed like a cloud.

Lucian. in Vit. Dem.

Dem. pro Ctef. Sect. 56.

ALL Greece was now in motion, as at the eve of ſome important and deciſive event. The Athenian miniſters were arrived at Thebes; and the great conteſt for power and ſuperiority appeared to depend intirely on the ſucceſs of their negotiation. The glory, the freedom, and independency of Greece, were the honourable pleas by which Athens dignified its cauſe; while Philip, on his part, affected to act only in obedience to the orders of the Amphictyonic council, and to compleat the vengeance of the god, by ſubduing that ſtate which had hitherto proved the grand obſtacle to the ſchemes of his ambition.

AMYNTAS and Clearchus appeared at Thebes in quality of his ambaſſadors, attended by Python, the celebrated orator of Byzantium. The Theſſalians deputed Daochus and Thraſydaeus, two creatures of Macedon. The AEtolians, the Dolopes, the AEnians, and Phthiotes, had alſo their ſeveral repreſentatives at Thebes. The miniſters

Plut. in Dem.

Demoſ. pro Ctef. Sect. 61.

miniſters of Macedon, and its allies, affected the greateſt triumph and confidence, profeſſed to conſider the Thebans as their moſt aſſured friends, and to regard any attempt to alienate them as in the higheſt degree ridiculous and preſumptuous. The ambaſſadors, and friends of Athens, were in the ſame proportion depreſſed and diſpirited; and the whole city, the ſcene of this important negotiation, was now buſied in caballing and intriguing, in private meetings and ſecret conſultations; each party labouring to ſtrengthen its intereſt, to confirm its adherents, and to gain new friends. The popular aſſembly, on whoſe determination the final event depended, was now convened, and Philip's repreſentatives had that deference and diſtinction paid to them, that they were firſt admitted to addreſs themſelves to the people: when Python roſe up in the name of this prince and all his allies.

He began with praiſing Philip, and magnifying his abilities, his character, and his power; his piety towards the gods, his true regard to Greece, and his particular affection to Thebes, the place in which his infant mind had been formed by the principles of virtue, under the direction of the immortal Epaminondas. He recalled to their minds all the inſtances of this affection; the aſſiſtance he had frequently afforded to this ſtate in its conteſt with Phocis, in which his armies, his treaſures, and his perſon had been equally devoted to the cauſe of religion and of Thebes. Uniform in his conduct, and ſteady in his attachments, he was now preparing to aſſert both theſe important intereſts, which had ever been, and ſtill were, dear to him, by chaſtiſing and humbling a ſtate, which had always appeared equally an enemy to both. He inveighed againſt the ficklenes and inconſtancy, the turbulence and pride, of Athens; and expatiated on all its quarrels and complaints, all the circumſtances of unkindneſ, all the appearances of averſion and contempt, which the Athenians had ever diſcovered to the Theban people. No greater proof of this contempt could poſſibly be diſcovered than the preſent application of this

Freinſhem. Supp. in Curt. Cap. 6.

this people to Thebes; for nothing but an opinion of an utter defect of underſtanding in the Thebans could poſſibly prompt them to deſire the aſſiſtance of theſe, to prop the tottering power of their enemies, and to ſave them from ruin, by involving themſelves in an unequal conteſt with a powerful prince, who now invites them to join their arms with his, at leaſt to allow him a peaceable paſſage through their territory, that he may for ever ſecure to them the ſovereignty of Greece, by puniſhing the injuſtice, the arrogance, the irreligion of a people, alone able to contend with them for this illuſtrious privilege. To comply with the Athenians, he obſerved, was to expoſe their native country to all the miſeries and horrors, all the ravages and deſolation, of a bloody war: to unite with Philip was to inrich themſelves with the ſpoils of their inveterate enemies. This gracious prince invites them to ſhare the wealth of Attica; to carry off its flocks and herds and ſlaves, to add to the affluence, and increaſe the power, of Thebes: and therefore, if intereſt, if gratitude, if reſentment, if honour, could have the leaſt influence on their minds, no doubt could poſſibly remain, but that a people, ſtrongly urged by all theſe powerful motives, would inſtantly ſpurn, with a juſt contempt, at the mean artifices of Athens, and gladly embrace the happy occaſion of eſtabliſhing their power for ever, by accepting of the tenders of friendſhip made by the great and formidable king of Macedon, whoſe moderation and humanity prompted him to engage them by the ſtrong ties of gratitude and intereſt, rather than by the terror of his invincible arms. Dem. pro Cteſ. Sect. 62.

His ſpeech was delivered with an extraordinary heat and violence, as if dictated by a ſincere and powerful conviction; and Philip had his friends and partizans in the aſſembly, who tumultuouſly applauded and echoed his ſentiments, and called loudly on the Thebans to join with the great and pious prince, the protector of the religion and liberty of Greece, rather than with the Athenians, the diſturbers of its peace. Sect. 43.

But now Demoſthenes aroſe. As an orator, his reputation obliged him to exert all his abilities againſt an antagoniſt who ſeemed to rival him in force and vehemence. As a ſtateſman, he was ſollicitous for the ſucceſs of thoſe meaſures which he himſelf had recommended; and, as a patriot, the danger of his country muſt have ſtrongly affected him, and called forth all his energy. Unhappily the oration, in which he oppoſed this turbulent ſpeaker, hath not been tranſmitted us; nor have we any conſiderable accounts of the arguments and topics on which he enlarged. But, from ſome imperfect hints in his oration on the Crown, it appears, that he expatiated, with all his art and eloquence, on the dignity of Athens, the rank which this ſtate had ever maintained in Greece, and the attention which it had ever diſcovered to the common cauſe: that he endeavoured to divert the attention of his hearers from all antient quarrels and animoſities, which he repreſented as the generous effects of a paſſion for glory and ſuperiority, in two noble rivals, whoſe origin, whoſe actions, and whoſe principles, rendered them equally worthy of thoſe noble prizes, for which they had ſo gloriouſly contended. The perfidy, the treachery, and the dangerous and inſatiable ambition of Philip, he repreſented in ſuch ſtrong and ſtriking colours, that even the allies and confederates of this prince were, as he aſſerts, forced to riſe and give teſtimony to the truth and juſtneſs of his allegations. All thoſe fair offers of friendſhip and aſſiſtance, which were now laviſhed on the Thebans, were from thence converted into ſo many arguments to confirm their ſuſpicions of his ſincerity, and to inſpire them with diſtruſt and caution. It was an eaſy and natural tranſition to repreſent their danger as certain and inconteſtable; to intreat them to unite with their brethren and countrymen, in order to repel the danger which threatened their walls; to accept of an aſſiſtance, which a truly cordial tenderneſs and affection only could prompt the Athenians to offer; and to embrace the laſt occaſion, that might be preſented, of acting conſiſtently with their antient glory, by bravely aſſerting their own liberty, and that of Greece, againſt the

Dem. pro Ctef. Sect. 43.

ſubtle

ſubtle and inveterate enemy of that renowned nation: a nation, whoſe eyes were now fixed on Thebes, imploring the aſſiſtance and defence of its generous and gallant offspring; and intreating them to remember their duty and their glory; and to cruſh the proud Barbarian, inſtead of rioting in the miſeries, and preying on the vitals, of its venerable parent.

THE effects of his harangue were ſuch as might be expected from the moſt exalted ideas that can be formed of it. The agents and partizans of the Macedonian were confounded; unable to oppoſe or anſwer the ſtrength and energy of the great Athenian. The minds of all the Thebans were at once raviſhed and inflamed with the love of glory: every other conſideration was hid from them as by inchantment; all ſenſe of gratitude, all fears of danger, and all the cold ſentiments of policy, were inſtantly loſt in that generous enthuſiaſm with which the ſpeaker fired them. Arms and honour, Athens, Greece, and liberty, were echoed tumultuouſly through the aſſembly; where it was reſolved to accept of the aſſiſtance of Athens, and even to deſire that aſſiſtance by a decree, which was now executed in due form.

Theopompus in Plut. Vit. Dem.

Dem. pro Ctef. Sect. 63.

THUS was Philip, one of the greateſt maſters of intrigue in his or any other age, for this time foiled and defeated by the abilities of Demoſthenes; and the ſeizing of Elataea, which he had reaſonably conſidered as the moſt effectual meaſure for ſecuring the Thebans to his party, proved the very means of driving them into the intereſt of his enemies. This is one of thoſe events, which ſhew what great effects may be produced from the wiſdom and integrity of public councils, and the ineſtimable value of a vigorous, zealous, and able ſtateſman. An eminent modern, who had himſelf been much converſant in politics, and ſhared largely in the direction and conduct of national affairs, aſcribes the ſucceſs of Demoſthenes to his intrigues

and ſecret tranſactions, rather than to the power of his eloquence. His ſentiments on this affair may not be diſpleaſing:

Letter on the Spirit of Patriotiſm.

"IT was of mighty conſequence to Philip," ſaith lord Bolingbroke, "to prevent the acceſſion of Thebes to the grand alliance, that Demoſthenes, at the head of the Athenian commonwealth, formed "againſt the growing power of the Macedonians. Philip had emiſ"ſaries and his ambaſſadors on the ſpot to oppoſe thoſe of Athens: "and we may be aſſured that he neglected none of thoſe arts upon "this occaſion, that he had employed ſo ſucceſsfully on others. The"ſtruggle was great; but Demoſthenes prevailed, and the The"bans engaged in the war againſt Philip. Was it by his eloquence "alone, that he prevailed, in a divided ſtate, over all the ſubtlety of "intrigue, all the dexterity of negotiation, all the ſeduction, all the "corruption, all the terror that the ableſt and moſt powerful prince "could employ? Was Demoſthenes wholly taken up in compoſing "orations, and haranguing the people, in this remarkable criſis? He "harangued them, no doubt, at Thebes, as well as at Athens, and "in the reſt of Greece, where all the great reſolutions of making "alliances, waging war, or concluding peace, were determined in "democratical aſſemblies. But yet haranguing was, no doubt, the "leaſt part of his buſineſs, and eloquence was neither the ſole, nor "the principal talent, as the ſtile of writers would induce us to be"lieve, on which his ſucceſs depended. He muſt have been maſter "of other arts, ſubſervient to which his eloquence was employed; "and muſt have had a thorough knowledge of his own ſtate, and of "the other ſtates of Greece; of their diſpoſitions, and of their inte"reſts relatively to one another, and relatively to their neighbours, to "the Perſians particularly, with whom he held correſpondence not "much to his honour: I ſay, he muſt have been maſter of many "other arts, and have poſſeſſed an immenſe fund of knowledge, to "make his eloquence in every caſe ſucceſsful, and even pertinent or "ſeaſonable

" ſeaſonable in ſome, as well as to direct it, and to furniſh it with " matter, whenever he thought proper to employ this weapon."

THUS far Lord Bolingbroke. But, with due deference to ſo great a name, and in a point on which he might expect to be heard with deference, it may be obſerved, that the circumſtances of theſe times, and theſe ſtates, in which we have ſeen Demoſthenes engaged, were totally and eſſentially different from thoſe of any modern ſcenes of intrigue or negotiation. Secret practiſing and caballing might have engaged, and were, no doubt, employed to engage ſome leading and popular men at Thebes. But ſtill the final determination, as the noble writer hath obſerved, was in the people at large; a mixed body, compoſed of all ranks and orders of men, moſt of whom were to be influenced rather by their national prejudices, paſſions, and opinions, than by cool motives of intereſt or policy. To ſuch minds, ſudden, violent, and forcible impreſſions only were ſuited; and particularly on an occaſion too preſſing to admit of the ſlow and gradual effects of intrigue. Philip himſelf was too well acquainted with what the preſent occaſion required, to depend intirely on the influence of his gold, the aſſiduity of his partizans, or the ſubtlety and dexterity of of private negotiations. Theſe were all exerted, but the forcible and vehement orator was his laſt reſource. In all ſecret practices he had many advantages above the Athenians: he could bribe more liberally; he had intereſt, ſecurity, and all the motives to urge, that were moſt powerful and cogent. To theſe the Athenian could only oppoſe honour, glory, public ſpirit, and ſuch-like arguments, which require all the powers of eloquence to diſplay and to inforce. And, therefore, in ſuch circumſtances, and on ſuch an occaſion, we may perhaps ſafely concur with the general voice of hiſtorians, in aſcribing this ſucceſs of Demoſthenes to his abilities as a public ſpeaker.

PHILIP, who now ſaw himſelf deprived of twelve thouſand of the beſt troops in Greece, and his enemy reinforced by ſuch a formidable body,

body, began to ſuſpect that his enterprizing genius had hurried him too far, and to conſider the final event as exceedingly doubtful and precarious. His agents redoubled their diligence, and all his artifices were exerted, to guard againſt the conſequences of ſo alarming a diſappointment. In all his letters and addreſſes, his ſtile appeared conſiderably altered; and, inſtead of that magiſterial manner, which he had hitherto aſſumed, he affected a great degree of moderation and humility. This was conſidered at Athens as a manifeſt indication of fear. The triumph of the people, in the ſucceſs of their ambaſſy, was equal to their former conſternation; and Demoſthenes, to whom this ſucceſs was juſtly attributed, now unrivalled in their affections. A reſolution was entered into to confer the honour of a crown upon him, in return for his important ſervice; and Diondas, one of their citizens, who attempted to oppoſe the conferring of this honour, was heard with contempt and averſion, and expoſed to all the conſequences of a malicious accuſation.

Dem. pro Ctef. Sect. 64.

Ibid.

THE army of the Athenians was now ordered to march to Thebes. It was compoſed of all the citizens of the age for military ſervice, and commanded by Lyſicles, a man undiſtinguiſhed by merit or abilities; and Chares, with whoſe character the reader is by this time well acquainted. So earneſt was Demoſthenes for their departure, that he abſolutely declared againſt waiting for the ſacrifices and religious rites, which uſually preceded all important tranſactions, and from which were derived the omens of ſucceſs.

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 85.

AEſchin. in Ctef. Sect. 42.

THE king of Macedon, in the mean time, either to extricate himſelf from the uncertainty and difficulties of a conteſt, which now promiſed much more vigour and importance; or to amuſe, and to allay the heat which had been raiſed at Thebes; began to make ſome overtures towards an accommodation. Thebes was now the ſcene of all great tranſactions; and Demoſthenes had, by this time, ſo ſtrengthened his party, that he was imboldened to inveigh, with all imagin-

able

able violence, againſt any propoſal of peace; and boldly declared, that he himſelf would drag the traitor to priſon, who ſhould dare to mention ſo ſhameful and diſhonourable a meaſure. But, notwithſtanding all ſuch violent declarations, the chief magiſtrates and leaders at Thebes were apprehenſive of the uncertain events of war, and conſidered a peace as a juſt and prudent medium between the invidious appearance of deſerting the cauſe of Greece, and expoſing their country to certain danger and diſtreſs. They therefore recommended a pacification to the Athenians, and actually countermanded their forces, who were now directing their march to Thebes. This obliged Demoſthenes to appear once more in the aſſembly, where he laboured to inſpire the people with the utmoſt averſion to theſe ſentiments of their governors. All his arguments were repeated, and the motives of honour and glory urgently and frequently inforced. "If the "Thebans," ſaid he, "are ſtill undetermined, ſtill inſenſible of the "common danger, ſtill uninfluenced by the due affection to Greece, "there is, at leaſt, one people that hath not yet forgot the glorious "actions and generous principles of their anceſtors. The Athenians, "though deprived of all aſſiſtance, and abandoned by their country-"men, cannot yet be inattentive to the ſacred cauſe of liberty; if "left to ſupport the conteſt by themſelves, they muſt at leaſt demand "a free paſſage through the Theban territory, that by themſelves "they may march againſt the enemy of Greece, and glorioufly fall in "its defence."

AEſchin. in Cteſ. Sect. 47.

Ibid.

THIS laſt ſtroke put an end to all farther deliberations, and confirmed the Thebans unalterably in their reſolution for war, and oppoſition to Macedon. The Athenian forces arrived at Thebes, and were received with every demonſtration of affection and joy. While the Theban army, both infantry and cavalry, incamped without the walls, the Athenians were admitted into the city, received into the houſes, and lodged among the wives and daughters of the citizens. And theſe forces, by the ſtricteſt diſcipline, and exacteſt regularity of conduct,

Demoſ. pro Cteſ. Sect. 63.

conduct, confirmed and repaid this extraordinary confidence. Demoſthenes, who may juſtly be ſaid to have been the ſoul of this great affair, the ſpirit which actuated the body of the confederates, was, on every occaſion, conſulted by the generals both of Thebes and Athens; and every meaſure taken, all diſpoſitions made, in conſequence of his advice and approbation. This was not a time, as he wiſely conceived, to contend, or raiſe diſputes, about precedence, ſuperiority, or any point of honour. The Thebans he freely permitted to hold the firſt rank, and to be conſidered as the principal and leading member of the confederacy. To their generals was committed the ſupreme command of all the land forces, who were yet obliged to act in concert with thoſe of Athens. Two parts of the expence, attending the ſupport of theſe forces, were paid by Athens; the remaining part by Thebes. The whole expence of all the maritim preparations the Athenians conſented to ſupport. The command w conferred alternately on the officers of each nation.

Demoſ. pro Cteſ. Sect. 63

THUS, by a timely condeſcenſion, by indulging the national van of the Thebans, and preventing them from being preſſed by the b then of their preſent engagement, this vigilant and ſagacious ſta man effectually removed all jealouſy; and, while he affected only diſplay the attention of his countrymen to the common cauſe, and their generous concern for Greece, gained, and firmly attached to their intereſt, powerful and zealous allies, who now ſeemed firmly poſſeſſed with all thoſe generous ſentiments of glory, liberty, and public ſpirit, which all the art and power of his eloquence had been employed to raiſe. Inſtead of trembling at the approach of Philip, and ſhrinking with an unmanly terror from the impending ſtorm, the confederates now iſſued out boldly to meet the enemy, and incamped within two days march of the Macedonian army. Parties were, on different occaſions, detached from each ſide, who ſometimes met and encountered each other with violence and fury. In two of theſe engagements, which happened at ſome interval from each other, as the

the ſeaſon of the year ſeems to have, for ſome time, prevented any grand operations, the Macedonians were driven back to the camp, and the honour of theſe ſucceſſes aſcribed principally to the conduct and valour of the Athenians. The news was received at Athens with that extravagance of triumph, which plainly indicated the levity of the people, and the weakneſs of their ſtate. The temples were inſtantly opened, the tumultuous crowds ruſhed in with ſacrifices and thankſgivings, and the whole city was filled with feaſting and rejoicing.

Dem. pro Cteſ. Sect. 63.

PHILIP, on his part, muſt have looked with a juſt contempt on all this exultation: well knowing, that the bravery and ſpirit of his enemies wanted that direction which might inable them to improve their advantages. Conſcious of his own abilities, and the weakneſs of thoſe generals who commanded the Greeks, he determined to bring on a general engagement, where his ſuperior ſkill muſt appear of the greateſt moment. For this purpoſe, he took a favourable opportunity of decamping, and led his army to the plain of Chaeronea, a name rendered famous by the event of this important conteſt. Here he choſe his ſtation, in view of a temple dedicated to Hercules the author of his race, as if reſolved to fight in his preſence, to make him witneſs of the actions of his deſcendant, and to commit his forces, and his cauſe, to the immediate protection of this hero. Some antient oracles were preſerved, which ſeemed to point out the ſpot on which he now incamped, as the ſcene of ſome dreadful calamity to Greece. One of theſe oracles was expreſſed in the following manner:

Plut. in vit. Dem.

[A] From dire Thermódon, where the brave ſhall bleed,
Quick let me ſoar to air, with eagle-ſpeed;

[A] Της ἐπι Θερμωδοντι μαχης ἀπανευθε γενοιμην
Αιετος ἐν νεφεεσσι και ἠερι θηησασθαι.
Κλαιει ὁ νικηθεις, ὁ δε νικησας ἀπολωλε.

Far from the horrid ſcene; from danger far;
And thence ſecurely view the diſtant war:
Where boundleſs woes ſhall wait the vanquiſh'd hoſt,
And where the victor's hardy ſelf is loſt.

ANOTHER was thus conceived:

[B] Ye vultures, fed by war's tremendous waſte,
Fly to Thermódon, there expect the feaſt.
There riot largely o'er the ſanguine plain,
Which death ſhall amply load, and horrid carnage ſtain.

Plut. in vit. Dem. THE word Thermódon was of doubtful ſignification; but whether it was underſtood as a ſtatue of an antient hero, which was found near this plain, or was the old name of a rivulet, which ran along the front of Philip's camp, and fell into the river Cephiſus, the general purport of the oracles was the ſame. And theſe were circumſtances, frivolous as they may appear, very capable of inſpiring confidence in an ignorant and ſuperſtitious people. Omens, prodigies, and predictions, were ever found of ſingular uſe to governors and generals; and Philip had too much policy, too juſt notions of mankind, to deſpiſe thoſe arts, or to neglect any advantage which the prejudices of his people might afford him in a conjuncture ſo exceedingly critical.

HIS army was now formed of thirty-two thouſand men, warlike, diſciplined, and long inured to the toils and dangers of the field: but this body was compoſed of different nations and countries, who had each their diſtinct and ſeparate views and intereſts. The army of the confederates did not amount to thirty thouſand compleat; of which

[B] Την ἐπι Θερμωδοντι μαχην μεν παμμελαν ὀρνις,
Τηνδε τοι κρεα πολλα παρεσσεται ἀνθρωποισι.

the

the Athenians and Thebans furniſhed the greateſt part; the reſt was formed of the Corinthians and Peloponneſians. The ſame motives, and the ſame zeal, influenced and animated them. All were equally affected by the event, and all equally reſolved to conquer or to die in defence of liberty. In this reſpect they had greatly the advantage: but ſupineneſs, inattention, and corruption, had ſtill that fatal influence, and ſtill ſo far weakened and defeated the nobleſt reſolution of the Greeks, that the command of this illuſtrious body was, unhappily, intruſted to men utterly unworthy of ſo important a charge; men elevated to this ſtation, not by the experience of their abilities, not by a reputation purchaſed by toils and difficulties, and brave atchievements, but by the power of faction, and the ſecret practices of intrigue. On the contrary, their enemies were commanded by a prince rendered illuſtrious by a long ſeries of victories and great atchievements, whoſe abilities and renown inſpired his ſoldiers with the utmoſt confidence and firmeſt aſſurances of victory.

On the eve of the deciſive day, while each party was preparing to aſſert their antient honours, engaged in all thoſe occupations which the great buſineſs required, filled with anxious expectation, and each man animating his fellow-ſoldier with fair hopes of victory, Diogenes the famous Cynic, who beheld this great commotion with an indifference, and inſenſibility to the intereſts of mankind, which he called philoſophy, was led by curioſity to viſit the camps, as an unconcerned ſpectator, in order to obſerve the different emotions and behaviour of ſo many people, who were now preparing for a great and important engagement. In the Macedonian camp, where his character and perſon were not known, he was ſtopped by the guards, and conducted to Philip's tent. The king expreſſed ſurprize at a ſtranger's preſuming to approach his camp; and aſked, with ſeverity, whether he came as a ſpy: "Yes," ſaid Diogenes, "I am come to ſpy your vanity "and ambition, who thus wantonly ſet your life and kingdom to the "hazard of an hour." Plut. de Diſcrim. inter. Adul. et Amic. p. 70.

AND now the fatal morning appeared, which was for ever to decide the cauſe of liberty, and the empire of Greece. Before the riſing of the ſun, both armies were ranged in order of battle. The Thebans, commanded by Theagines, a man of but moderate abilities in war, and ſuſpected of corruption, obtained the poſt of honour on the right wing of the confederated Greeks, with that famous body in the front, called the SACRED BAND, formed of generous and warlike youths, connected and indeared to each other by all the noble enthuſiaſm of love and friendſhip. The center was formed of the Corinthians and Peloponneſians; and the Athenians compoſed the left wing, led by their two generals Lyſicles and Chares, or Stratocles according to the orators. On the left of the Macedonian army ſtood Alexander, at the head of a choſen body of noble Macedonians, ſupported by the famous cavalry of Theſſaly. As this prince was then but nineteen years old, his farther was careful to curb his youthful impetuoſity, and to direct his valour; and, for this purpoſe, ſurrounded him with a number of experienced officers. In the center were placed thoſe Greeks who had united with Philip, and on whoſe courage he had the leaſt dependence; while the king himſelf commanded on the right wing, where his renowned phalanx ſtood to oppoſe the impetuoſity with which the Athenians were well known to begin their onſet.

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 86. Dinarch. in Dem.

Plut. in Pelop.

Strab. L. 9. p. 414.

Oliv. L. 15. p. 368.

Diod. Sic. ut ſupra.

THE charge began, on each ſide, with all the courage and violence which ambition, revenge, the love of glory, and the love of liberty, could excite in the ſeveral combatants. Alexander, at the head of the Macedonian nobles, firſt fell, with all the fury of youthful courage, on the ſacred band of Thebes, which ſuſtained his attack with a bravery and vigour worthy of its former fame. The gallant youths, who compoſed this body, not timely, or not duly, ſupported by their countrymen, bore up for a while againſt the torrent of the enemy, till at length, oppreſſed and overpowered by ſuperior numbers, without yielding or turning their backs on their aſſailants, they ſunk down on that ground where they had been originally ſtationed, each by

Plut. in Alex.

Plut. in Pelop.

by the ſide of his darling friend, raiſing up a bulwark, by their bodies, againſt the progreſs of the enemy. But the young prince and his forces, in all the enthuſiaſtic ardor of valour, animated by ſucceſs, puſhed on through all the carnage, and over all the heaps of the ſlain, and fell furiouſly on the main body of the Thebans, where they were oppoſed with an obſtinate and deliberate courage; and the conteſt was, for ſome time, ſupported with mutual violence.

THE Athenians, at the ſame time, on the right wing, fought with a ſpirit and intrepidity worthy of the character which they boaſted, and of the cauſe by which they were animated. Many brave efforts were exerted on each ſide, and ſucceſs was for ſome time doubtful, till at length part of the center, and the left wing of the Macedonians (except the phalanx) yielded to the impetuous attack of the Athenians, and fled with ſome precipation. Happy had it been on that day for Greece, if the conduct and abilities of the Athenian generals had been equal to the valour of their ſoldiers: but the brave champions of liberty, were led on by the deſpicable creatures of intrigue and cabal. Tranſported by the advantage now obtained, the preſumptuous Lyſicles cried out, "Come on, my gallant countrymen! the victory is our's, let us purſue theſe cowards, and drive them to Macedon!" and thus, inſtead of improving their happy opportunity, by charging the phalanx in flank, and ſo breaking this formidable body, the Athenians wildly and precipitately preſſed forward, in purſuit of the flying enemy, themſelves in all the tumult and diſorder of a rout. Philip ſaw this fatal error with the contempt of a ſkilful general, and the ſecret exultation ariſing from the aſſureance of approaching victory. He coolly obſerved to thoſe officers who ſtood round him, that "the Athenians knew not how to conquer;" and ordered his phalanx to change its poſition, and, by a ſudden evolution, to gain poſſeſſion of an adjacent eminence. From hence they marched deliberately down, firm and collected, and fell, with their united force, on the Athenians now confident of ſucceſs, and

Polyaen. L. 4. C. 2.

Ibid.

and blind to their danger. The ſhock was irreſiſtible: they were at once overwhelmed: many of them lay cruſhed by the weight of the enemy, and expiring by their wounds, while the reſt eſcaped from the dreadful ſlaughter, by a ſhameful and precipitate flight, bearing down, and hurrying away with them, thoſe troops which had been ſtationed for their ſupport. And here the renowned orator and ſtateſman, whoſe noble ſentiments, and ſpirited harangues, had raiſed the courage on this day ſo eminently exerted, betrayed that weakneſs which hath ſullied his great character. He alone, of all his countrymen, advanced to the charge cold and diſmayed; and, at the very firſt appearance of a reverſe of fortune, in an agony of terror, turned his back, caſt away that ſhield which he had adorned with this inſcription in golden characters, TO GOOD FORTUNE; and appeared the foremoſt in the general rout. The ridicule and malice of his enemies related, or perhaps invented, another ſhameful circumſtance; that, being impeded in his flight by ſome brambles, his imagination was ſo poſſeſſed with the preſence of an enemy, that he loudly cried out for mercy.

Plut. in Demoſth.

Plut. ΔΗΜ. Βιος Νεανικος. Vit. X. Orat.

WHILE Philip was thus triumphant on his ſide, [illegible] continued the conflict on the other wing, and at length broke [illegible] bans, in ſpite of all their acts of valour, who now fled from the field, and were purſued with great carnage. The center of the confederates was thus totally abandoned to the fury of a victorious enemy. But enough of ſlaughter had already been made: more than one thouſand of the Athenians lay dead on the field of battle, and two thouſand were made priſoners: and the loſs of the Thebans was not inferior. Philip therefore determined to conclude his important victory, by an act of apparent clemency, which his ambition and policy really dictated; and gave orders that the Greeks ſhould be ſpared; conſcious of his deſigns, and ſtill expecting to appear, in the field, the head and leader of that body which he had now compleatly ſubdued.

Diod. Sic. ut ſupra. Pauſ. in Att. p. 215.

THUS

THUS fell the great and illuſtrious nation of GREECE; and, in one fatal day, ſaw her honours and liberties wreſted from her by a people, who had, for ages, acknowledged her ſuperiority, and courted her protection. The virtues of her ſons had raiſed them to the full meridian of glory; thence had they gradually declined by their corruptions, and, having for a while retained ſome degree of ſtrength and ſplendor, now ſet for ever. That vital heat which animated them, which called forth and cheriſhed their abilities, and inflamed and invigorated their minds with great and generous ſentiments, was now extinguiſhed. Some faint glimmerings were, for a while, to remain, till darkneſs and barbarity, which now began their reign, gradually advanced and prevailed, and, at length, totally overſpread their once happy land. An alarming example to all future nations, who may, like Greece, boaſt their liberty, and, like Greece in its degenerate ſtate, retain only the ſhadow of that liberty; and, while they fondly triumph in the actions of their fathers, and are vainly elevated by a dangerous national pride, ſuffer luxury, venality, and licentiouſneſs, to deſtroy the ſpirit, and prey upon the vitals, of their conſtitution. Theſe hath providence ever made their own ſevere puniſhment, from which the yet unextinguiſhed remains of bravery and public ſpirit in a people can by no means ſecure them. Bravery and public ſpirit never were more eminently diſplayed, than in thoſe Greeks who fought at Chaeronea; but they were exerted too late, and their vices and corruptions had deprived them of the neceſſary conduct and direction: ſo that the very remains of their virtue compleated their ruin. They were led on raſhly to ſlaughter by wretches inſenſible to the ineſtimable value of their lives; and thus the ardor for liberty, which ſtill inflamed them, only ſerved to load the field of battle with carnage. But let poſterity regard the faults of theſe illuſtrious men with an humane tenderneſs and compaſſion, and learn a juſt value for thoſe noble principles, which, even in a degenerate ſtate, could produce ſuch glorious effects: and, while they admire the policy and abilities which thus ſubdued them, let them alſo learn to

regard,

regard, with just detestation, that insatiable ambition, that unwarrantable lust of power and grandeur, which casts a false and flattering lustre round the great scourges of mankind.

WITH all that horrid triumph and exultation in the destruction of his opposers, which are felt by the idolizers of false heroism, was the king of Macedon now indulged. The power which he had purchased by a long series of painful labours, both of mind and body, he now saw compleatly secured; and his fancy was possessed, not with the hopes of tranquillity, but with all the dazzling prospects of an ever restless ambition, with the expectations of new and more important conquests.

THE evening of the battle closed the havock; and Philip received the congratulations of his officers, whom he now invited, together with the ambassadors of his allies, to a magnificent entertainment. Some of the most eminent Athenian prisoners, and they who had been deputed to demand their dead, were politely invited to sit in his feast, which was for some time continued with decency and well corrected joy. At length the Athenian deputies retired, and Philip and his Macedonians began to give a freer course to their gaiety and festivity, which were continued to the approach of day. And now it was proposed to visit the field of battle; and, for this purpose, the king and all his company issued forth, crowned with their festal garlands, and, by this time, inflamed with wine.

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 86.

To that quarter they first came where the Thebans had engaged. Here they beheld the bodies of those three hundred, who, in their lives, had been united by the ties of sacred friendship, united also in their deaths, all in the order in which they had originally stood against their enemies, and all gloriously stained with the genuine marks of an honourable, though unfortunate, valour. The affecting sight struck their conquerors with awe and veneration. Philip himself

Plut. in Pelop.

ſelf hung over them in wonder and pity. Ambition, that ſteels the heart of man, and renders him inſenſible to the miſeries of his fellow-creatures, for a while, loſt all its influence: he melted into tears; and, raiſing his hands in admiration of the virtue of theſe gallant Thebans, pronounced a ſolemn curſe on thoſe who could be baſe enough to ſuſpect their friendſhip of any thing criminal or infamous.

FROM thence they proceeded to that part of the field in which the Athenians had fought. The ſcene at once ſtruck the king of Macedon with a violent impreſſion of his late danger, the happineſs of his eſcape, and the importance of his ſucceſs. Tranſported by the thought, he, in that moment, forgot his dignity, and, with a weak and ridiculous triumph, bounded from the earth, and began, with an inſulting mockery, to ſing out the late declaration of war which Demoſthenes had drawn up. His courtiers were too indulgent to their maſter to dare to recal him to himſelf, or to hint at the weakneſs and unworthineſs of this conduct. But Demades, the Athenian orator, who was his priſoner, and now attended him, was not yet ſo inured to ſlavery, as to reſtrain his indignation. "Sir," ſaid he, with the liberty of an Athenian, "you are acting the part of Ther-"ſites, when fortune had inabled you to appear in that of Agamem-"non." No rebuke could poſſibly have been more flattering to Philip, who really hoped to appear in Aſia at the head of the Greeks, like that antient king. It at once awakened him from his extravagance: he bluſhed, and caſt to the ground the chaplet of flowers which adorned his brows: with the warmeſt expreſſions of friendſhip and eſteem he inſtantly pronounced Demades free: and led back his crowd of revellers to his tent, where they reſumed their places at the table with reſerve and ſerioufneſs. The converſation now began to appear more worthy of greatneſs. The king took notice of the imminent danger to which he had been expoſed, and which he had ſo fortunately eſcaped; the immenſe abilities and influence of one ſingle ſpeaker, which had raiſed ſo many enemies againſt him, and

Plut. in Demoſth.

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 86.

Plut. in Demoſth. Lucian. Enc. Demoſth.

which had appeared almoſt a compleat counterpoiſe againſt the whole power of Macedon. His flatterers obſerved, with an officious zeal and obſequiouſneſs, with what ſuperiority of abilities he had now ſurmounted all theſe difficulties; that his enemies were proſtrate at his feet; on his nod their fate depended: and that nothing was wanting to compleat his vengeance, but to march to Athens, that inſolent and preſumptuous city, which had raiſed this oppoſition, and called him forth to the field, and now juſtly merited the full ſeverity of his power; that his honour and his tranquillity equally obliged him to cruſh that turbulent ſtate, and to raze its walls to their foundations. But Philip, whoſe views were juſter, and his policy more extenſive, received the propoſal with diſdain. "Have I encountered "all theſe toils and dangers for glory," ſaid he, "and ſhall I deſtroy "the theatre of that glory? The gods forbid it!"

Plut. in Apophth.

FROM this time, all his actions were regularly influenced by thoſe great deſigns of conqueſt, which he meditated, and which now ſeemed ripening to execution. He laboured, by every appearance of moderation and condeſcenſion, to gain the affections of the conquered Greeks. He diſmiſſed the Athenian deputies with full permiſſion to perform the funeral rites to the honour of their dead; and their priſoners he alſo ordered to be ſet at liberty, without any ranſom. To this favour theſe priſoners boldly deſired that he would be pleaſed to add that of reſtoring their baggage. "Indeed!" cried Philip ſmileing;—"theſe men imagine that I have only conquered them at ſome "ſport," and then graciouſly complied with their requeſt. The Thebans, indeed, were not treated with the ſame lenity. While he ſhewed a general diſpoſition to clemency and condeſcenſion, he imagined that his dignity required him to diſcover ſome ſenſe of their ingratitude, (for ſo was their conduct deemed by Philip and his adherents) and, by a ſeaſonable inſtance of his ſeverity, to intimidate thoſe of his confederates who might be tempted to revolt from him. The Thebans, therefore, he obliged to purchaſe both their dead

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 86. Juſtin. L. 9. C. 4
Diod. ut ſupra.
Sect. 87.
Plut. in Apophth.
Juſtin. L. 9. C. 4.

dead and their priſoners: the principal leaders and partizans, who had oppoſed his intereſt in Thebes, he puniſhed with death, or baniſhment, and confiſcation; and three hundred exiles, who had ſufferred for their adherence to his cauſe, were inſtantly ordered home, and intruſted with the public affairs, and the adminiſtration of government [c].

AT Athens the people indulged themſelves in the moſt pleaſing and flattering hopes, when the news of Philip's victory arrived, to render the city a ſcene of tumult and conſternation. The aſſembly, which was now convened, reſounded with clamour and confuſion, revilings and accuſations, every pretender to politics bellowing out his invectives againſt weak meaſures and wicked conduct, and urging his advice, as to the courſe to be purſued in this ſtate of terrible diſtreſs and danger. Hyperides, the famous orator, propoſed a decree, that the rights of Athenian citizens ſhould be granted to all ſtrangers who ſhould take up arms in defence of Athens; that the ſlaves ſhould be ſet at liberty, and armed; that all Athenians, who had been declared infamous, ſhould be reſtored to their rank and honours; that the women, and all the ſacred things, ſhould be ſhut up in the Piraeus; that the walls and fortifications ſhould be repaired, and every proviſion made to maintain a ſiege. This decree he acknowledged to be, in ſeveral articles, contrary to law; but the arms of Macedon he obſerved bore down all the authority of their laws. The preſent vio-

Dem. de Coron. Sect. 57.

Plut. in X. Orat. Vit. Hyper.

[c] THEIR firſt act of power (as it is repreſented by Juſtin, in loc. cit.) was to ſummon the moſt eminent of the oppoſite party to the tribunal, in order to inquire into the authors of their baniſhment. Theſe, with a reſolution worthy of their former fortune, avowed this pretended crime, in which they all claimed a ſhare, as their greateſt honour. "Thus," ſaith the hiſtorian, "with a ſurprizing courage, "they, to the utmoſt of their power, paſſed "ſentence againſt the men who ſat in "judgment on them; and who were ar-"bitres of their life and death: deſpiſed "all pardon which their enemies could "grant them; and, as they could not "by their actions avenge themſelves, in "their words at leaſt, preſerved the re-"mains of freedom."

lent impreſſion of danger, and the apparent neceſſity of affairs, obliged the people to ratify this decree, however diſagreeable to their pride, or repugnant to their antient conſtitution: and, when the orator was afterwards accuſed, on account of this illegal motion, he found the following ſhort defence ſufficient, "Men of Athens! It "was not Hyperides, but the defeat at Chaeronea, which made this "decree."

THE choice of a commander was conſidered as a matter of the utmoſt moment; the corrupt, and thoſe who had long been uſed to govern the people by intrigue and clamour, contended violently for Charidemus: but the beſt and graveſt of the citizens, ſenſible of the importance of ſuch a truſt in this time of peril, prevailed on the ſenate of Areopagus to interpoſe their authority. Theſe venerable magiſtrates, attended by a number of Athenians, eminent by their ſtations, and reſpected for their virtues, appeared in the aſſembly, and, with tears, intreated the people to name Phocion their general. Their authority had the due weight; and this faithful and experienced old ſoldier, who had been ſhamefully laid aſide when his abilities might have ſaved his country from ruin, was now appointed to command the forces of Athens, when it was too late to perform any effectual ſervice.

Plut. in Phocion.

THE fate of this city was generally conſidered as deſperate: all Greece expected every moment to hear that it was inveſted and deſtroyed; the people of Attica, who ſuppoſed that the enemy was preparing to invade them with fire and ſword, crowded with terror and diſmay to ſhelter themſelves within the walls of Athens; and, as a total ſtop was inſtantly put to all commerce, theſe additional numbers ſerved to increaſe the preſent confuſion and diſtreſs, by the want of proviſions which they naturally produced.

Dem. de Coron. Sect. 59.

Iso-

ISOCRATES, who had ever entertained a favourable opinion of Philip, and frequently aſſured his countrymen of the ſincerity and integrity of this prince, was ſo affected by the preſent reverſe of fortune, that he determined not to ſurvive the ruin of his countrymen; and, without waiting to find what uſe the Macedonian would make of his victory, died, by voluntary abſtinence, at the age of near one hundred years. Plut. X. Orat. Iſocrat.

LYSICLES was now returned, covered with ſhame and diſgrace; univerſally deteſted as the immediate cauſe of the late misfortune; and regarded as a victim due to the ſhades of thoſe brave men, whoſe lives he had ſo wantonly and weakly laviſhed. He was hauled to the tribunal, where Lycurgus the orator, a man juſtly eſteemed for his eminent worth, and reſpectable by the high offices he had borne, undertook the proſecution of this raſh and ignorant general. No tedious inquiry, no laboured harangues, no formal courſe of teſtimonies and examinations, were required on this occaſion. "The Athe-" nians," ſaid Lycurgus, addreſſing himſelf to the criminal, "have " been totally defeated in a general engagement. One thouſand of " our youth have fallen on the field of battle; two thouſand have " been made priſoners. The enemy hath erected a trophy to the " eternal diſhonour of Athens; and Greece is now ready to receive " the dreadful yoke of ſlavery. You were the commander on that " fatal day: and you yet live: you enjoy the ſun's light: you appear " in our public places, the monument of the diſgrace and calamity " of your country."—This ſhort proceſs was ſufficient: the reſt was ſupplied by the quickneſs of conception, and indignation of his hearers: and Lyſicles, mute and confounded, and conſcious of his fatal error, was led away to inſtant execution. Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 88.

IT might be expected, from the natural temper of the Athenians, and from the preſent ferment, that Demoſthenes would have been regarded as the principal cauſe of their preſent calamity; and that, at

at the very moment when he firſt appeared, the people would have given way to the emotions of fury and reſentment, and have torn the orator in pieces: yet, at this ſo critical conjuncture, neither their own fatal diſappointment, nor the calumnies of his enemies, could prevent them from doing juſtice to his zeal and honourable counſels. In him they ſtill confided; and by him were ſolely directed. All the precautions taken, by ſtationing their guards, raiſing their walls, and ſtrengthening their works, were in conſequence of his advice. He himſelf was appointed to furniſh proviſions, and to repair their fortifications: and this latter commiſſion he executed with a generoſity, which reflected the greateſt honour on him; and for which, by a decree propoſed by Cteſiphon, (that famous decree which occaſioned thoſe two orations of the great rivals AEſchines and Demoſthenes, the wonder and delight of all ages and nations that were ever bleſſed with literature) he was honoured with a golden crown, as a reward of his public ſpirit, in expending a conſiderable ſum on the public works out of his own private fortune, which, in this time of calamity, he gave freely to the ſtate. By this it ſhould ſeem, that the paſſionate love of money, of which he is accuſed, (though he might not have been always delicate in the means of gratifying it) was yet not of the ſordid kind, but ſubſervient to another more honourable paſſion.

Plut. in Dem.

Dem. de Coron. Sect. 74.

Sect. 35.

Plut. rarai. inter Dem. et Cic.

THE Athenians, ſaith the ingenuous French hiſtorian * Rollin, a people naturally fickle and wavering, ever diſpoſed to puniſh their own errors and omiſſions in the perſons of thoſe ſtateſmen whoſe ſchemes they had themſelves rendered ineffectual by their tediouſneſs and delays in execution, by thus crowning Demoſthenes in the midſt of public misfortunes, of which he appeared the ſole author, pay the moſt glorious homage to his abilities and integrity. By this proceeding, ſo full of wiſdom and bravery, they ſeem, in ſome ſort, to confeſs their own error, in having neither fully nor ſeaſonably purſued his

* Hiſt. Anc. Vol. 3. 4to, p. 525.

his meaſures; and to acknowledge themſelves alone guilty of their preſent diſgraces.

But the Athenians did not ſtop here. Philip had now ſent home the bones of thoſe who had fallen at Chaeronea, that all due honours might be paid to them; and even ſhewed ſuch reſpect to the ſtate, as to appoint his own ſon, and Antipater, his deputies on this occaſion. The funeral rites of thoſe brave unfortunate men were now prepared: and Demoſthenes was the perſon choſen to pronounce their elogium. In vain did AEſchines and his adherents oppoſe this choice, which only ſerved to confirm the people in their reſolution, in which the friends and kinſmen of the deceaſed chearfully concurred: and conſented that the funeral ſupper, which was generally given in the houſe of ſome near relation, ſhould now be held in that of Demoſthenes. For (as he himſelf obſerves on this occaſion) although many others were, privately, allied more nearly to one or other of the ſlain, yet, in a public capacity, his connexion was the neareſt, who had appeared moſt intereſted in their preſervation, and muſt of conſequence have been the moſt deeply affected by their fall. But all theſe honourable teſtimonies, paid to his integrity, could not allay the vexation which Demoſthenes felt at the fatal event of his counſels. He conſidered himſelf as a man perſecuted by fortune; nor would he now venture to propoſe any thing to the aſſembly in his own name; which he conſidered as inauſpicious. In ſuch a temper of mind he, perhaps, might not have been able to diſplay his great abilities in his funeral oration: nor is it neceſſary to ſuppoſe, that he muſt have been equally eminent in this ſpecies of eloquence, as in the deliberative and judicial kinds: yet we muſt concur with the general voice of the learned, in pronouncing that piece, which is preſerved among his writings, and bears the title of his Funeral oration, totally unworthy to be regarded as the genuine compoſition of Demoſthenes.

Juſt. L. 9. C. 4.

Dem. de Coron. Sect. 88.

Sect. 89.

Plut. in Demoſth.

In

Oliv. L. 15. p. 380.

In the epitaph, engraven on the monument erected to the illustrious deceased, the public grief is strongly marked by the length of it, which is intirely different from the antient Attic simplicity. It was expressed in the following manner:

1.

[D] These, for their country's sacred cause, array'd
In arms, tremendous, sought the fatal plain:
Brav'd the proud foe with courage undismay'd,
And greatly scorn'd dishonour's abject stain.

2.

Fair virtue led them to the arduous strife;
Avenging terror menac'd in their eyes.
For freedom nobly prodigal of life,
Death they propos'd their common glorious prize.

3.

For never to tyrannic vile domain
Could they their generous necks ignobly bend,
Nor see Greece drag the odious servile chain,
And mourn her antient glories at an end.

[D] Οἱδε πατρας ἐνεκα σφετερας, εἰς δηριν ἐθεντο
Ὁπλα, και ἀντιπαλων ὑβριν ἀπεσκεδασαν.
Μαρναμενοι δ' ἀρετης και δειματος οὐκ ἐσαωσαν
Ψυχας, ἀλλ' ἀΐδην κοινον ἐθεντο βραβην,
Ουνεκεν Ελληνων, ὡς με ζυγον αὐχενι θεντες
Δουλοσυνης ςυγεραν ἀμφις ἐχωσιν ὑβριν.
Γαια δε πατρις ἐχει κολποις των πλειςα καμοντων
Σωματ' ἐπει θνητοις ἐκ Διος ἡδε κρισις,
Μηδεν ἁμαρτειν ἐςι Θεων, και παντα κατορθων
Εν βιοτη· μοιραν δ' ουτι φυγειν ἐπορεν.

4.

In the kind boſom of their parent-land,
Ceas'd are their toils, and peaceful is their grave:
So Jove decreed: (and Jove's ſupreme command
Acts unreſiſted, to deſtroy, or ſave.)

5.

Chance to deſpiſe, and fortune to controul,
Doth to the immortal gods alone pertain:
Their joys, unchang'd, in endleſs currents roll;
But mortals combat with their fate in vain.

THE Thebans were alſo careful to give an honourable interment to their dead, and, on their monument, placed a lion of marble, the ſymbol of their courage: but no inſcription was engraved, poſſibly out of their awe and reſpect to the conqueror. Pauſan. in Boet. p. 315.

ALEXANDER and Antipater were ſtill at Athens, where they gave all poſſible aſſurances of Philip's gracious intentions, and his reſolution to conclude a peace with them on terms intirely equitable and advantageous to the Athenian people. As an earneſt of his friendſhip, he confirmed them in poſſeſſion of Oropus, which the Thebans had, in the late alliance, at length conſented to give up: but, as it was not conſiſtent with his deſigns to leave them in poſſeſſion of the empire of the ſea, which might poſſibly tempt them to make ſome new efforts for the recovery of their power, he determined to make himſelf maſter of Samos. Thither he ſent ſome forces: a carriage laden with ſtones was ſo contrived, that, under the pretence of being admitted through one of the gates of the city, which commanded that iſland, it there ſtopped, and was ſo engaged, that, at the approach of the Macedonians, the gates could not be ſhut; ſo that the enemy entered, and all reſiſtance was in vain. Demad. Orat. frag. Frontin. L. 3. C. 3.

THE ſeizing of Samos, one of their moſt favourite iſlands, was the firſt mortifying ſtroke that made the Athenians ſenſible of their fall: yet peace was ſtill offered to them on ſuch terms as could not but be regarded as favourable and advantageous. Their laws, their conſtitution, and their territories, as far as to the iſle of Samos, were all left to them; and the only condition, required on the part of the conqueror, was, that they ſhould ſend their deputies to appear in a general council, which Philip had appointed to aſſemble at Corinth, on an affair in which every ſtate of Greece was equally intereſted. Phocion, though by no means averſe to peace, yet declared it as his opinion, that the people ſhould not explain themſelves on this laſt article, until the particulars of Philip's ſcheme, and the intent of this aſſembly, were laid before them. But now Demades was returned at the head of thoſe priſoners, who had been treated with ſo much generoſity by Philip. The kindneſs, the condeſcenſion, the lenity, the moderation, of this prince, were all diſplayed, by theſe men, in the faireſt and moſt advantageous colours; and Demades, in particular, urged the people to comply with the terms propoſed by Philip, which gratitude, and the neceſſity of their affairs, equally recommended to them. His opinion prevailed, and ambaſſadors were ſent to the king of Macedon to ratify the treaty of peace. Among theſe was one Demochares, a rude and ridiculous pretender to boldneſs and freedom of ſpeech. He and his collegues were received with all politeneſs; and the affair concluded without delay or difficulty. When they were on the point of departure, and admitted to an audience, in order to take leave in due form; Philip, who was ever laviſh of his profeſſions of friendſhip, aſked them, in an obliging manner, if there was any particular in which he could farther gratify the Athenians. "Yes," ſaid Demochares, "hang thyſelf." The indignation of all thoſe, who were witneſſes of this unpardonable rudeneſs, was loud and violent: but the king ſoon ſilenced their clamour. "Let this ridiculous brawler," ſaid he, "depart unmoleſted;" and, addreſſing himſelf to the other ambaſſadors, "Go, tell your countrymen, that they, "who

Oliv. L. 15. p. 389.

Plut. in Phocion.

Seneca de Ira. C. 23.

" who can utter ſuch outrages, are much leſs inclined to peace and " moderation than he who can pardon them."

HIS courtiers and friends in vain endeavoured to take the advantage of this inſolence, in order to irritate him againſt Athens. He was unalterably attentive to his great point, and ſtill reſolved, that no provocation ſhould tempt him to hazard the ſucceſs of it. The general of the Hellenic body was the character in which he judged he ſhould appear with the greateſt luſtre: and, in order to be inveſted with the full power of this character, to reconcile a people to his command, as yet unaccuſtomed to obey, he juſtly conceived, that a general opinion of his clemency and greatneſs of mind was abſolutely neceſſary. This was the true meaning of his favourite maxim, " That he would rather appear for a long time kind and beneficent, " than abſolute for a little time." [E] Plut. in Apopth.

[E] IT may not be thought unworthy of obſervation, that, during all the late tranſactions, all the courſe of great events, by which the ſtate of Athens was ſo intimately affected, a number of Athenian citizens, of ſome rank and diſtinction, were found ſo totally inſenſible to the intereſts, the dangers, and diſtreſſes of their country, that they formed themſelves into a kind of club, or ſociety, which was called THE SIXTY, and employed their time in feaſting, drinking, and gaming, and in the ſprightly and ſatyrical exerciſes of wit and pleaſantry. No public affair whatever was conſidered by this ſet of men, as of conſequence enough to interrupt the mirth, or diſturb the tranquillity, of their order. They ſaw their countrymen arming for battle; they heard of their captivity and death with an abſolute indifference. Events and actions of the moſt ſerious nature ſeem to be treated, by theſe hardened wretches, with wantonneſs and levity. Their fame reached even to Macedon; and Philip, who, both by policy and inclination, was engaged to encourage ſuch a ſociety, preſented them with a talent to aſſiſt their feſtivity, and to induce them to ſend him ſome productions of their wit.

ATHENAEUS. L. 14. p. 614.

BOOK V. SECTION III.

CONTENTS.

PHILIP prepares to invade Perſia.—The preſent time moſt favourable for ſuch an attempt.—Philip aſſembles a convention of the Grecian ſtates at Corinth.—Explains his deſign, which is received with univerſal applauſe.—Deſires the honour of being appointed general of the Grecian forces.—Oppoſed by the Arcadians; but in vain.—The whole amount of the Grecian forces.—The Athenians diſcontented.—Phocion's advice.—The pride of Sparta.—The anſwer to Philip's letter.—Philip diſmiſſes the deputies.—His domeſtic misfortunes.—The jealouſy of Olympias.—Philip marries Cleopatra.—His anſwer to the remonſtrances of Alexander.—His nuptials celebrated.—Imprudence of Attalus.—Reſentment of Alexander,—who conducts his mother into Epirus, and retires to Illyria.—The Illyrians in arms againſt Philip.—His laſt battle with that people.—His life ſaved by a young Macedonian.—The cauſe of his deſperate generoſity.—Philip returns to Macedon.—His interview with Demaratus.—Philip endeavours to put an end to his domeſtic diſſenſions.—Alexander and Olympias return to Macedon.—Pexodorus, king of Caria, offers his

his daughter in marriage to Aridaeus.—Alexander's jealouſy;—his ſecret deſign,—diſcovered and defeated by Philip.—Alexander and Olympias ſtill irritated.—Attalus abuſes Pauſanias,—who complains to Philip, but is denied juſtice.—Pauſanias impatient for revenge;—is irritated againſt the king by the emiſſaries of Olympias,—by Alexander,—by the ſecret emiſſaries of Perſia.—His diſcourſe with Hermocrates.—The war againſt Perſia commenced.—Philip conſults the oracle.—The anſwer.—Marriage of Philip's daughter with Alexander of Epirus.—Solemn feſtival at Agae.—Flattery of the Grecian ſtates.—Remarkable paſſage from a tragic poet repeated by Neoptolemus.—Solemn proceſſion to the theatre.—Death of PHILIP.*—Honours paid to the memory of his murderer.—Philip's virtues and vices reſolved into his ruling paſſion.*

BOOK the FIFTH.

SECTION III.*

WE have already ſeen the king of Macedon contending with his neighbours, confirming his power, and enlarging his dominions; corrupting and deceiving the ſtates of Greece; occaſionally fomenting or allaying their jealouſies and animoſities; firſt uniting his kingdom to that great and honourable body which they formed; and, at length, by one important victory, creating himſelf the head of that body. We are now to view him preparing to act in this glorious character, and to lead the powers of Greece into Aſia: elevated with the mighty hopes of ſhaking the throne of the great king of Perſia.

THE weak and injudicious attempt of Xerxes to conquer Greece had inſpired its ſeveral inhabitants with the warmeſt reſentment and impatience for revenge; which the Perſians themſelves, by their corruptions, contributed to keep alive. When princes, either through inattention, defect of judgment, or the want of virtue, ſuffer their ſubjects to ſink into all the exceſſes of effeminate luxury; from ſuch ſubjects they are not to expect generous ſentiments, or great and gallant actions. Ruin and ſlavery, the natural and neceſſary conſequences

See Note on the Hiſt. of Philip. in Univ. Hiſt.

quences of ſuch corruptions, muſt, at laſt, fall with all their weight to cruſh the men who abandon themſelves to the ſelfiſh and ſenſual paſſions. Politicians may, for a while, ſuſpend theſe fatal effects, by introducing foreign forces to defend thoſe who have loſt that ſpirit which ſhould prompt them to fight their own battles: but this, although it may delay, only ſerves to render their deſtruction ſurer. Such was the caſe of the Perſians: they hired Greek troops; they maintained them in the exerciſe of their diſcipline; they made them intimately acquainted with their country and their manners, witneſſes of their errors, their corruptions, and their weakneſs. When at any time theſe Greeks returned into their own country, they never failed to expatiate on theſe with contempt and indignation; and were eternally prompting and encouraging their fellow-citizens to march againſt their old enemy, and to ſubvert that unwieldy empire, which was already on the point of ſinking under its own weight.

REPRESENTATIONS of this kind had been ever pleaſing and flattering to the Greeks. We find Cleomenes, a Spartan king, had long ſince liſtened to ſuch overtures. Ageſilaus, one of his ſucceſſors, proceeded yet farther, and, with an inconſiderable army, gave law to the lieutenants of the great king. It is true, he did not openly profeſs a deſign of conquering the whole empire, but that he really intended no leſs, may be collected from his affecting to ſacrifice in the ſame manner with Agamemnon, when he entered on his expedition; which ſeemed to imply a deſign of emulating that antient king, who had not only harraſſed, but ſubverted, Troy. The like deſign is thought to have been formed by Jaſon of Theſſaly, when a conſpiracy put an end to the life of that able prince. The Perſians were conſcious both of their own weakneſs, and the ſtrength of their enemy; or, at leaſt, were frequently reminded of theſe alarming truths. The actions of the famous ten thouſand in particular gave them a terrible intimation of their danger, who had followed the younger Cyrus as far as to Babylon, and who, when they had

Herod: L. V. 49, 50.

Plut. in Ageſil.

Xen. Hiſt. Grae. L. 6.

t

tl

their commanders, without guides, without proviſions, had yet diſdained to ſurrender; conceived and executed the ſtupendous deſign of traverſing all Aſia Minor, in view of ſuch ſuperior numbers; and returned to their own country, triumphant over all the various difficulties and dangers which they encountered in their tedious march. Wiſely therefore had the Perſians long laboured to foment the diſorders of Greece, to arm one ſtate againſt its neighbour, to keep up the balance between both, and to divide that force, which, if once united, threatened them with deſtruction. But the time was now come, when a ſuperior power had put an end to all the diſſenſions of Greece; when a prince of valour, power, and abilities, capable of conducting the greateſt and boldeſt enterprizes, ſupported by numerous and well-diſciplined armies, and aſſiſted by wiſe and faithful miniſters, and brave and experienced officers, was the head, the leader, and commander, of the whole Grecian power, without any rival to controul or obſtruct his vaſt deſigns.

THIS prince, who, ever ſince his late victory, had omitted no means of ſecuring the affections of all the Greeks, was now at Corinth, where the deputies of the ſtates attended [A], and were prepared to receive his overtures. The grand aſſembly was convened, and here Philip publicly declared the deſign which he had for ſome time formed of marching into Aſia, to deſtroy that monarchy, which had ever been formidable to Greece, notwithſtanding all the ſignal victories ſhe had gained over Perſia. He had eloquence and addreſs to animate them to the undertaking; to ſet all their antient glory full in view; to inflame all their national prejudices and animoſities againſt their great enemy; to remind them of the glorious attempts

Olymp. 110. Y. 4. Juſtin. L. 9. C. 5. Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 89.

[A] On this occaſion probably it was, that the deputies expreſſed ſome impatience, when Philip lay a-bed longer than uſual one morning, when they were appointed to attend him. "You need not wonder," ſaid Parmenio, "that my maſter "ſleeps, while you are awake; for, while "you ſlept, he was waking."—(Plut. Apophth.)—The anſwer could never have been made with more propriety than at this time.

of ſome particular ſtates and generals, even when Greece was divided and diſtracted; and to confirm them in the faireſt and greateſt expectations of ſucceſs, now, when the whole force of this brave nation was to be exerted againſt a people enervated by luxury, and depreſſed by ſlavery. He concluded with demanding the honour to which he aſpired, that of being nominated their leader and general in this expedition: and deſired that the aſſembly ſhould regulate the contingent, which each ſtate was to furniſh; while he, on his part, engaged to employ all the forces of his kingdom in this glorious cauſe.

THE ſeveral deputies, gained by Philip's preſents and careſſes, or influenced by their national prejudices, received theſe propoſitions with acclamation and applauſe. A war againſt the Perſians, who had profaned and deſtroyed the Grecian temples, was conſidered as a kind of religious war, which ſeemed naturally to devolve to a prince who had already been crowned with ſuch extraordinary ſucceſs in his attempts to vindicate the honour of the gods: nor could any man of this time be ſuppoſed ſo capable of undertaking the conduct of this arduous enterprize, as the renowned king of Macedon. All the Grecians were ſenſible, and ſome by melancholy experience, that, in the knowledge of military affairs, no man could ſtand in competition with Philip. Vigilance, addreſs, quickneſs in execution, authority in commanding [B], the art of forming and diſciplining forces, deep penetration

[B] "DISCIPLINE," ſay the authors of the Univerſal Hiſtory, in a Note on the hiſtory of Philip, "under the eye of an "able general, renders troops invincible, "but, under officers of ſmaller abilities, is "far from being of ſuch high advantage. "Men of inferior genii have no ideas of "thoſe changes which the alterations in- "troduced by time require; and therefore, "by adhering too ſcrupulouſly to old "rules, ruin themſelves, and thoſe under "their command."—To this we are perhaps warranted by obſervation to add, that a ſcrupulous regard to ſyſtematical rules, and pedantically reducing war to a ſcience, ſometimes proves a fatal enemy to that enthuſiaſtic ardor, ſome ſpark of, which muſt neceſſarily have a ſhare in greatneſs of all kinds, and particularly in military greatneſs. Where the lively ſenſe of honour is wanting, and

penetration, indefatigable vigour, and conſummate valour, were all ſo conſpicuous in this exalted character, that it was impoſſible for them to heſitate a moment in the choice of a commander. As to the expedition itſelf, it was the darling object of all thoſe who were pleaſed with the recollection of the great actions of their anceſtors. The Grecian colonies of Aſia, who had long groaned under the Perſian yoke, fired with the proſpect of recovering their independence, ſeem to have urged every motive that might animate the zeal of the aſſembly, and prompt the Greeks to this great attempt. The Arcadian deputies alone had the boldneſs to oppoſe their voice to the general ſenſe of the aſſembly, and to declare againſt conferring the command on Philip, but were ſoon ſilenced and diſcouraged: and, if any remains of envy, or cold and wary policy, ſtill continued to damp the general ardor, theſe were at once removed by the repreſentations of Dius the Epheſian, who now appeared at Corinth, poſſibly to ſupport the intereſts of the Aſiatic ſettlements, and urged it as abſolutely neceſſary to ſuffer Philip to lead the Greeks againſt the Perſian, in order to preſerve ſome appearance of their former liberty.

Diod. Sic. L. 17. Sect. 3.

Oliv. L. 16. p. 397. Plut.

and the true patriot-ſpirit which ſhould animate a ſoldier, it may ſerve to extinguiſh the ſenſe of ſhame, and the fear of diſgrace, by affording a fair pretence for juſtifying an inſtance of inactive conduct, or the declining an hazardous and dangerous enterprize.—But, when an exact knowledge of the military art is united with more elevated qualities, then it becomes really valuable. Of this the preſent age hath an illuſtrious inſtance in a PRINCE, who muſt be acknowledged to bear a ſtrong and ſtriking reſemblance to the Macedonian, in all the bright and glorious parts of his character; to poſſeſs the ſame exalted genius, the ſame penetration, the ſame indefatigable vigour, the ſame firmneſs and greatneſs of mind, the ſame boldneſs in enterprize, the ſame taſte for the polite arts, and the ſame regard to learning and its profeſſors. Like Philip, in his moſt diſtreſſed condition, his abilities have been employed in bearing up, with an unconquered ſpirit, againſt the united powers of many different enemies, ſurrounding him with their formidable numbers.—But, as his difficulties have been infinitely greater, ſo his abilities, in triumphing over them, have hitherto appeared unparalleled. The preſent age beholds them with aſtoniſhment: poſterity muſt ſpeak of them with delight and admiration.

THUS was this momentous affair determined without any conſiderable difficulty. The number of forces, which each particular ſtate was to ſupply, came in the next place to be aſcertained. The whole amounted to two hundred and twenty thouſand foot, and fifteen thouſand horſe, excluſive of the Macedonians: a prodigious force, of which Greece had, till now, no juſt idea. When this nation aſſemblied its armies at the iſthmus of Corinth, againſt thoſe Perſian forces which burnt Athens, no more than fourſcore thouſand men could be led into the field.

Juſtin. L. 9. C. 4.

Oliv. L. 16. p. 398.

THE Athenians, at firſt, approved of this mighty project, and of the nomination of the prince choſen to direct it. By the reſolution of the aſſembly, they were obliged not only to furniſh men, but, as a maritime power, to aſſiſt the great leader, in this cauſe, with their ſhips and naval ſtores; and were now called upon to comply with this reſolution; a ſtroke terribly mortifying to their vanity. They looked back with pain and regret to that ſtate from which they had fallen, and felt their preſent ſubjection and dependence with an impotent and impatient vexation. Clamour, repining, grief, remorſe, and deſpair, filled their aſſembly; ſenſible of the ſuperiority of the Macedonian, yet aſhamed to acknowledge it; and, pierced with a ſenſe of their misfortunes, yet incapable of retrieving them. In the midſt of their dejection, Phocion, their faithful citizen, who, in the days of their pride, had been frequently neglected and diſregarded, now appeared their only comforter, when his uſual ſeverity could be of ſervice no longer. "Men of Athens," ſaid he, "I foreſaw theſe "things which are now the ſubject of your complaints; and, for this "reaſon, I oppoſed your appearing in that aſſembly, till we ſhould "be particularly informed for what purpoſes it was convened. My "advice was then rejected, and it is now too late to deliberate: you "have engaged, and muſt abide by the conſequences. Support this "reverſe of fortune with becoming reſolution. Imitate your gene-"rous anceſtors, who ſometimes gave law to others, ſometimes were "contented

Plut. in Phoc.

" contented to receive it, according to the difference of conjunctures:
" and thus by their wiſe and virtuous conduct, both in good and bad
" fortune, frequently preſerved not their own country only, but all
" Greece, from ruin."

THESE repreſentations ſeem to have reconciled that ſubmiſſion, which their preſent circumſtances made neceſſary, to thoſe ideas of their own dignity, which the Athenians could not reſign without the moſt painful reluctance. The Lacedaemonians, on their part, too weak to oppoſe the deſigns of Philip, and ſtill too proud to concur in them, had reſolved to ſend no deputies to Corinth, and affected to detach themſelves intirely from thoſe affairs which now engaged the general attention of Greece. Philip, in a letter which he addreſſed to this people, reproached them for thus ſeparating from their brethren, and deſerting the common cauſe; and demanded their immediate concurrence, with ſome menacing expreſſions. The anſwer which he received on this occaſion was no more than this: Juſtin. L. 9. C. 5.

IF YOU IMAGINE THAT YOUR VICTORY HATH MADE YOU GREATER, MEASURE YOUR SHADOW [c]. Plut. Lac. Apophth.

THIS ſullen pride, ſo little ſuited to the preſent weakneſs and depreſſion of Sparta, ſeems to have been treated by Philip with juſt contempt. He now parted from the Greeks, with an heart filled

[c] PLUTARCH, in his Apophthegms, attributes this anſwer to king Archidamus. But Archidamus, as we learn from Diodorus, died on the very day of the battle of Chaeronea, in an engagement between the Tarentines and Lucanians, in which he aſſiſted the former people: and ſo Plutarch himſelf relates, in the life of Camillus, where he enumerates the ſeveral misfortunes that happened on that fatal day, the ſeventh of the month called Metagitnion. OLYMP. 110. Y. 3.

THE preſent conduct of Sparta accounts for the inſcription on the offerings made from the Perſian ſpoil at the paſſage of the Granicus: " Alexander, the ſon of Phi-
" lip and all the Greeks, *except the Lace-*
" *daemonians*, took theſe ſpoils from the
" Barbarians." ARRIAN.

with

with exultation and triumph. He laviſhed his favours on the deputies of every ſtate, and ſent them home to ſound his praiſes, and to inſpire his countrymen with the moſt favourable ſentiments of their great and glorious leader [D].

BUT the period was now approaching, when all thoſe flattering hopes of greatneſs and renown, which totally poſſeſſed the ſoul of Philip, were, in one fatal moment, utterly defeated. This prince, adored by his ſoldiers, and his ſubjects, revered and admired in Greece, and dreaded and eſteemed by foreigners, was by no means exempted from domeſtic misfortunes. His repeated violations of the marriage bed, and the open and abandoned manner in which he reſigned himſelf up to the gratification of his lawleſs paſſions, inflamed the ſevere and haughty temper of his queen Olympias, who, unable to ſupport his infidelities, ſeemed determined to revenge them, while, at the ſame time, ſhe continued her reproaches and complaints. Such a conduct could not fail to extinguiſh all remains of affection in her huſband, and to eſtrange him totally from the queen. He had ſeveral favourites, ſome of whom have been mentioned; and all are particularly recounted by * Athenaeus. But at length he conceived a paſſion of a more ſerious nature for Cleopatra, niece to Attalus, his general, his favourite, and kinſman. As Cleopatra was no leſs amiable in her temper and accompliſhments, than in the extraordinary graces of her perſon, Philip conceived that he ſhould conſult his own happi-

* L. 13. p. 557. Plut. in Alex.

[D] DURING the time of Philip's reſidence at Corinth, he ſhewed particular attention to Dionyſius the younger, who had been driven from Sicily by Timoleon, and now reſided in that city. He frequently entertained him at his table, and, by every inſtance of kindneſs, endeavoured to alleviate his grief. At one time, Philip attended to ſome of the poetical performances of the elder Dionyſius with an applauſe, in which poſſibly his politeneſs might have had the greateſt ſhare. He aſked, with an obliging ſurprize, what time a prince, like the elder Dionyſius, could find for ſuch ſtudies. That time, replied the ſon, elevated by the applauſe paid to his father, which we waſte in amuſements and occupations, which have no rational purpoſe in view.

PLUT. GEM. PLETHO. L. 2.

neſs

neſs moſt effectually, by forming an inviolable and perpetual union with this lady; and, without the leaſt heſitation, reſolved to ſeparate himſelf for ever from the princeſs who had long appeared ſo great an enemy to his tranquillity. In vain did Alexander remonſtrate, that, by divorcing Olympias, and engaging in a ſecond marriage, he expoſed him to the danger of contending with a number of competitors for the crown, and rendered his ſucceſſion precarious. "My ſon," ſaid the king, "if I create you a number of competitors, you have "the glorious opportunity of exerting yourſelf, to ſurpaſs them in "merit: thus ſhall their rivalſhip by no means affect your title." His marriage with Cleopatra was now declared in form, and celebrated with all the grandeur and ſolemnity, which the great occaſion demanded. The young prince, however diſſatisfied, was yet obliged to attend on theſe ſolemnities, and ſat in ſilent indignation at that feaſt which proclaimed the diſgrace of his mother. In ſuch circumſtances, his youthful and impetuous mind could not but be ſuſceptible of the ſlighteſt irritation. Attalus, the uncle of the new queen, forgetting that juſt caution which ſhould have taught him to be ſcrupulouſly obſervant to avoid offending the prince, intoxicated by the honours paid to his kinſwoman, as well as by the preſent feſtivity, was raſh enough to call publicly on the Macedonian nobles to pour out their libations to the gods, that they might grant the king the happy fruits of the preſent nuptials, legitimate heirs to his throne. Wretch!" cried Alexander, with his eyes ſparkling with that fury and vexation, which he had till now ſuppreſſed, "doſt thou then call me baſtard?" and inſtantly darted his goblet at Attalus, who returned the outrage with double violence. Clamour and confuſion aroſe; and the king, in a ſudden fit of rage, ſnatched out his ſword, and flew directly towards his ſon. His precipitation, his lameneſs, and the quantity of wine, in which he had by this time indulged, happily diſappointed his raſh purpoſe; he ſtumbled and fell on the floor, while Alexander, with an unpardonable inſolence, cried out, "Behold, ye Macedo-"nians! this is the king who is preparing to lead you into Aſia: "ſee,

Plut. in Apophth.

Plut. in Alex.

" ſee, where, in paſſing but from one table to another, he is fallen " to the ground."

Plut. in Alex.

THIS accident opportunely put an end to the diſorder; Alexander retired, and, ſoon after quitting his father's court, conducted his mother Olympias into Epirus, from whence he himſelf paſſed into Illyria. His reſentment of the inſolence, which Attalus had betrayed, was in ſome ſort pardonable; but the remarkable inſtance of diſreſpect to his father and his king juſtly merited the utmoſt ſeverity of cenſure: and his reſolution of retiring into a country, where Philip was conſidered as an enemy, had not even the pretence of ſudden heat or warmth of temper to alleviate its guilt. The Illyrians were now actually in arms againſt Philip, and obliged him to march into their territories at the head of all his forces. It is not certain that Alexander was in the Illyrian army, but he undoubtedly, at leaſt, reſided at the court of Pleurias, the Illyrian king; who, at the very time when Philip's power and glory were at the higheſt point of elevation, oppoſed the Macedonians, and aſſerted the liberty and independence of his country. With this prince Philip was, for the laſt time, engaged in the field, and gained a compleat victory, after an obſtinate conteſt, in which his perſon was expoſed to imminent danger. The enemy poured down upon him with all their force; when, at the time that he appeared ready to ſink under their deſperate attack, a young Macedonian, named Pauſanias, diſtinguiſhed by his illuſtrious birth, and by the dignity and gracefulneſs of his perſon, threw himſelf before the king, and, without deigning to cover himſelf with his ſhield, ſuffered the enemy to wreck their fury on him, and to bury thoſe weapons in his body, which were directed againſt his royal maſter. In the laſt agonies of departing life, he diſcloſed the ſecret of this deſperate generoſity to Attalus, his friend. He told him, that a young Macedonian, who was alſo called Pauſanias, his companion and fellow-ſoldier, had derided that affection, which the king had frequently expreſſed for him, as the effect of a ſhocking

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 93.

paſſion,

paſſion, which juſtly degraded its object not only beneath the dignity of a ſoldier, but even the rank of humanity; that, impatient of the inſolent and unjuſt reproach, he had formed the reſolution of proving by his death, that his attachment to his prince was of the moſt ſtrictly virtuous kind. Attalus ſaw his friend expire, with grief and indignation; and determined to regard the man, whoſe inſolence had made ſo ſtrong an impreſſion on his mind, as the immediate author of his death.

PHILIP now returned to Macedon, and there found Demaratus the Corinthian, whom he received with the attention and reſpect, which he uſually paid to the moſt illuſtrious citizens of the Grecian ſtates. In diſcourſing about the affairs of this nation, the king aſked him, whether the people of Greece had yet forgot their animoſities, and lived in due harmony and amicable intercourſe with each other. To this Demaratus anſwered with a becoming freedom, which, at the ſame time, expreſſed his regard to Philip: "How can you, Sir, "affect an attention to the tranquillity of Greece, while your own "family is diſtracted by quarrels and diſſenſions?" The king, rouzed by this ſpirited and ingenuous reply, ſaw, and confeſſed, his error; and declared his reſolution of putting an immediate end to all his domeſtic quarrels. He ſent his faithful monitor Demaratus into Illyria, to endeavour to recall Alexander to a ſenſe of his duty; and, by his mediation, the prince was perſuaded to return to Macedon. Olympias alſo was admitted to appear once more at the court of Philip, where ſhe ſeemed to content herſelf with the titles of queen and mother to the preſumptive heir to the throne, ſtill cheriſhing, however, the warmeſt and moſt inveterate reſentment againſt her huſband and her rival, and determined to omit no means of inſpiring her ſon with the ſame ſentiments. Plut. in Alex. in Apophth. Plut. in Alex.

SOME time after this, Pexodorus, king of Caria, ſent to offer his daughter in marriage to Aridaeus, one of Philip's natural ſons, whoſe underſtanding Ibid.

underſtanding had been impaired, in his childhood, by a poiſon which Olympias had given him, jealous of the affection his father expreſſed for him. The friends and flatterers of this queen, ever officious to create ſuſpicions, repreſented to her ſon, that this was the effect of a deſign which Philip had conceived of depriving Alexander of his right of ſucceſſion, and transferring it to Aridaeus. Olympias herſelf was induſtrious to poſſeſs Alexander with the like fears, and perſuaded him to apply privately to Pexodorus, and to offer to eſpouſe his daughter himſelf, as this prince could not but prefer his alliance to that of Aridaeus, diſgraced both by his birth and underſtanding. The prince liſtened to theſe ſuggeſtions, and made ſome private overtures to the king of Caria, which were eagerly received. But Philip was ſoon informed of theſe tranſactions, however ſecretly conducted, and inſtantly flew to the apartment of his ſon, accompanied by Philotas, one of Alexander's principal favourites. He reproached the prince with his meanneſs and abject degeneracy, in courting the alliance of a baſe Carian, whoſe country was held in ſuch general diſeſteem, as even to become a proverb and by-word of contempt: a conduct utterly unworthy of that throne to which he was born, and which his father reſerved for him as his undoubted right. Alexander was unable to make any anſwer to this charge: but, as Philip intended to be reconciled to his ſon, and to appear as forgetting all animoſities, the blame of this affair fell intirely on the agents and aſſiſtants. Harpalus, Nearchus, Phrygius, and Ptolemy, all young Macedonian nobles, who had been intruſted with the prince's intentions, and aſſiſted him by their counſels, were baniſhed; and Theſſalus, the principal agent, was, by the king's order, ſeized at Corinth, and ſent in chains to Macedon.

All diſcord now appeared to ſubſide in the royal family; but ſuch appearances were falſe and deceitful. Olympias ſtill felt her grief, and her ſon was ſtill irritated by his mother's wrongs; while Philip indulged his ambitious fancy with ſchemes of greatneſs and renown,

renown, utterly inſenſible to the dangers impending over him, and blind to the fatal conſequences of unrelenting hatred and revenge: an event, which, at this time, raiſed a conſiderable commotion at the court of Macedon, gave a free courſe to that flame, which lay concealed in the breaſts of Philip's repudiated queen, and his incenſed ſon. Attalus, as hath been already obſerved, reſolved to revenge the death of the noble Macedonian, who had ſaved the king's life in Illyria, at the expence of his own. This dreadful purpoſe he concealed, that he might be the better inabled to execute it; and, with an appearance of friendſhip, invited the other Pauſanias to a feaſt. Here, when he had, by wine and revelling, rendered him inſenſible, and incapable of all reſiſtance, with a horrid exultation, he called in his menial ſervants, and expoſed the unhappy youth to all their abandoned brutality, as the loweſt and meaneſt of thoſe deteſtable wretches, among whom he had preſumed to account his late companion and fellow-ſoldier. Pauſanias, when ſenſible of the outrages he had ſuffered, with all the fury and indignation of a generous mind, flew to the king, urged his wrongs, and loudly called for juſtice and vengeance on Attalus. The original cauſe of this outrage was probably well known to Philip, and, together with his regard for the uncle of his new queen, unhappily influenced him much more than the juſt complaints of an injured ſubject. Inſtead of granting redreſs, he endeavoured to diſſipate the vexation of Pauſanias, and vainly imagined, that a new command in the army, which he now conferred on him, would be ſufficient to allay his vexation, and to make him forget his wrongs. But the wounds, which his honour had received, were not ſo eaſily healed: he ſtill harboured the moſt lively reſentment, which the diſappointment of revenge ſerved to inflame and irritate.

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 93.

THE partizans of Olympias and Alexander officiouſly expreſſed the deepeſt ſenſe of the injuries done to this afflicted youth; and, by pretending to commiſerate, laboured to irritate his vexation. They

artfully repreſented to him, that the king, by denying juſtice, made himſelf an accomplice in the guilt of Attalus; and that the outrage he had received was of that dreadful nature, which demanded ſome ſignal ſtroke of illuſtrious vengeance. Alexander himſelf is accuſed of practiſing theſe arts, of liſtening to Pauſanias with affected pity, while he dwelt upon the ſtory of his injuries; and of ſpurring him on to the ampleſt and moſt extenſive revenge, by quoting a line of Euripides, in which Medea threatens to involve, in one great ſacrifice, to her reſentment,

Plut. in Alex.

THE FATHER, BRIDE, AND HUSBAND.

NOR were the ſecret emiſſaries of Perſia leſs ſollicitous to free their country from the danger of a formidable enemy, by urging this Macedonian to the deſperate purpoſe of executing his revenge on Philip. They ſeem to have ſeized the favourable opportunity of forming a conſpiracy againſt the life of this king, of which Pauſanias was to be the principal inſtrument; whoſe mind was now fully prepared for ſuch a fatal purpoſe.

Arrian. L. 2. C. 14.

AND now, while this unhappy youth continued brooding over thoſe malignant paſſions which diſtracted and corroded his mind, he happened to go into the ſchool of one Hermocrates, who profeſſed to teach philoſophy; to whom he propoſed the following queſtion: "What ſhall that man do, who wiſhes to tranſmit his name, with "luſtre, to poſterity?" Hermocrates, either artfully and from deſign, or the natural malignity of his temper, replied, "He muſt kill him "who hath atchieved the greateſt actions: thus ſhall the memory "of the hero be joined with his who ſlew him, and both deſcend "together to poſterity." This was a maxim highly agreeable to Pauſanias, in the preſent diſpoſition of his mind; and thus various accidents and circumſtances concurred to inflame thoſe dangerous paſſions which now poſſeſſed him, and to prompt him to the dreadful purpoſe of ſatiating his revenge with the blood of Philip.

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 94.

IN

IN the mean time this prince, fully perſuaded that he had reſtored the tranquillity of his family, indulged his ambitious hopes in full ſecurity, and turned his whole attention to his ſchemes of greatneſs, and the expedition againſt Perſia. He already began the war with detaching Attalus and Parmenio at the head of ſome forces into Aſia, where theſe generals, agreeably to their inſtructions, drove out the Perſian garriſons from ſome Grecian cities, and reſtored the inhabitants to their original, free, and independent ſtate. Olymp. 111. Y. 1. Sect. 91.

A KING, celebrated for his piety, could not, on this occaſion, neglect the due religious ceremonials, or omit the neceſſary mark of his reverence to the gods, that of conſulting the Delphian oracle about the event of his great deſign; and any favourable declaration, he knew, could not fail to have a conſiderable effect in animating his ſoldiers. The anſwer, which he received from the Pythian prieſteſs, was expreſſed in this manner: Ibid.

"In fatal pomp, now ſtands the victim crown'd!
"The arm already rais'd, that deals the wound!"

WHATEVER application this oracle might have, in ſome time, appeared to warrant, it was at preſent received with the utmoſt joy, as a manifeſt indication, that the gods had marked out the Perſians as a ſacrifice to appeaſe their wrath, and to attone for all thoſe profanations, which the barbarous enemy had formerly committed in Greece. In full confidence of ſucceſs, Philip now prepared to enter on his expedition. Juſt as he was at the point of departure, he concluded a marriage between his daughter Cleopatra and Alexander king of Epirus, the brother of Olympias, a prince for whom he ever retained a ſtrict regard, and whom he hoped to attach firmly to his intereſt by this alliance; that Olympias, who had already endeavoured to engage him in hoſtilities againſt her huſband, might find all ſuch efforts ineffectual; nor be inabled to diſturb the tranquillity of Macedon in the abſence of Philip, while the king of Epirus, Juſtin. L. 9. C. 7.

from

from whom only ſhe could expect aſſiſtance, was, by this new tie, engaged to oppoſe and to defeat all deſigns againſt his father-in-law.

Pauſan. in Arcad.

A FEW days before this marriage, his queen Cleopatra was delivered of a ſon; that ſon which the unrelenting Olympias afterwards put to death, together with his unhappy mother, with ſuch circumſtances of cruelty; and Philip determined to celebrate both theſe joyful events by ſolemn games and feſtivals, which were now prepared at AEgae with all poſſible magnificence. Thither the deputies of every Grecian ſtate, together with all thoſe who had ever been honoured with the king's friendſhip, were invited to repair, to ſhare in his joy, and to receive the laſt marks of his affection, before his departure into Aſia. The concourſe was great and ſplendid: the Grecian cities, who had ſo lately regarded Philip as their inveterate enemy, now vied with each other, in expreſſing their reſpect and affection for this prince. Many of them preſented him with crowns of gold; and, among theſe, Athens now appeared the foremoſt in her zealous expreſſions of regard: her crown was alſo preſented; and an herald ſtood up, amidſt thoſe numbers attending on the games now exhibited, and made a ſolemn proclamation, that the Athenian people had reſolved to conſider any man as their enemy, who ſhould make an attempt on the life of Philip; to deny him all refuge in their city, and inſtantly to give him up to juſtice. This hiſtorians have accounted among the omens and portents attending the death of this king, though it ſeems to have been an uſual form of expreſſing their friendſhip: but how abject muſt their flattery appear, when it is conſidered with what joy the execution of that attempt, againſt which they now thundered out their decrees, was ſoon after received at Athens.

Diod. L. 16. Sect. 91, 92.

THE games were cloſed with a magnificent feaſt, to which the whole attending concourſe was invited, and in which Philip diſ-

Ibid.

played

played all his uſual politeneſs. As his mind was quite poſſeſſed with his great deſigns, in the midſt of mirth and gaiety, he addreſſed himſelf to Neoptolemus, who was one of his gueſts, and aſked whether he could repeat any verſes applicable to the affairs of Perſia. The player inſtantly ſeized the fair occaſion of flattering his maſter, by delivering a paſſage, taken from a tragedy called Cinyras, to the following purport: Sueton. in Calig. C. 57.

In dazzling pomp, O fatally elate!
Whoſe tow'ring hopes, whoſe thoughts, (how great!)
Beyond heav'n's concave wing their airy way;
O'er realms and nations vaſt and wide,
With vain deluſive pride,
Extending their imaginary ſway.

Lo, where, in dreadful unexpected hour,
Death comes, inexorable pow'r!
To blaſt theſe hopes, amidſt their faireſt bloom;
Arm'd with pale horror and deſpair,
To ſtop this mad career;
And buries all in night's eternal gloom [E].

THESE verſes were received with the loudeſt acclamations: no application being at this time thought of, but that which Neoptolemus intended; nor any potentate ſuppoſed to be intoxicated with

[E] ALTHOUGH theſe verſes were ſtrictly and remarkably applicable to Philip, in his preſent temper and circumſtances; yet this prince was not intirely inſenſible of the vanity of human greatneſs, but could, himſelf, moralize on this ſubject. He once happened to fall to the ground, when engaged in ſome gymnaſtic exerciſes. As he roſe, he obſerved the impreſſion of his body in the ſand. "Heavens," cried Philip, "how ſmall a ſpace hath nature allotted to us; and yet we are vain enough "to deſire to command the univerſe."
PLUT. DE EXSULIO, p. 602.

greatneſs,

greatneſs, and to project vain and extravagant ſchemes of ambition, ignorant of impending danger, but the king of Perſia.

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 93, 94.

THE day which ſucceeded to this feaſt was deſtined to the entertainments of the theatre, to which the numbers attending on Philip, who had all paſſed the night in gaiety and jollity, and were ſtill aſſembled, began to repair by the dawn of day. They marched on in ſolemn order. Among other inſtances of magnificence, twelve ſtatues of the gods were borne in proceſſion; to which a thirteenth ſucceeded of ſtill more exquiſite beauty and workmanſhip, repreſenting the great king of Macedon, as a perſonage worthy to be ranked among the divinities. When the Greeks and Macedonians were ſeated in the theatre, Philip came out of his palace, attended by the two Alexanders, his ſon and ſon-in-law. He was cloathed in a white flowing robe, waving in ſoft and graceful folds, the habiliment in which the Grecian deities were uſually repreſented. He moved forward with an heart filled with triumph and exultation, while the admiring crowds ſhouted forth their flattering applauſe. His guards had orders to keep at a conſiderable diſtance from his perſon, to ſhew that the king confided in the affections of his people, and had not the leaſt apprehenſions of danger amidſt all this mixed concourſe of different ſtates and nations. Unhappily, the danger was but too near him. The injured Pauſanias had not yet forgot his wrongs, but ſtill retained thoſe terrible impreſſions, which the ſenſe of the indignity he had received, and the artful and intereſted repreſentations of others, fixed deeply in his mind. He choſe this fatal morning for the execution of his revenge, on the prince who had denied reparation to his injured honour. His deſign had been for ſome time premeditated, and now was the dreadful moment of effecting it. As Philip marched on in all his pride and pomp, this young Macedonian ſlipped through the crowd, and, with a deſperate and malignant reſolution, waited his approach in a narrow paſſage, juſt at the entrance into the theatre. The king advanced

vanced towards him: Pauſanias drew his poniard; plunged it into his heart; and the conqueror of Greece, and terror of Aſia, fell proſtrate to the ground, and inſtantly expired.

THE murderer flew towards the gates of the city, where there ſtood horſes ready to favour his eſcape, which Olympias herſelf is ſaid to have prepared. The tumult and confuſion was ſuch as might be expected from ſo fatal an event. Some of the Macedonians crowded round the fallen king with an officious and ineffectual care, while others purſued Pauſanias. Among theſe were Perdiccas, Attalus, and Leonatus; the firſt, who excelled in ſwiftneſs, came up to the aſſaſſin when he was juſt preparing to mount his horſe: but, being by his precipitation intangled in ſome vines, a violent effort to extricate his foot brought him ſuddenly to the ground. As he prepared to riſe, Perdiccas was upon him, and, with his companions, ſoon diſpatched him, by the repeated wounds which their fury inflicted. His body was immediately hung on a gibbet, but, in the morning, appeared crowned with a golden diadem; the only means by which Olympias could now expreſs her implacable reſentment. In a few days indeed, ſhe took a farther occaſion of publiſhing her triumph and exultation in her huſband's fall, by paying the ſame funeral honours to Pauſanias, which were prepared for Philip: both bodies were burnt on the ſame pile, and the aſhes of both depoſited in the ſame tomb. She is even ſaid to have prevailed on the Macedonians to pay annual honours to Pauſanias: as if ſhe feared that the ſhare ſhe had taken in the death of Philip ſhould not be ſufficiently known to the world, ſhe conſecrated to Apollo the dagger which had been the inſtrument of the fatal deed, inſcribed with the name MYRTALIS, the name which ſhe had borne when their loves firſt began. It was obſerved, that the handle of this dagger was adorned with the figures of chariots; a circumſtance on which a ſuperſtitious fiction ſeems to have been founded. It is ſaid, that Philip was warned by the oracle of Trophonius, "to beware of

Juſtin. L. 9. C. 7.

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 93, 94.

Juſtin. ut ſupra.

Ibid.

AElian. L. 3. C. 46.

" the chariots;" and that, in conſequence of this admonition, he carefully avoided all ſuch vehicles, nor could be perſuaded to viſit a place in Boeotia called by that name. Quaſi capulo occiſus eſſet, ſaith * Cicero, ſpeaking with juſt contempt of this ſtory.

Val. Maxim. L. 1. C. 8.

* De fato.

THUS died Philip king of Macedon, at the age of forty-ſeven years, and after a reign of twenty-four, ſpent in toils and difficulties, and enterprizes of hazard and danger, in which he ſo eminently diſplayed that extent and elevation of genius; that firmneſs and greatneſs of mind; that juſtneſs and accuracy, penetration and ſagacity, in forming his deſigns; that true diſcernment in chuſing the means of conducting them; and that vigour and reſolution in executing them; which have juſtly rendered him the object of admiration to all thoſe who are acquainted with the Grecian ſtory. The judicious reader cannot fail to have already obſerved, how far he was aſſiſted in the acquiſition of that power to which he aſpired, and which was purchaſed by the labours and dangers of his life, by the advantages which he happily derived from the diſtreſſes of his infant years, from his education, from his natural and acquired accompliſhments, and from the diſpoſitions and circumſtances of thoſe with whom he contended. He may alſo have already obſerved, how far the different, and apparently inconſiſtent, deſcriptions, which hiſtorians have tranſmitted of this prince's character, may be reconciled by attending to that great ruling paſſion, the love of glory and power, which poſſeſſed the mind of Philip. All his other paſſions, his inclinations, his natural endowments, the principles in which he had been inſtructed, the ſentiments he had imbibed, the graces, the qualifications, the accompliſhments, he had acquired, were all ſubſervient to this. If terror and ſeverity were neceſſary for the eſtabliſhment of his power, his ſentiments of humanity eaſily yielded to the dictates of his ambition; and the diſtreſſes, in which whole ſtates and countries were involved, he regarded with indifference and unconcern. If diſſimulation and artifice were required, his perfect knowledge of mankind, joined

joined to his obliging and inſinuating deportment, inabled him to practiſe theſe with the moſt conſummate addreſs; and thus were candor and ingenuouſneſs frequently ſacrificed to his ſchemes of greatneſs. If corruption was neceſſary, he knew its power, and was perfect in the art of propagating and recommending it by the faireſt and moſt plauſible pretences; and although he endeavoured, from a full conviction of its fatal conſequences, to check its progreſs in his own kingdom (as appears from his diſcouraging his ſon's attempts to introduce it) yet he never ſcrupled to make it his inſtrument to deſtroy his rivals. Hence we find him ſometimes repreſented as a cruel, crafty, and perfidious prince, who laid it down as his favourite maxim, that it was a folly, when he had killed the father, to leave any of his family alive to revenge his death; who profeſſed to amuſe men with oaths, as children are cheated with toys; and who was rather the purchaſer, than the conqueror, of Greece. If, on the other hand, the ſpecious appearances of generoſity, condeſcenſion, and benevolence, were required to ſerve his great purpoſes, no man was more capable of aſſuming them; no man could diſplay them more naturally and gracefully. If his reputation was to be exalted, or the number of his partizans to be increaſed, he could confer favours with an air of the utmoſt cordiality and affection, he could liſten to reproof with patience, and acknowledge his errors with the moſt ſpecious ſemblance of humility: he could conquer his enemies and revilers by his good offices, and reconcile their affections by unexpected and unmerited liberalities. Hence again we find him imblazoned by all the pomp of praiſe: as humane and benevolent, merciful and placable; in the midſt of all the inſolence of victory, careful to exerciſe the virtues of humanity; and gaining a ſecond and more glorious triumph, by the kindneſs and clemency with which he reconciled and commanded the affections of thoſe whom his arms had ſubdued.

Suid. in voc. Φιλιππ. AElian. L. 7. c. 12.

Polyb. L. 5.

In a word, his virtues and vices were directed and proportioned to his great deſigns of power: his moſt ſhining and exalted qualities

influenced in a great meaſure by his ambition: and even to the moſt exceptionable parts of his conduct was he principally determined by their conveniency and expediency. If he was unjuſt, he was like Caeſar, unjuſt for the ſake of empire. If he gloried in the ſucceſs acquired by his virtues, or his intellectual accompliſhments, rather than in that which the force of arms could gain, the reaſon, which he himſelf aſſigned, points out his true principle. "In the former "caſe," ſaid he, "the GLORY is intirely my own; in the other, my "generals and ſoldiers have their ſhare."

Plut. in Apophth.

THE learned have been ſometimes fond of comparing the merit of this prince's painful conqueſts with the rapid progreſs of his ſon; their abilities, their virtues, and their faults. This is a ſubject which hath been fully exhauſted by other writers. And, although the nature and extent of their abilities, their virtues, and their vices, afford much uſeful inſtruction, yet the circumſtances of thoſe people with whom they contended, may poſſibly (if duly weighed) ſuggeſt reflections more generally and highly uſeful and intereſting.

POSTSCRIPT.

THE Note addreſſed to the learned reader, page 51 and 52 of Vol. II, makes it neceſſary to acquaint him, that this Hiſtory was finiſhed a conſiderable time before the publication of that part of the Edition of DEMOSTHENES by Doctor TAYLOR, which contains the Oration ON THE CROWN: and that the author firſt ſaw Tom. II. of that valuable work, when his ſecond Volume had been already ſent to the preſs, too late for making any alteration in the Note above-mentioned, yet time enough for ſuppreſſing another of the ſame kind, on the date of the DECREE, page 84, of the ſame Volume: as he deems it ſufficient to refer the learned reader to the Commentary of that judicious editor, page 671, &c.

FINIS.

The AUTHOR'S *Diſtance from the Preſs hath occaſioned ſome Inaccuracies in printing; of which the Reader is requeſted to correct the following more material*

E R R A T A.

POEM. Line 5. for *ſtill for a friend*, read *ſtill from*, &c.

DISSERTATION. Page xxv. Note. 2d Column, Line 5. for *tribiis*, r. *tibiis*.
—— xliv. l. 19. for Ψεφος, r. Ψηφος.
—— xlv. l. 13. for *circumſtances*, r. *conſequences*.

HISTORY, VOL. I. Note. 1ſt Col. l. 10. for *Lynceſtrians*, r. *Lynceſtians*.
p. 61. l. 10. after *Macedonian* dele [;]
p. 72. l. 17 and 27. for *Thracians*, r. *Thaſſians*.
p. 85. l. 16. for *proved*, read *proves*.
p. 89. Note. 2d Col. l. 4. for *ime*, r. *time*.
p. 97. ſecond marginal quotation, for *Sept.* r. *Lept.*
p. 101. l. 19. for *indulging in*, r. *indulging them in*.
p. 116. l. 23. for *rights*, r. *rites*.
p. 130. l. 3. for *after*, r. *afterwards*.
p. 131. l. 13. for *any*, r. *an*.
p. 149. l. 13. for *make*, r. *made*.
p. 197. laſt line, for *ertility*, r. *fertility*.

VOL. II. Page 9. Line 6. for *attentions*, read *intentions*.
p. 18. l. 15. for *Iſeander*, r. *Iſcander*.
p. 42. l. 12. for *eloqunce*, r. *eloquence*.
p. 90. l. 29. after *accuſation*, place [?]
p. 107. l. 9. after *inconſiſtent*, place [:]
l. 10. after *concluded*, place [,]
p. 113. Note. 2d Col. l. 7. for *O R*, r. Ο Υ.
p. 128. l. 22. for *diveſt him*, r. *aiveſt himſelf*.
p. 150. l. 10. after *Diopithes*, place [:]
l. 14. for *Pegaſae*, r. *Pagaſae*.
p. 192. l. 20. for *Haloneſus*, r. *Alopoconeſus*.
p. 196. l. penult. for *but bring*, r. *but to bring*.
p. 204. l. 15. for *when*, r. *where*.
p. 229. l. 18. for *his*, r. *him*.
p. 232. l. 22. dele *he*.
p. 233. l. 19. for *had now*, r. *and had now*.
p. 235. in the marginal quotation, laſt line, for *Ibid*, r. *Dem. de Coron. Sect.* 51.
p. 254. l. 27. for *Callaeſchnis*, r. *Callaeſchrus*.

EXPLANATION of the PLATE of COINS.

N° 1. A braſs coin of the city of Amphipolis, probably ſtruck at the time when Philip declared this city free.—On one ſide, Philip crowned, poſſibly in honour of his late victory over the Illyrians. — The reverſe, a blade of corn, the emblem of fertility.

N° 2. A braſs coin of the city of Philippopolis, built by Philip in Thrace.—On one ſide the head of the founder with a diadem.—The reverſe, the ſame as the former.

N° 3. and 4. Two braſs coins intended (according to Beger) to perpetuate the memory of Alexander's intrepidity and vigour in taming Bucephalus. — On the one ſide, Philip crowned.—The reverſe, Alexander mounted on that famous horſe,

N° 5. and 6. Both of gold, in honour of prizes gained at the Olympic games. — On one ſide, Jupiter crowned with laurel or olive, (for antiquarians are not agreed in this point.)— The reverſe, a man mounted on horſeback, holding a branch in the one; in the other, with his arm extended, as preparing to ſpeak.

N° 7. A braſs coin. — On one ſide, Philip with a lion's hide to denote his deſcent from Hercules. —The reverſe, Jupiter bearing an eagle,— a divinity worſhipped in Macedon with peculiar veneration.

N° 8. A

N° 8. A golden coin. — On one ſide, Hercules the founder of the royal race of Macedon.—The reverſe, the ſame as the foregoing.

N° 9. A golden coin repreſenting Philip crowned with laurel, poſſibly in honour of his victory over Onomarchus.—The reverſe, chariots, in memory of his ſucceſs at the Olympic games.

N° 10. A braſs coin.—On one ſide, Philip with a lion's hide.—The reverſe, goats, the enſigns of Macedon.

N° 11. A coin of braſs, repreſenting Philip with his lion's hide.—The reverſe, a tripod and bow. By which it appears, that this was ſtruck in honour of Philip's ſucceſs in vindicating the honour of Apollo, and deciding the famous ſacred war.

N° 12. The ſame with the foregoing, excepting only, that on the reverſe a club is joined with the tripod, denoting Philip's deſcent from Hercules.

N° 13. A braſs coin. — On one ſide, a head of Minerva, a goddeſs to whom the Macedonians paid peculiar honours.—The reverſe, a trophy.

N° 14. A ſilver coin.—The head of Minerva on one ſide.—The reverſe, Victory with a crown and branch.

ΑΜΦΙΠ
ΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ
ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ
ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ
ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ
ΦΙΛΙΠ
ΠΟΥ
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ
ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ
ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ
ΒΑ
Φ
ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ
ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ
Β
ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ
ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ

00031031

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 15 June, 2016